by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and

Vol. 1
1067

Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

080465

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

080465

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

080465

Vol. X, No. I

KURUKSHETRA UNIVERSITY

RESEARCH JOURNAL

[ARTS AND HUMANITIES]

080465

EDITOR

BUDDHA PRAKASH

KURUKSHETRA UNIVERSITY
KURUKSHETRA

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

EDITORIAL NOTE

I have the pleasure to offer to the readers number I of volume I of the *Kurukshetra University Research Journal* (*Art and Humanities*). The need of this Journal was long felt with a view to canalising and stimulating research in the various subjects connected with arts and humanities in this university. The various departments of the university have undertaken researches in various subjects and are advancing the bounds of knowledge in a variety of ways. But there was no journal in which the results of their enquiries could be published expeditiously and giving currency in the academic world. The Vice-Chancellor, Shri D.C. Verma, I.A.S., keenly felt that this blank in the university life should be filled. Accordingly, on his motion, the Executive Council of the university approved of the plan of publishing this journal. Needless to say, this welcome decision has facilitated the publication of the first issue of this journal.

Besides providing a medium of expression to the researchers of the university, this journal is also calculated to bring into bold relief the individuality of the university as an institution devoted to the furtherance of learning and research. The researchers associated with the various departments of the university need hardly be reminded of the famous saying of the *Bhagawad Gītā* (IV, 38) that nothing purer than knowledge exists in the world. The pursuit of knowledge is the highest goal of the intellectual endeavour of man. It is this quality which distinguishes him from the rest of the world and enables him to master it. In particular, the persons, who have adopted the pursuit of learning as their basic profession, are bound to work heart and soul to extend the frontiers of knowledge and through it seek the fulfilment of their personalities. It is hoped that this journal would enable our colleagues to discharge this sacred duty to the best of their ability.

Since the decision to publish the journal was taken late and it was desired that its first issue should be ready by the time of the fourth convocation, speedy attempts were made to collect papers from the contributors and seeing them through the press. It is likely that, in spite of our best efforts, some lacunae may have been left in the journal, for which we crave the indulgence of the readers, but, in future, we will make all possible efforts to improve the quality and standard of this journal to the best of our ability. We are sure that, in course of time, this journal would come out as an important organ of research in arts and humanities in the country.

It is my pleasant duty to thank the Vice-Chancellor, Shri D.C. Verma, I.A.S., for taking very keen interest in this academic project and extending to me his unstinted support and assistance.

EDITOR

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CONTENTS

Editorial Note ... I

Ancient History and Culture

On Pāṇini's Sūtra IV, 3. 98
—Buddha Prakash ... 1

Was Pritihāra Nāgabhaṭa I Yaśovarman's Contemporary ?
—H. A. Phadke ... 10

Eraṇ stone inscription of Samudra Gupta
—Sadhu Ram ... 13

English Literature

Politics and Poetry of Stephen Spender
—Bhim Singh ... 21

Anthem : A Study of Society and the Individual
—K. K. Shukla ... 30

La Belle Dame Sans Merci
—M. R. Tewari ... 54

Hindi

पृथ्वीराज रासो : एक पौराणिक महाकाव्य और चन्द का व्यक्तित्व
—छविनाथ त्रिपाठी ... 61

आधुनिक हिन्दी कवियों पर कालिदास का प्रभाव
—हरिश्चन्द्र वर्मा ... 70

बाल मुकन्द गुप्त का राष्ट्रवाद
—रणजीत सिंह ... 80

खण्डकाव्य का स्वरूप एवं वर्गीकरण
—शिवप्रसाद गोयल ... 89

History

Origin and Development of the Idea of Haryana Prant
—Bipin B. Sinha ... 99

Russian Conquest of Central Asia and Anglo-Russian Rivalry
—Devendra Kaushik ... 104

Rana Jang Bahadur and the Revolt of 1857-58
—D. Awasthi ... 124

General Abdus Samad Khan—A Forgotten Hero of 1857
—Kripal Chandra Yadav ... 133

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar.

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

1.	Dr. Buddha Prakash	M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., D.Litt., is professor of History and of Ancient Indian History Culture and Archaeology and director of the Institute of Indic Studies.
2.	Dr. H.A. Phadke	M.A., Ph.D., is lecturer in the Department of History. He has written his thesis on *Tripartite Struggle.*
3.	Shri Sadhu Ram	M.A., is U.G.C. scholar attached to the Linguistics Department. He has specialised in Epigraphy.
4.	Shri Bhim Singh	M.A., is lecturer in the Department of English.
5.	Shri K.K. Shukla	M.A. (English and Linguistics), is lecturer in the Department of English.
6.	Shri M.R. Tewari	M.A., is lecturer in the Department of English.
7.	Dr. Chhavi Nath Tripathi	M.A. (Hindi and Sanskrit), Ph.D. (Hindi and Sanskrit), Sahityaratna, Shastracharya, is reader in the Department of Hindi and has written some learned works on Sanskrit and Hindi literature, specially on Champu Kavya.
8.	Dr. Harish Chandra Verma	M.A. (Hindi and Sanskrit), Ph.D., Sahityaratna, is lecturer in the Department of Hindi and has published a book on *Romantic Tendency in Sanskrit.*
9.	Dr. Ranjit Singh	M.A. (Hindi and Sanskrit), M.O.L., Ph.D., is lecturer in the Department of Hindi and has written on the literature produced in Haryana, especially the works of Sant Nishchaldas.
10.	Dr. Shiva Prasad Goyal	M.A., Ph.D., is lecturer in the Department of Hindi and has worked on *Khanda Kavya in Hindi Poetry.*
11.	Shri B.B. Sinha	M.A., is lecturer in the Department of Political Science.
12.	Dr. D. Kaushik	M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. (Agra) Ph.D. (Tashkent), is lecturer in the Department of History. He has worked on Anglo-Russian Colonial Rivalry in Central Asia and the Soviet Nationalities Policy in Central Asia and published research papers in India and abroad.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Linguistics

A Typological Study in Hindi and Bhuderi
—Baldeo Singh ... 137

Philosophy and Psychology

Science, Theory and Philosophy
—C. L. Jain ... 143

Language and Meaning
—L. K. Mishra ... 155

On word meaning
—Miss Raj Gupta ... 166

The conception of Nirvāṇa from the view point of Anātmavāda in Buddhist Philosophy
—Shri Nivasa Shastri ... 174

A Study of some of the Personality Characteristics of Good and Poor Achievers
—S. P. Ahluwalia and Mrs. Santosh Narang ... 181

Political Science

President and his powers of giving Assent to Bills in India
—J.R. Siwach ... 189

Privilege against self-incrimination and the American System
—P.N. Mital ... 205

The Provisional Government of Independent India 1915-20
—Vijay Sen Budhraj ... 212

Sanskrit

On the interpretation of Meghaduta (Uttara-megha, Verse 41)
—Shiv Raj Shastri ... 231

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

1.	Dr. Buddha Prakash	M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., D.Litt., is professor of History and of Ancient Indian History Culture and Archaeology and director of the Institute of Indic Studies.
2.	Dr. H.A. Phadke	M.A., Ph.D., is lecturer in the Department of History. He has written his thesis on *Tripartite Struggle.*
3.	Shri Sadhu Ram	M.A., is U.G.C. scholar attached to the Linguistics Department. He has specialised in Epigraphy.
4.	Shri Bhim Singh	M.A., is lecturer in the Department of English.
5.	Shri K.K. Shukla	M.A. (English and Linguistics), is lecturer in the Department of English.
6.	Shri M.R. Tewari	M.A., is lecturer in the Department of English.
7.	Dr. Chhavi Nath Tripathi	M.A. (Hindi and Sanskrit), Ph.D. (Hindi and Sanskrit), Sahityaratna, Shastracharya, is reader in the Department of Hindi and has written some learned works on Sanskrit and Hindi literature, specially on Champu Kavya.
8.	Dr. Harish Chandra Verma	M.A. (Hindi and Sanskrit), Ph.D., Sahityaratna, is lecturer in the Department of Hindi and has published a book on *Romantic Tendency in Sanskrit.*
9.	Dr. Ranjit Singh	M.A. (Hindi and Sanskrit), M.O.L., Ph.D., is lecturer in the Department of Hindi and has written on the literature produced in Haryana, especially the works of Sant Nishchaldas.
10.	Dr. Shiva Prasad Goyal	M.A., Ph.D., is lecturer in the Department of Hindi and has worked on *Khanda Kavya in Hindi Poetry.*
11.	Shri B.B. Sinha	M.A., is lecturer in the Department of Political Science.
12.	Dr. D. Kaushik	M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. (Agra) Ph.D. (Tashkent), is lecturer in the Department of History. He has worked on Anglo-Russian Colonial Rivalry in Central Asia and the Soviet Nationalities Policy in Central Asia and published research papers in India and abroad.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

13.	Dr. D. Awasthi	M.A., Ph.D., is lecturer in the Department of History. He has written his thesis on *S.H. Butler's Administration 191-1922*, published several learned papers and is currently working on the Administration of Sir James Thomason.
14.	Dr. K.C. Yadav	M.A. Ph.D., is lecturer in the Department of History. He is the author of (1) *Rao Tula Ram-A Hero of 1857*, (2) *Ahirwal Ka Itihas*, (3) *Uprising of 1857 in Hariyana.* He is also the Editor of *Hariyana Research Journal* and is currently working on *History and Culture of Hariyana* (1803-1966).
15.	Dr. Baldeo Singh	M.A. Ph.D., Acharya, is Reader in the Department of Sanskrit. He wrote his thesis on *Morpho-Semantic Study of Sanskrit Words.*
16.	Shri C.L. Jain	B.Sc., M.A., is assistant lecturer in the Department of Philosophy.
17.	Shri L.K. Mishra	M.A., is assistant lecturer in the Department of Philosophy and has published some papers on philosophical subjects.
18.	Miss Raj Gupta	M.A., is lecturer in the Department of Philosophy and has prepared some papers on philosophical subjects.
19.	Dr. Srinivas Shastri	M.A., Ph.D., Shastri, is lecturer in the Department of Sanskrit. He wrote his thesis on *The Exposition of Buddhist Philosophical Systems by Vacaspatimisra* and published some papers.
20.	Dr. S.P. Ahluwalia	M.Ed., Ph.D., is lecturer in the College of Education.
21.	Miss Santosh Narang	M.Ed., is research scholar in the College of Education.
22.	Shri J.R. Siwach	M.A., is lecturer in the Department of Political Science and is working on Indian Presidency.
23.	Shri P.N. Mital	M.A., LL.B., M.A. (Washington), is lecturer in the Department of Political Science and has published some papers on Constitutional problems.
24.	Dr. Vijay Sen Budhraj	M.A., Ph.D. (Washington), is reader and head of the Department of Political Science and has published a number of papers in research Journals.
25.	Dr. Shiv Raj Shastri	M.A., Ph.D., Shastri, is reader in Sanskrit and has written his thesis on *Family Relationships in the Rigvedic Age.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Ancient History, Culture and Archæology

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Buddha Prakash

ON PĀṆINI'S SŪTRA IV, 3, 98

Vāsudevārjunābhyām vun

In his sūtra IV, 3, 98 Pāṇini explains the formation of *vāsudevaka* and *arjunaka* by the addition of the suffix *vun* to the words *vāsudeva* and *arjuna*, but, in the following sūtra, *gotrakṣatriyākhyebhyo bahulam vuñ* (IV, 3, 99), he lays down that, to form analogous derivatives from words, signifying *gotras* and *kṣatriyas*, the suffix *vuñ* is mostly added to them. In the case of the word *vāsudevaka*, it makes no difference if *vun* or *vuñ* is added to its base *vāsudeva*, with the result that its formation can be explained through either of the two aforesaid sūtras. The first vowel of *vāsudeva* being, what Pāṇini understands by the term *vṛddhi*, the requirement of effecting *vṛddhi*, necessitated by the addition of *vuñ*, which is *ñit*, in terms of IV, 3, 99, to it, to form the derivative *vāsudevaka*, is *ipso facto* met. Thus *vāsudevaka* can be easily formed through the application of IV, 3, 99. The question, therefore, arises as to why Pāṇini taught its derivation through IV, 3, 98 and, for that purpose, bracketed it with *arjunaka*, and did not consider it worthwhile to keep it within the purview of IV, 3. 99 so as to treat it at par with *nākulaka, sāhadevaka etc.*, formed through it.

The position taken by Pāṇini is reiterated by other grammarians also. For instance, Candragomin in his *Cāndravyākaraṇa*[1] (ed. K. C. Chatterji, I, pp. 321-22) in sūtra VI, 3, 65 *vāsudevārjunāt kan*, which corresponds to Pāṇini's IV, 3, 98, teaches the formation of *vāsudevaka* and *arjunaka* by the addition of the suffix *kan*, which serves the same purpose as *vun*, to *vāsudevaka* and *arjunaka*. However, he lays down two sūtras *gotrāt bahulam vuñ* (VI, 3, 66) and *kṣatriyāt* (VI, 3, 67) to do duty for Pāṇini's IV, 3, 99 simply for the sake of clarity. Likewise, in Śākaṭāyana's *Vyākaraṇa*,[2] sūtra III, 1, 194 *vāsudevārjunāt vuc* plays the role of Pāṇini's IV, 3, 98 and the following sūtra III, 1, 195 *gotrakṣatriyebhyaḥ prāyo vuñ* is a repetition of Pāṇini's IV, 3, 99.

Some other grammarians are conscious of the redundance of the procedure of deriving *vāsudevaka*, like *arjunaka*, by adding the suffix *vun*, *kan* or *vuc* to *vāsudeva*, when it can be conveniently formed according to the standard rule which lays down that *vuñ*, involving *vṛddhi* of the first vowel of the base word, is to be added to analogous words for deriving similar forms. They are at a loss to follow the exceptional treatment given

1. *Cāndravyākaraṇa* of Candragomin, ed. Kshitish Chandra Chatterji (Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona, 1953).
2. *Śākaṭāyanavyākaraṇa* (with Cintāmaṇi Vṛtti) pp. 558-59.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to *vāsudevaka* by bracketing it with *arjunaka*. For instance, in the *Jainendravyākaraṇa*,[3] sūtra III, 3, 73, *arjunāt vun*, confines the addition of *vun* to *arjuna* only and does not bracket *vāsudeva* with it. Rather it includes *vāsudeva* in the scope of the next sūtra III, 3, 74, *vṛddharājākhye-bhyo vuñ prāyaḥ*, as is clear from its *mahāvṛtti* which reads as follows : *vṛddhākhyebhyo rājākhyebhyaśca prāyo vuñ bhavati vṛddhākhyebhyaḥ* : *kāpaṭavakaḥ, aupagavakaḥ* ; *rājākhyebhyaḥ* : *nakulo bhaktirasya nākulakaḥ, vāsudevo bhaktirasya vāsudevakaḥ*. Thus it will be clear that in this Vyākaraṇa *vāsudeva* is grouped with *nakula* and not coupled to *arjuna*. Likewise, Hemacandra[4], in his *Haimaprakāśamahāvyākaraṇa* (ed. Kṣamā-vijayagaṇin, p. 388), feels that there is something odd in associating *vāsudeva* with *arjuna* and isolating it from the generality of other anologous words. Accordingly, he adopts the position that *vāsudeva* stands for a kṣatriya name as well as a non-kṣatriya one ; in the former case it takes the suffix *akañ* in accordance with the rule *gotrakṣatriyebhyo'kañ prāyaḥ* (VI, 3, 208) like nakula, sahadeva, duryodhana, duḥśāsana *etc*., whereas, in the latter position, it takes the suffix *aka* laid down in the sūtra *vāsudevārjunāt akaḥ* (VI, 3, 207) like *arjuna*. In this way these authors realise the problem presented by Pāṇini's exceptional treatment of *vāsudeva* for purposes of forming the derivative *vāsudevaka*.

Pāṇinī's commentators also feeel somewhat uneasy about the construction of the rule IV, 3, 98. Ordinarily, according to Pāṇini's rule II, 2, 34 *alpāctaram*, in a dvandva compound the word having lesser number of syllables should precede the other with more of them, with the result that the proper construction of IV, 3, 98 should have been *arjunavāsudevābhyām vun* rather than *vāsudevārjunābhyām vun*. This irregularity of construction is legalized by Kātyāyana through the *vārttika* '*abhyarhitam pūrvam nipatati*', which prescribes that a word denoting a more honoured being would precede that standing for a less honoured one as an exception to the general rule II, 2, 34. Hence, this consideration, as well as the treatment of *vāsudevaka* in IV, 3, 98, when it could be conveniently explained through IV, 3, 99, calls for some discussion and elucidation from the commentators. Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya*[5] raises the pertinent question as to why *vun* is prescribed as the suffix to be added to *vāsudeva* to form *vāsudevaka* and the rule *gotrakṣatriyākhyebho bāhulam vuñ* is not applied (*kimartham vāsudevaśabdāt vun vidhīyate na gotrakṣatriyākhebhyo bahulam vuñ ityeva siddham*). He offers two answers: either the object of the sūtrakāra was to demonstrate that in a dvandva compound the word having the sense of greater honour comes in the beginning as an exception to the general rule laid down in II, 2, 34 (*idam tarhi prayojanam vāsudevaśabdasya pūrvanipātam*

3. *Jainendravyākaraṇa* with the commentary of Abhayanandin ed. Śambhūnātha Tripāthi and Mahādeva Caturvedī, Bhāratīya Jñānapīṭha, Kāśī (1956) p. 203.
4. *Haimaprakāśamahāvyākaraṇa* (ed. Kṣamāvijayagaṇin) Amisoma Jaina Granthamālā, Bombay 1937, pūrvārdha p. 388.
5. *Pātañjala Mahābhāṣya* ed. and tr. into Marāthī by Vāsudeva Śāstrin Abhyankara (Deccan Education Society, Poona, 1952) Vol. IV p. 245.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

vakṣyāmīti), or the sūtrakāra implied that *vāsudeva* was not a *kṣatriya* name but was rather the appellation of the divine being (*athavā naiṣā kṣatriyākhyā saṁjñaiśā tatrabhavataḥ* or *tatrabhagavataḥ*). The author of the *Kāśikā*[6] is more explicit on this point and categorically says that *vāsudeva* is not the name of a *kṣatriya* and is rather the name of a particular god (*nanu vāsudeva-śabdāt gotrakṣatriyākhyebhyaḥ iti vuñ astyeva na cātra vunvuñorviśeṣo vidyate, kimartham vāsudevagrahaṇam ? saṁjñaiṣā devatāviśeṣasya na kṣatriyākhyā*). In this gloss on this sūtra in his *Bṛhacchabdenduśekhara*[7] (vol. II p. 1358), Nāgeśa equates *vāsudeva* with *paramātman* or God and offers a derivation of this word to suit this meaning. He states that *Vāsu* is so called because He is present everywhere on account of his power of inherence (*sarvatrāsau vasati antaryāmitvāt*), or everything exists in Him on account of being the transformation of Brahman (*sarvam atra vasati vā sarvasya brahmavivart-tatvāt*). To this word is added *uṇ* so that *vāsu* is proved, and, since it is the name of God and is synonymous with *deva*, it assumes the form *vāsudeva* (*bāhulakāduṇ sa cāsau devaśceti vyutpatteḥ*). Nāgeśa emphatically states that Vāsudeva certainly does not mean the son of kṣatriya Vasudeva (*na tu Vasudevasyāpatyam Vāsudeva iti kṣatriyavācīuttarasūtravihitavuñaiva siddheḥ*). His argument is that had it been so, the sūtra IV, 3, 98 *gotrakṣatriyākhyebhyo bahulam vuñ* should have been applied to it to derive the form *vāsudevaka*.

It is clear from the above discussion that the commentators of Pāṇini were clearly of the view that Vāsudeva was not a kṣatriya. Had it been otherwise, they should have, like Hemacandra, stated that vāsudeva denoted both God and a kṣatriya, so that its derivative *vāsudevaka* could be formed through both the sūtras under reference. The fact that they, unlike Hemacandra, clearly ruled out the application of IV, 3, 99 to it unmistakably proves that in their view it was not at all the designation of a kṣatriya as understood in those times. In the light of the observations of these commentators it can be held that this was the idea of Pāṇini himself, as his placing of vāsudeva in IV, 3, 98 instead of IV, 3, 99 shows. Thus the view of Weber[8], Raychoudhury[9] and Agrawala[10] that Pāṇini treats Vāsudeva as a kṣatriya does not stand to reason.

Pāṇini's view about Vāsudeva, mentioned above, is borne out by the *Mahābhārata*. It states that when Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa was the first to be honoured at the *rājasūya* sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira, the Kṣatriya kings, assembled there, led by Śiśupāla, lodged a strong protest on the ground that Kṛṣṇa was not a kṣatriya. Addressing the assembly, Śiśupāla said

6. Vāmanajayāditya's *Kāśikā* ed. Śobhitamiśra (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Banaras 1952) p. 333.
7. Nāgeśabhaṭṭa's *Bṛhacchabdenduśekhara* ed. Sītārāma Shāstrin (Sarasvatibhavana Granthamālā, Banaras, 1960, Vol. II p. 1358
8. A. Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, p. 185 note.
9. H.C. Raychoudhury, *Materials for the Study of the Early History of the Vaishṇava Sect*. p. 101.
10. V.S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, (Hindi) p. 352

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

that Kṛṣṇa, belonging to the Vṛṣṇi tribe, did not deserve to be honoured, while so many big kings were present[11]. Bursting with fury, he asked Yudhiṣṭhira as to how he dared to honour Kṛṣṇa in the presence of Bhīṣma, Aśvatthāman, Duryodhana, Kṛpa, Śalya and others[12]. He added that if the intention was to bestow so much honour on Kṛṣṇa in the presence of top-ranking kṣatriya kings, then why they were invited at the function for being merely insulted[13].

Continuing the diatribe, Śiśupāla observed that Kṛṣṇa was neither a priest, nor a teacher nor a king[14]; he had also no pretension to be a Brāhmaṇa, though he claimed to be the creator of the world[15]; far from being a Kṣatriya or a Brāhmaṇa he was a *Dāsa*, a man of the lowest class, for which reason Jarāsandha considered it derogatory to fight with him[16]. Then taking cudgels against Bhīṣma, he lashed out and said that the design to honour and worship a *Gopa*, a cowherd, in the presence of a wise elder like him, invited the hatred of all types of people[17].

It is clear from the aforesaid oration of Śiśupāla that Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa did not belong to the aristocratic class, was neither a Brāhmaṇa nor a Kṣatriya, but rather came for the lowest class of cowherds who ranked as Dāsas. From this it follows that the Vṛṣṇi clan of the Yādava tribe, to which he belonged, was also not a Kṣatriya one. This fact necessitates a review of the origin of Vaiṣṇavism or Bhāgavatism, with which the name of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa is intimately associated.

---

11. *Mahābhārata*, II, 37, 1
Nāyamarhati Vārṣṇeyastiṣṭhatsviha mahātmasu I
Mahīpatiṣu kauravya rājavat pārthivārhaṇam II
12. *Ibid.*, II, 37, 10-14
Bhiṣme śāntanave rājan sthite puruṣasattame I
Svacchandamṛtyuke rājan katham Kṛṣṇo'rcitastvayā II
Aśvatthamni sthite dhīre sarvaśāstraviśārade I
Katham Kṛṣṇastvayā rājanarcitaḥ kurudandana II
Duryodhane ca rājendre sthite puruṣasattame I
Kṛpe ca bhāratācārye katham Kṛṣṇastvayārcitaḥ II
Nṛpe ca rukmiṇi śreṣṭhe ekalavye tathaiva ca I
Śalye madrādhipe caiva katham Kṛṣṇastvayārcitaḥ II
13. *Ibid.*, II, 37, 18
Athavābhyarcanīyo' yam yuṣmākam madhusūdanaḥ I
Kim rājabhirihānītairavamānāya bhārata II
14. *Ibid.*, II, 37, 17.
Naivartvig naiva cācāryo na rājā madhusūdanaḥ I
15. *Ibid.*, II, 42, 6
Yadyayam jagataḥ kartā yathainam mūrkha manyase I
Kasmānna brāhmaṇam samyagātmānamavagacchati II
16. *Ibid.*, II, 42, 1.
Sa me bahumato rājā jarāsandho mahābalaḥ I
Yo' nena yuddham neyeṣa dāso'yamiti saṁyuge II
17. *Ibid.*, II, 41, 6.
Tatra kutsā prayoktavyā bhīṣma bālatarairnaraiḥ I
Tamimam jñānavṛddhaḥ san gopam saṁstotumicchasi I

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

That Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa, the founder of the Vaiṣṇava or Bhāgavata sect, was a historical figure is amply borne out by ancient evidence. After a thorough discussion of it, Raychoudhury has shown that Kṛṣṇa, son of Vasudeva, received instruction from Ghora Āṅgirasa, mentioned in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, which was composed before 600 B.C.[19]. The said teacher taught him the doctrine that the life of man is a veritable yajña so that there is no need of a ceremonial yajña in which offerings are made into the fire. He also imparted to him the instruction that the solar deity is the highest divinity and meditation on him in the last moments of life is the way to eternal peace and happiness. Thus his philosophy centered round the observance of a moral code of conduct and the following of a cult of devotion to the solar god. As Raychoudhury has shown, these features constitute the kernel of the *Bhagavadgītā* (VII-IX), the central scripture of the Vaiṣṇava or Bhāgavata religion, promulgated by Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa.

Tradition refers to the conflict of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa with his uncle Kaṁsa at Mathurā. Then there is reference to the migration of his clan to Gujarat where they founded their capital at Dvārakā on a tongue of land reclaimed from the sea. This clan of the Vṛṣṇis and its sister clan of the Andhakas are said to be oligarchically constituted under republican polities. Kṛṣṇa is known as the leader of the Vṛṣṇis and Babhrū Ugrasena that of the Andhakas. Sometimes the mutual relations of these oligarchs were embittered by jealousy and rancour. Kṛṣṇa received his training in political manoeuvring in these tussles and tangles. Side by side he developed an antagonism and distaste for despotic and autocratic rule. His conflicts with absolute monarch like Jarāsandha of Magadha, Śiśupāla of Cedi and Duryodhana of Hastināpura point to his tradition of freedom and equality[20], whereas his close association with the Pāṇḍavas, representing a group of northern tribes distinct from the Kauravas, shows his broad and comprehensive outlook. Thus the life of Kṛṣṇa, as one can glean it from legends, is one of a man of action, dedicated to the ideal of human dignity and liberalism.

Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa is also represented as the central figure in the war between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas. He joined the latter and led them to victory. It was on the battlefield of Kurukṣetra, when their armies were arrayed for fighting, that he delivered his historic sermon of the *Bhagavadgītā*, in which he expounded his doctrine of selfless endeavour and devotion to the Lord to his associate Arjuna.

---

18. *Bhagavadgītā*, X, 37
    Vṛṣṇinām vāsudevo'smi
    Cp. Mora stone slab inscription, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, no. 5 p. 166.
12. H.C. Raychoudhury, *Op. cit.* p. 71; J.N. Banerjea, *Pauraṇika and Tāntrika Religion* (Calcutta, 1966) pp. 21-22
20. V.S. Agrawala, *Kalā aur Saṁskṛti* p. 76

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa also appears as a religious reformer and a social revolutionary. His opposition to the Brahmanical religion is manifest from his rejection of the supremacy and worship of the Vedic God Indra. The Epic and Paurāṇika literature is replete with references to his antagonism with Indra. The *Mahābhārata* (V, 48, 80) states that when Naraka Bhauma had stolen the earings of Aditi, the gods with Indra at their head were unable to conquer him and therefore employed Kṛṣṇa for slaying the wicked being. In this connection it says that a man whose victory is merely desired by Kṛṣṇa, is sure to win all enemies though they may be the gods themselves with Indra. Bringing the antagonism of Kṛṣṇa and Indra into bold relief the *Viṣṇupurāna* (V, 10) relates the story of Kṛṣṇa's persuading the cowherds to abondon the worship of Indra and venerate the mountain and the cattle. In the *Gītā* itself Kṛṣṇa denounces the Vedic view of action which was performed with an eye on the result[21]. That the new religion did not acknowledge the authority of the Vedas is manifest from the tradition recorded in the *Mahānārāyaṇīya* Section of the *Śāntiparvan* that the seven Citraśikhaṇḍin Ṛṣis composed a scripture of one lakh verses on the Meru mountain to do duty for the Vedas.

Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa not only opposed the philosophical and theological bases of the Brahmanical religion, but also attacked its social foundations by making economic avocation and social status correspond to the quality and action of man rather than his lineage and birth[22]. He inculcated an egalitarian outlook by treating the Brāhmaṇa and the Śūdra or Cāṇḍāla on a footing of equality[23]. His ideal of *sāmya* and *samatva* did have a social impact. Hence the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (II, 4, 18) promises salvation and purification even to peoples like Kirāta, Hūṇa, Āndhra, Pulinda, Pukvasa, Ābhīra, Sumha, Yavana, Khasa etc. which were generally considered impious[24].

It follows from the above discussion that the movement launched by Kṛṣṇa had an ani-Brahmanical orientation and was imbued with an egalitarian outlook. Essentially and originally it represented a popular protest against the order of privileges and vested interests championed by

---

21. *Bhagavadgītā,* II, 42-44.
Yāmimām puṣpitām vācam pravadantyavipaścitaḥ I Vedavādaratāḥ pārtha nānyadastītivādinaḥ II.
Kāmātmānaḥ svargaparā janmakarmaphalapradām Kriyāviśeṣabahulām bhogaiśvaryagatim prati II
Bhogaiśvaryaprasaktānām tayāpahṛtacetasām I
Vyavasāyātmikā buddhiḥ samādhau na vidhīyate II
22. *Ibid., IV,* 13
Cāturvarṇyam mayā sṛṣṭam guṇakarmavibhāgaśaḥ.
23. *Ibid.,* V, 18
Vidyāvinayasampanne brāhmaṇe gavi hastini I
Śuni caiva svapāke ca paṇḍitāḥ samadarśinaḥ II
24. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa,* II, 4, 18
Kirātahūṇāndhrapulindapukvasā ābhīrasumhā yavanā khasādayaḥ I
yenye ca pāpā yadupāśrayāśritāḥ śuddhyanti tasmai prabhaviṣṇave namaḥ II

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the higher aristocracy of Brāhmaṇ—Kṣatriya composition. In this context the fact that its founder was not a Kṣatriya assumes a singular significance and sheds light on its social genesis and weltanschaung. From the Mathurā region it spread into western India and also reached the Panjab and won many adherents there. J. N. Banerjea has shown that the armies of Poros carried aloft a portrait of Kṛṣṇa (Heraklas) in the battlefield of the Jhelum while going to fight with Alexander the Great in July 326 B.C. He thinks that these forces subscribed to the philosophy of the *Gītā* preached by Kṛṣṇa[25]. Among its earliest followers, the Pāṇḍavas, particularly Arjuna, figure prominently. Hence it is necessary to say something about them.

Tradition represents the Paṇḍavas as the cousins of the Kauravas, but certain traits of their customs and manners distinguish them from the latter. In particular, the practice of polyandry and sati among the Pāṇḍavas points to their being different from the Kauravas.

Holtzmann and, following him, Mainkar[26] think that the Pāṇḍavas were southerners, but the greater probability is that they were a north-western people, having Iranian strains, who became assertive in the Panjab and brought about the fall of the Kauravas. These people, whoever they were, followed the new movement of Kṛṣṇa and adopted his doctrine. This is clear from the bracketing of Vāsudeva and Arjuna and their deification in course of time.

While the Vaiṣṇava movement was in full swing in western India, Buddhist and Jaina reformism was unfolding itself in the eastern regions. In course of time, all these movements came into contact with each other. As E. Lamotte has shown, the Vaiṣṇava doctrine of avatāra has its counterpart in the Buddhist conception of past Buddhas found in the *Mahāpadāna Suttanta* (*Dīghanikāya*, II p. 2-8) and illustrated in the old sculptures of Bharhut and Sāñcī. The doctrines of the Lokottaravādins relating to the transcendence of Buddha are derived from Vaiṣṇava source. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (pp. 117, 146, 209, 219) qualifies the activities of Buddha by the term *vyūha*, derived from Vaiṣṇava thought, and the *Śuklavidarśanā* cites the *Gītā* in support of Buddhist doctrines. Āryadeva, Ki-tsang, and P'ou-kouang point out the resemblance of the Mahāyānist theory of the Three Bodies of Buddha with the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva conception of the Three Bodies of Īśvara.[27] In this atmosphere of give and take Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa was also incorporated in Buddhist legends with the result that in the *Ghaṭa Jātaka*[28] we find Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa men-

25. J N. Banerjea, *Paurāṇika and Tāntrika Religion*, p. 25.
26. T.G. Mainkar, 'The Mahābhārata War Its Nature and Significance', *Mirashi Felicitation Volume* (Nagpur 1965) 25., J.N. Banerjea, *Paurāṇika and Tāntrika Religion* p. 25.
27. E. Lamotte, *Histoire dn Bouddisme Indien* pp. 437-8.
28. *The Jātakas*, ed. Cowell, Vol. IV p. 50.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

tioned as the brother of Ghaṭa, the Bodhisattva. Likewise, in the Jaina *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*[29] Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa is referred to as a relative of the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara Ariṣṭanemi or Neminātha. In these accounts Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa is described as a Kṣatriya obviously because in these Kṣatriya-oriented movements all illustrious personages of lower ranks were bound to be upgraded to Kṣatriyahood as a precondition to their admission to the circles of great men which they created as the uncleus of their legendary histories. It also explains why Jainendra treated Vāsudeva as a Kṣatriya and Hemacandra said that Vāsudeva may be both a name of God and a Kṣatriya name, though Pāṇini, Candragomin and Sākaṭāyana made no such remark and Patañjali and his followers ruled out the possibility of Vāsudeva being a kṣatriya designation at all.

With the passage of time Vaiṣṇavism was fully assimilated into Brahmanism. From the beginning the new religion of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa had a penchant for the Vedic god Viṣṇu evidently because he was a deliverer of mankind in distress and a great helper of other gods against the Asuras.[30] Hence it was not difficult to harmonise it with Brahmanism through the Paurāṇika synthesis. Thus we read in the Viṣṇupurāṇa that, on being asked by Sagara as to how Viṣṇu should be worshipped, Aurva says that only that person can worship the Lord who performs the duties of his *varṇa* and *āśrama*. In the same Purāṇa (III, 7, 20) Yama is shown to be instructing his servants that they should not touch the devotees Viṣṇu since they observed the rules of the varṇas and āśramas. The *Viṣṇu* (I, 13), *Vāyu* (62,103-126) and *Bhāvavata* (IV, 14) Purāṇas speak of the king Vena, who was consigned to the abode of Yama by the Ṛṣis for the offence of violating the Varṇāśramadharma. The *Matsyapurāṇa* refers to the death of king Rājī at the hands of Indra for adopting *Jainadharma* in preference to *Vedadharma* at the instance of Bṛhaspati.

Besides the evidence of the Purāṇas, epigraphic records also point to the harmonisation of the Vaiṣṇava religion with the Brahmanical system. The Ghosundi inscription relates to king Pārāśarīputra Gājāyana, who performed on Aśvamedha sacrifice and was also a devotee of Bhagavān (Vāsudeva). It states that he got a *pūjāśilāprākāra* called *Nārāyaṇavāṭikā* built in honour of the "invincible masters and supreme sovereigns" Sankarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva.[31] Likewise the Nanaghat inscription lets us know that the queen Nayanikā, wife of the Lord of the Deccan, Śātakarṇī, (cir 27-17 A.D.) invoked the gods Sankarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva along with the Vedic

29. *Uttarādhyayanasūtra* ch. XXII, vide, H. Jacobi, *Jaina Sūtras, I* pp. 271-79; Vol. II pp. 112-19.

30. J. Gonda, *Aspects of Early Viṣṇuism*, p. 159.

31. H. Lüders, *A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from Earliest Times to A.D. 400* (Epigraphia Indica X) no. 6; R.P. Chanda, *Archaeology and Vaiṣṇava Tradition* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 5) p. 163.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

gods Indra and Varuṇa.[32] Thus it is clear that the religion of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa was eventually reconciled to the Brahmanical faith.

In the aforesaid process of religious transformation Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa was identified with the supreme God and his historical character was suppressed. Even his name was not derived from that of his father Vasudeva, but was interpreted to indicate his omnipresence. For instance, the Śāntiparvan of the *Mahābhārata* states that "He is called Vāsudeva in consequence of his enveloping all creatures with the screen of illusion, or of his glorious splendour, or of his being the support and resting-place of the gods."[33] At another place, it makes Vāsudeva himself say : "Assuming the form of the Sun I cover the universe with my rays; and, because I am the home of all creatures, therefore, I am called by the name of Vāsudeva."[34] It was this etymology which was adopted by the grammarians as the observations of Nāgeśa, cited above, show.

The above discussion shows how an egalitarian socio-religious movement eventually championed the orthodox and traditional set-up as a result of an aristocratic transformation.

32. Lüders, *Op. cit.* no. 1112.
33. *Mahābhārata*, V, 70, 3
Vasanāt sarvabhūtānām vasutvāddevayonitaḥ I
Vāsudevastato vedyo bṛhattvād viṣṇurucyate II
34. *Ibid.*, XII, 341, 41
Chādayāmi jagad viśvam bhūtvā sūrya ivāṁśubhiḥ I
Sarvabhūtādhivāsaśca Vāsudevastatohyaham II

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

H. A. Phadke

WAS PRATIHĀRA NĀGABHAṬA I YAŚOVARMAN'S CONTEMPORARY ?

The outstanding achievement of Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa I was his victory over the army of the Arabs. The Gwalior Inscription of his descendant, Bhoja, hails him as a great hero, an incarnation of Nārāyaṇa, who had rescued the earth from the primeval chaos caused by the depredation of the Mlechchhas (*Asuras*)[1].

The only known date for this illustrious warrior is A. D. 756, given in the Hansoṭ Plates[2] of the Chāhamāna Bhatṛivaḍḍha II of Bhrigukachchha. The Samangad Plates[3] inform us that Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dantidurga conquered Malwa and his Gurjara-Pratihāra contemporary, referred to in the Ellora Daśāvatāra Cave Temple Inscription[4] and the Sañjan Plates[5], was in all probability Nāgabhaṭa I. Apart from his victory over the Arabs, Nāgabhaṭa's other achievements were the establishment of Pratihāra power at Ujjayinī and Lāṭa. This was certainly achieved long before A. D. 754 and A. D. 756 respectively ; the former being the date of Samangad Plates referred to above, while the latter is the date of the Hansoṭ Plates speaking of the prosperous reign of Nāgāvaloka (Nāgabhaṭa I). As the Arab invasion of western India took place between A. D. 724-738[6], Nāgabhaṭa's fight with the Arabs must also have taken place during the same period. If this is correct, we must hold that Nāgabhaṭa I was a younger contemporary of Yaśovarman of Kanauj whose reign may be placed between A. D. 690 and A. D. 740[7].

---

1. *EI.*, XVIII, p. 99 f., v. 4.
2. *Ibid.*, XII, p. 202 f., *IA.*, 1911, b. 240 fn. 12.
   Nāgāvaloka, the contemporary sovereign of Bhartṛivaḍḍa II, has been rightly identified by Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar with Nāgabhaṭa I (*A list of the Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 5, fn. 1) and if his reading 'Valacha' (Baluchs) in the above grant is accepted, then it will appear that they were no other than the Mlechchhas or the Arabs referred to in the Gwalior inscription.
3. *IA.*, XI, p. 108 f.
4. *ASWIR* V, p. 92.
5. *EI.*, XVIII,. p. 235 f., v. 24.
6. This suggestion is based on the facts that the Arab invasions were undertaken by the officers of Junaid, the general of Khalifa Hasham (A.D. 724-743), and the Nausari Plates dated A.D. 740, wherein Chālukya Avanijanāśraya is said to have completely routed the Tājikas and earned the title of 'the Repeller of the Unrepellable'.
7. To arrive at the date of Yaśovarman we have to rely mostly on literary evidences. *Gauḍavaho* speaks of his having received the submission of the king of the Deccan and his march upto the Shore in the sea, where Vālin taking the mighty Rāvaṇa under his arm, roamed about at ease (*Gauḍavaho*, V.430, ed. S.P. Pandit, p. 123). The Chālukyan inscriptions, dated Śaka 622 and 627 (*IA.* IX pp. 125

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The *Gauḍavaho* in course of the description of Yaśovarman's *digvijaya*, refers to his victory over the Pārasikas after a protracted and hard fought battle[8]. From the account of the Korean Buddhist pilgrim, Huie-Chao that "at present (A. D. 725) the country is invaded by the Tājjikas, and half of the country has already been overrun"[9], it appears that the Pārasikas in the above passage do not refer to the Persians but to the Arabs who had already conquered Persia during the Caliphate of Umar (A. D. 634-44). "It may be," as rightly remarked by Dr. Buddha Prakash that, "Yaśovarman also came into contact with the Arabs during his movements somewhere in western India and the author of *Gauḍavaho* understood then as Pārasikas"[10].

Yaśovarman's march to Marudeśa[11] is another important event referred to in the *Gauḍavaho*. It was the stronghold of the Gurjaras who came to prominence about the second half of the 6th century A. D. Their political importance is sattested by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang,[12] *Harṣacharita*[13] and the Aihole Inscription[14]. In the *Gauḍavaho*, although there is no direct reference to the Gurjaras, yet the mention of Yaśovarman's unobstructed march through Marudeśa evidently shows that the

---

ff, 130 ff (*contd.*), on the other hand, refer to Vijayāditya's fight with a *Sakalottarāpa thanātha* and his acquisition of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā symbols during the reign of his father, Vinayāditya. This event must have happened before A.D. 696, the last known date of Vinayāditya. That Gaṅgā-Yamunā doab was the locality where the battle was fought, makes it highly probable that Vinavāditya's adversary was Yaśovarman, for towards the close of the seventh and beginning of the eighth century, we know of no other supreme lord of the North than Yaśovarman. From the Chinese sources we learn that Yi-sha-fu-mo, a king of Central India sent his Buddhist minister Buddhasena, to the court of China in A.D. 731. This ruler has been rightly identified with Yaśovarman by Bagchi and Chavannnes (*Sino-Indian Studies*, I, p. 71, *Tou-kiue. Additional Notes*, p. 53, fn. 2). Lalitāditya, a king of Kashmir, who sent an Embassy to China in A.D. 736 probably refers to Yaśovarman as an ally (Stein's Trans. Rājataraṅgiṇī IV, v. 126, note). Thus we arrive, at three dates for Yaśovarman, *viz.*, A.D. 695, 731 and 736. After the last mentioned date although Yaśovarman must have lived for sometime more yet his friendly relations with Lalitāditya had come to an end with disastrous consequences for him. In view of these facts, it is possible to fix Yaśovarman's reign between A.D. 790 and 840 fairly accurately.

8. *Gauḍavaho*, v. 439, ed. S.P. Pandit, p. 126.
9. Buddha Prakash, *Aspects of Indian History and Civilization*. p. 105.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 106.

    This suggestion receives additional support if we remember that in the Chachnāmā (Elliot and Dowson, pp. 207-8), too, there is a reference to Muhammad Ibn-Qasim's sending an expedition to Kanauj, which however, could not materialise. Yaśovarman's encounter with the Arabs mentioned in the *Gauḍavaho* perhaps points to the expedition undertaken by the officers of Junaid, the general of Khalifa Hasham (A.D. 724-743).
11. *Gauḍavaho*, v 484.
12. *Beal*, II, p. 269 ff.
13. *Harṣacharita*, Cowell and Thomas, p. 101,
14. *EI.*, VI, p. 1 f., v. 22

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

relations between the two were not unfriendly[15]. Nay, Yaśovarman's fight with the Arabs even suggests that Nāgabhaṭa, who is also known to have defeated them; had joined him in that expedition as a feudatory. This would explain why Nāgabhaṭa instead of turning towards the Gaṅgā valley, in keeping with the imperial traditions of the times, established his authority over Lāṭa and Mālva ? Even after the death of Nāgabhaṭa, we find that the Pratihāras continued to owe allegiance to the imperial house of Kanauj. Vatsarāja, on behalf of his overlord, Indrāyudha, took a leading part in the struggle for empire in the Gaṅgā valley and defeated Dharmapāla of Bengal[16]. Again, Indrāyudha's dethronement by Dharmapāla[17] offered Vatsarāja's successor Nāgabhaṭa II an opportunity to intervene and give a crushing defeat to the Bengal ruler alongwith his protégé, Chakrāyudha[18]. This may be the reason why the Jain author, Prabhāchandra describes Āma-Nāgāvaloka (Nāgabhaṭa II) as the successor of Yaśovarman[19]. The statement, though incorrect, is at least indicative of the author's awareness of the close contact between Kanauj and the Gurjara-Pratihāras of Jalor.

The above discussion is thus sufficient to establish that Nāgabhaṭa I was a younger contemporary of Yaśovarman and cooperated with him in stemming the tide of Arbas in Western India. Since Yaśovarman was his overlord, Nāgabhaṭa thought it prudent to expand towards the South and establish his authority over Lāṭa and Mālava. It was only after the death of Yaśovarman, when the affairs of Kanauj were in the hands of the weak Āyudhas, the family of Nāgabhaṭa began to assert itself more in the politics of the North till the permanent establishment of the Partihāra power there.

Abbreviations used :—
EI—Epigraphia Indica, *IA*—Indian Antiquary,
ASWIR :—Archaelogical Survey of Western India, Reports.

15. It was again here (*durmārga marumadhyam*) that Vatsarāja, a descendant of Nāgbhaṭa I had to take refuge after his defeat at the hands of Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruva (*EI.*, VI, p. 239).
16. *EI.*, VI, p. 248; *IA.*, XV, p. 158.
17. *EI.*, IV, p. 243; *IA.*, XV, p. 304.
18. *EI.*, XVIII, pp. 107-14, vv. 9-10.
19. *Prabhāvakacharita, Bappa-Bhaṭṭicharita* Section. v. 47, (Singhi Jain Granthmālā)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Sadhu Ram

ERAṆ STONE INSCRIPTION OF SAMUDRAGUPTA

PROVENANCE : Village Airikiṇa (*mod.*, Eraṇ in Madhya Pradesh.)

Published in : J. F. Fleet, *CII*, Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 18-21, D. C. Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 260-62.

LANGUAGE : Sanskrit,

SCRIPT : Southern Brāhmī, cf. Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Chandragupta II, the year 82.

METRE : *Vasantatilakā* throughout.

OBJECT : Erection of some monument.

INTRODUCTION

This inscription was discovered near the ruined temple of Varāha in Eraṇ, a village in the Sāgar district of Madhya Pradesh, situated on the left bank of the river Bīnā. It is engraved on a broken squared block of red sand-stone, of which the top and bottom are missing. The stone-block is preserved in Calcutta Museum. The language of the record is Sanskrit, and it is composed throughout in the metre *Vasantatilakā*. The script belongs to the southern variety of Brāhmī which Dr. Fleet prefers to call the Central Indian alphabet of the period with southern characteristics.[1] The object of the epigraph is to record the erection of some monument whose nature, sectarian character and date, if any, have been lost in the break. The inscribed stone-block was either a part of that monument of its separate record. From the shape and appearance of the stone, Fleet presumes that it belonged to a temple which, according to Cunningham, might have been the existing ruined temple of Viṣṇu to the north of the Varāha temple.[2]

At the top of the record, six lines containing the first verse and half of the second are lost. Lines 7 to 24 show that up to line 24, each line consisted of one *pāda* of a verse. From line 25 onward, only three lines have survived which originally contained two *pādas* each, of which the *pādas* on the left-hand side have disappeared in the break. The rest of the inscription is entirely lost.

The irregular shape of the record, according to Fleet, was probably due to the presence of some sculptures above the lost *pāda* of the line 25.

1. *CII*, III, p. 18.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TEXT

७. [– – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑] सुवर्ण्ण-दाने
८. [न्यक्का][3] रिता नृपतयः पृथु-राघवाद्याः [।।]*२
९. [राजा][4] बभूव धनदान्तक-तुष्टि-कोप-तुल्यः
१०. [पराक्क्र]म-नयेन समुद्रगुप्तः [।]*
११. [यं प्रा]यऽ पार्त्थिव-गणस्सकलः पृथिव्याम्
१२. [पर्य्य][5]स्तः (?) राज्य-विभव [:] द्ध्रुवमास्थितो[ऽ]*
भूत [।।]*३
१३. [ताते][5]न भक्ति-नय-विक्क्रम-तोषितेन
१४. [यो] यो राज-शब्द-विभवै रभिषेचनाद्यै : [।]*
१५. [सम्मा][5]नितः परम-तुष्टि-पुरस्कृतेन
१६. [सोऽयंध्रु][6]वो नृपैरप्रतिवार्य्य-वीर्य्यः [।।]*४
१७. [दत्ता][5] [ऽ]*स्य पुरुष-पराक्क्रम-दत्त-शुल्का
१८. [हस्त्य]श्व-रत्न-धन-धान्य-समृद्धि-युक्ता [।]*
१९. [सेय]ङ्गृहेषु मुदिता बहु-पुत्र-पौत्र-
२०. [स]ङ्क्रामिणी कुलवधुः[8] व्रतिनी निविष्टा [।।]*५
२१. [यस्यो]र्ज्जितं समर-कर्म्म-पराक्क्रमेद्धं
२२. [पृथ्व्यां][5] यशः सुविपुम्परिबम्भ्रमीति [।]*
२३. [कर्म्मा][9]णि यस्य रिपवश्च रणोर्ज्जितानि
२४. [स्व] प्नान्तरेष्वपि विचिन्त्य परित्रसन्ति [।।]*६
२५. [– – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –] [–] प्तः[10] (?) स्व-भोग-नगरै रिकण-प्रदेशे
२६. [– – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –] [सं] स्थापितस्स्व-यशसः परिबृङ्हना (णा) र्त्थम्[।]*
२७. [– – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –] [– – ⏑] वो नृपतिराह यदा [⏑ – –]

(The rest of the record is lost)

---

3. Dr. Sircar restores here [*saṁvā*] *ritāḥ*, 'were warded off or repelled', which is not so appropriate. Prof : Jagan Nath prefers [*Vismā*] *ritāḥ*, 'were made to forget'. Though better, it is yet not so expressive as [*nyakkā*] *ritāḥ*.
4: Sircar suggests [*putro*], but in view of the fact that the earlier verse could not have contained the names of Samudragupta's ancestors, the restoration is not acceptable.
5. As restored by Dr. Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, p. 261.
6. Mirashi has [*eta*] *sya* here and [*tasya*] at the beginning of line 19 (vide *infra*), which makes the construction clumsy, and the latter restoration also impairs the metre. We have preferred Dr. Sircar's resroration (vide fn. 13 *infra*).
7. Sircar has [*nitya*] here, which means always, constantly, which hardly seems necessary as the queen is naturally a perpetual member of the royal household. Mirashi gives [*tasya*] which ignores the superscript *ṅ* of the following *gr*, besides impairing the metre.
8. Read *kula-vadhūr vra*—.
9. Sircar restores [*vīryyā*]*ṇi*, but the sense of *ūrjjitāni* is inherent in it. We have therefore, preferred [*karmmā*]*ṇi* which seems to be more in keeping with the following adjective *raṅorjjitāni*.
10. Sircar suggests [*sta*]*mbhaḥ*, but the second conjunct letter is more like *ptaḥ* in Fleet's Plate. The superscript over the letter has not even a remote resemblance with the *ma* of this script.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TRANSLATION

Lines 7–8. ....in making gifts of gold [by whom] Pṛthu, Rāghava and other kings were [eclipsed][2].

9–12. ....Samudragupta, (who is) equal to Dhanada (Kubera) and Antaka (Yama) in favours and frowns (respectively), had become [the king] by means of (his) policy and valour; approaching whom, the whole multitude of kings on the earth, the splendour of whose royal fortunes had been subverted, were 3
firmly established[11].

13–16. [Who] [was honoured] by [his father] with the royal dignities such as consecration, etc., with the supreme satisfaction, after having been assured of (his) devotion political wisdom and valour. [Such is he who is firm] and whose prowess is irre- 4
sistible to (other) kings[12].

17–20. [Dattā][13], who was won with the bride-price of his manliness and valour, (and) who brought with her a profusion of (dowry consisting of) [elephants], horses, jewels, wealth and grains... [such she was], the high-born, lively and devoted lady, who came (in marriage) to his palace, (and) who went about in the 5
company of many sons and grandsons.

21–24. [Whose] excellent and very extensive fame, ablaze with (his) military exploits and valour, is roaming all over [the earth] (and) whose enemies are terrified on thinking of his mighty deeds in war even in the intervals of (their) dreams.

25–26. ....in the region of Airikiṇa, the city of his enjoyment (i.e., his Headquarters).........has been set up, for the sake of augmenting his own fame.

27. ....when the king said..........................

(The rest of the record is lost)

RESTORATION AND INTERPRETATION OF VERSE 5

This verse is generally understood to refer to Samudragupta's queen Dattadevī whose name, according to Fleet, could not be accommodated in the *Vasantatilakā* metre[14]. Dr. Sircar, however, has solved this difficulty

11. *cf. sva-bhuja-bala-vijitāneka-narapati-vibhava-pratyarppaṇa-nitya-vyāpṛtānekāyukta puruṣasya* in line 26 of the Allahabad *praśasti* of Samudragupta.
12. *cf.* the verse *Āry hītyo upaguhya......, etc.*, in the same *praśasti.*
13. We have accepted Dr. Sircar's restoration 'Dattā' for Dattadevī, the name of Samudragupta's queen, which he has justified on the authority of the *Mahābhāṣya* wherein the use of *nāmaikādeśa* is allowed for the full name, *e.g.*, Satyā or Bhāmā can either be used for Satyabhāmā. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 261, fn. 3.
14. *CII*, III, p. 21, fn. 2.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

by restoring the first part of her name (*viz.*, Dattā) in the two missing letters at the beginning of the verse on the authority of the *Mahābhāysa*[15]. Dr. Mirashi has restored the verse as follows[16]:

> [एत]*स्य पुरुष-पराक्क्रम-दत्त-शुल्का
> [हस्त्य*]श्व-रत्न-धन-धान्य-समृद्धि-युक्ता [।*]
> [तस्य*] गृहेषु मुदिता बहु-पुत्र-पौत्र-
> [स]ङ्क्रामिणी कुल-वधूः व्रतिनी निविष्टा [॥*] ५

He does not agree with the view that it refers to Samudragupta's queen, but holds that it probably refers to Lakṣmī, the Goddess of Fortune, who was won by the bride-price of his manliness and valour and who "*like* a pious and chaste wife, lived joyfully in his house, going over to his numerous sons and grandsons"[17]. Most probably, Dr. Mirashi was led to this suggestion by the presence of the word *saṅkrāminī*, 'passing over', because a wife cannot pass over to one's sons and grandsons. In support of his contention, he refers to the use of the root *saṁ-√kram* in the same sense in the expression *putra- saṁktānta lakṣmīkaiḥ* from Bhavabhūti, and also cites the line *vikramāvakraya-krītā dāsya-nyag bhūta-pārtthivā* from the Udyagiri Cave Inscription of Chandragupta II.[18] In the latter citation, the reference could not be to anything else but the Earth, in view of the epithet *nyag-bhūta-pārtthivā*. But in the verse under discussion, there is nothing to suggest a reference to Lakṣmī, except perhaps the implication of the word *saṁkrāmiṇī* which, even in Mirashi's interpretation, would have offered the same difficulty when construed with *kula-vadhū* with whom Lakṣmī is compared. But, the epithets *puruṣa-parākkrama-datta-śulkā muditā, kula-vadhū, vratinī* and *niviṣṭā* evidently refer to a human being. Again, the word *gṛheṣu*, 'in the house', denotes 'the family residence' and not 'the royal house', the plural number having an implicit reference to the members of the family. Moreover, there is no word like *iva* (like) suggesting a comparison of Lakṣmī with *kula-vadhū*, which we have italicized in Mirashi's interpretation. Further, there are two serious faults in Mirashi's restoration. In the first place, the restorations *etasya* and *tasya* in lines 1 and 3 of the verse involve tautology and are against good composition. From his point of view, *Śrīr* would have been the right word. Secondly, the filling of *tasya* ignores the nasal *ṅ* which is present as superscript over the following *gṛ* and which also impairs the metre. In view of all this, we are of the opinion that the verse refers to none else but the queen of Samudragupta. The word *saṅkrāmiṇī* need not offer much difficulty. It may be taken in the radical sense of *saṁ√kram*, 'to step or move together', as Fleet has done and we have followed him in our translation ; or it may be taken in the

15. vide fn. 13 *supra,*
16. *IA*. 3rd Series, Vol. I, No. 3, 1964, p. 175.
17. *Ibid.*, loc. cit. italics ours.
18. *CII*, III, p. 35.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

causative sense of 'delivering'. *i,e.*, being (prospectively) prolific with a large progeny of sons and grandsons.

TO WHOSE REIGN DOES THE RECORD BELONG?

According to Fleet,[19] the word *babhūva* shows that the first part of the inscription probably mentioned some of the ancestors of Samudragupta. Against this, it may be pointed out that the missing six lines at the top contained one full verse and half of the second, which pertains to the emperor himself, as may be inferred from the surviving expression *suvarṇa-dāne*[20] in line 7. The preceding *Vasantatilakā* verse, therefore, could hardly contain the names of three ancestors of Samudragupta as also describe their relationship with him.

Now, from the description, given in verses 4 to 6, it appears that they refer to Samudragupta alone. In fact, the three verses give an epitome of the whole career of the emperor from his consecration, marriage, military conquests and widespread fame to his peaceful reign when his enemies dreaded him like a nightmare. Then begins the description of the monument that has been erected. Thus, the record seems to be nearing its close and much of it does not seem to have been lost. Therefore the question of its extending possibly to his successors, as supposed by Jagan Nath, does not arise.

Dr. Dasharatha Sharma, however, contends that the epithets describing the prowess, etc., do not pertain to Samudragupta, for, he says, "How could he, who was a king already and perhaps a *Mahā rājādhirāja*, be described as being consecrated as a mere *rājan* by one who, being referred to by the words *bhakti-naya-vikkrama-toṣita* and *parama-tusti-puraskṛta*, must be regarded as his superior[21]?" Dr. Sharma, therefore, thinks that the epithets in the nominative occurring in the verse 4 of the inscription refer to some feudatory chief and not to Samudragupta himself.

To this, it may be retorted that the epithet *aprativāryya-vīryyaḥ* can hardly be supposed to have been assumed by a feudatory prince of Samudragupta. In fact, this epithet occurs on the *Aśvamedha type* of Samudragupta's coins, in the legend *Rājādhirāja-pṛthivīm avitvā divaṁ jayatyaprativārya-vīryaḥ*[22]. The brief legend *a-pra* on some *Aśvamedha* coins has also been restored to *a-prativāryavīryaḥ* by John Allan[23] who considered it to be the known epithet of Samudragupta. Thus, it appears

19. *ibid.*, p. 19.
20. Prof. Jagan Nath says that this expression "may easily be referred to Samudragupta, who alone in the official Gupta genealogies is given the epithet *nyāyāgatā-neka-go-hiraṇya-koṭi-pradasya.*" *PIHC*, 1951, pp. 62-64.
21. *JIH*, XIV, 1935, pp. 27-29.
22. Quoted by R. K. Mookerji in his *Gupta Empire*, p. 35.
23. *BMC.*, p. cxi.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

that the empror assumed this title after the successful termination of his *digvijaya* and the performance of the horse sacrifice in commemoration of it. This incidently refutes as well the view of Dr. Sircar that the record is earlier than the Allahabad *praśasti*, which, as held also by S. Chattopadyaya, is expressed by him as follows : "One of the greatest peculiarities of this record is that in it Samudragupta is not described as *Lichchhavi-dauhitra*[24]. This seems to support our conjecture that Samudragupta began to boast his Lichchhavi connection and also issued the Chandragupta-Kumāradevī coins after he had received material help from the Lichchhavi people in the matter of his *digvijaya*. On this ground we are inclined to think that the Earṇ record is possibly earlier in date than the Allahabad *praśasti* of Hariṣeṇa[25]-" As the Allahabad *praśasti* makes no reference to the horse-sacrifice which was an important event of Samudragupta's reign, as is eviden from the legend *pṛthivīm vijitya divaṁ jayaty āhṛta-vāji-medhaḥ*, the Eraṇ record cannot be held earlier than it.

The 'superior' authority which Dr. Sharma is anxious to know was no other than Samudragupta's father who was pleased with his devotion, political wisdom, etc., and consecrated him with great satisfaction.

IS THE RECORD POSTHUMOUS ?

From the occurrence of the past perfect verbal form *babhūva*, some scholars like Prof. Jagan Nath[26] have concluded that Samudragupta, the subject of the verb, had been long dead, and that the inscription is posthumous, having been put up by one of his succesors or feudatories. In our opinion, this view is erroneous. First, the record was not put up by Samudragupta's successor or feudatory, but was set up by the governor of the locality who calls the city of Erikiṇa his *bhoga-nagara*, i.e., headquarters. Secondly, according to the internal evidence of the record, it cannot be regarded as posthumous. The last surviving expression in line 27 is *nṛpatir āha yadā*, which may refer to the record's having been put up with the permission and consent of the emperor. The entire text up to the verse 6 is a *praśasti* of Samudragupta. The main point that seems to have escaped the notice of soholars is that in metrical compositions, rules of grammar are not so rigidly followed[27] as in free prose, a fact which is proved by the very next statement relating to the emperor in the latter half of the same verse with the aorist from *abhūt*. If the past perfect *babhūva* makes the record posthumous, what about the aorist and the

24. It may be pointed out that *Lichchhavi-dauhitra* cannot be fitted into the *Vasantatilakā* metre. Moreover, the absence of its mention is no argument for the record's being earlier than the Allahabad *praśasti*. For the matter of that, other epithets like *sarva-rājochchhetā* and *chirotsannāśvamhdāhartā* are also not mentioned.
25. Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, p. 261, fn. 1 ; S. Chattopadhyaya, *EHNI*, p. 149.
26. *PIHC*, 14th Session, 1951, pp. 62-64.
27. *cf.* The use of past perfect with the first person in the expression *Yasyānuvṛttyā kṛtina babhūvima*, *Śrīmad-Bhagavata*, I. 11. 7, Gītā Press edition.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

restored past passive participle *sammānitaḥ* describing the same monarch? The story of Samudragupta's valour concludes with the expression *a-prativārya-vīryaḥ*, but the panegyrist has something more to say in tribute as a logical sequence to this epithet. He says, his brilliant fame, aglow with his war-like exploits, is circling all round the earth, and his enemies are awfully afraid of him even when they dream of his gallant deeds done in war. This would make no sense if the enemies, whoever they might have been, should continue to remain in constant fear of a hero, of whom they had only heard, but whom they had never faced———he having been long dead (*parokse lit*)! In that case, the king must have been a phantom even to the governor or the panegyrist, and not real. But who ever is heard to pay tribute to a phantom, ignoring the contemporary rule?

The simple facts which the record was intended to convey about the ruling monarch were: when he was young, he was a man of moods (*dhanadāntaka-tuṣṭi-kopa-tulyaḥ*[28]). The expression *suvarṇṇa-dāne* (line 7) might well be an allusion to his munificent gifts of gold at *Aśvamedha* sacrifice in which he excelled kings like Pṛthu and Rāghava. Verse 4 describes his coronation; verse 5, his marriage with a virtuous and lovely princess; and lastly, verse 6, his fame spreading far and wide, alluding at the same time to his peaceful reign which the enemies dared not disturb owing to the dread of his exploits during the course of his *digvijaya*. It may be noted how the poet proceeds from his coronation in the past perfect (*babhūva*) and comes through the aorist (*abhūt*) and past passive participle (*sammānitaḥ*) to the present (*paribambhramīti* and *paritrasanti*).

ABBREVIATIONS

BMC : Catalogue of Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum, by P. Gardiner, London, 1886.
CII : Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
EHNI: Early History of Northern India, Calcutta, 1958.
IA : Indian Antiquary.
JIH : Journal of Indian History.
PIHC : Proceedings of Indian History Congress.
Sel. Ins.: Select Inscriptions, Calcutta, 1942.

---

28. *cf. Adhṛṣyaś cābhigamyaś ca yādo-ratnair ivārṇavaḥ, Raghuvaṁśa*, I. 16.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

080465

ENGLISH LITERATURE

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Bhim Singh

POLITICS AND THE POETRY OF STEPHEN SPENDER

One thing that the modern poets did was to concern themselves with the 'present' *i.e.*, to look to the life around, and, instead of seeking escape from it as did the 19th century poets, to make it the subject of their poetry. And it were the elements of 'disintegrtion' and 'destruction' in modern life which seriously occupied the poet's mind. Yeats and Eliot had perceived the horror of disintegration in modern life. And the young poet of 30's did appreciate the destructive visions of these poets. But in the 1930's things had taken a turn for the worse. It was the time of the icreasing despair and the time of preparations for the Second World War. The 'spiritual consolation' which Yeats and Eliot had satisfied themselves with did not satisfy the young poet of the 30's. So, the poet of the 30's was called upon to go beyond mere pointing out ofthe maladies the modern man was suffering from, he was called upon to contemplate some social action which sounded very urgent to him, and which in turn demanded on his part, an active interest in the politics of the times. The case of the radical poet of the 30's is put in a better way by C. Day Lewis, who belonges to the same group of poets, called the Auden Group, that was dominant in the 30's. He says,

"We have seen him on the one hand rendered more acutely conscious of individuality by the acceptance of current psychological doctrines, and on the other hand, rendered both by poetic intution and ordinary observation actutely conscious of the present isolation of the individual and the necessity for a social organism which may restore communion. He looks to one side and he sees D. H. Lawrence, the extreme point of individualism in this country's literature......but he has watched him......driven ill and mad, a failure......He looks to the other side and he sees communism......The most whole hearted attempt ever made to raise the individual to his highest power by a conditioning of his environment, yet here too he notices the bully and the spy, and wonder if any system can expel and survive that poison."[1]

My purpose of quoting here at length is to emphasize that there are times when even the poets are called upon to think in social terms, and not only that, they feel compelled to take sides even in a political action. At such times, the question whether or not there should be any relation between the poetical works of a poet and the political events of his age ? is just irrelevant, for it is bound to be there. The only question which can be relevant is whether or not the political

1. *A Hope for Poetry*, Random House, New York, 1935, p. 217

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

events have been treated poetically. It is in the light of these facts that the poetry of Stephen Spender is to be studied and judged.

Stephen Spender is, basically, like Shelly, a lyrical poet, with the same strong subjectiveism in him as it is there in Shelley, and his best poems are his love lyrics. But during 1930's, when he was living in Germany, he saw people 'driven to despair', unemployed population of millions, and standard of life so low as to be hardly better than starvation. In such a situation for a young man like Spender, who was always "fascinated by the worthless outcasts, the depraved, the lazy, the lost, and wanted them to give that love which they were denied by respectable people"[2], it was very natural to sympathise with those, who

"...........lounge at corners of the street
And greet friends with a shrug of shouder
And turn their empty pockets out,
The cynical gestures of the poor."[3]

(Poem No. 15, Preludes 1930-33)

All the poems written by Spender during early 1930's are about the 'depression' of this decade. These poems give an account of the social unhealthiness of Europe of the 30's. There is no propagation of any political programme, nor do the poems show any political leanings on the part of the poet. They simply portray the wretched life of the people that deserve sympathy.

But the poems are an example of the fact that the writer is seriously concerned with the social health of the people which, as these poems very well portray, at present, is not sound. So, it would be very natural for a poet like Spender to favour any political attempt that promised a better social health to the people. The time of the Spanish Civil War was such an occasion in the life of Spender, as in the lives of so many other intellectuals, as forced upon him a political choice. Spender was in Germany in 1936, when the Spanish Civil War broke out. The Republic of Spain became a 'symbol of hope' for Spender, as for all other anti-Fascists. Though he was a 'liberal socialist' so far as his political views were concerned, he was ready to help any party which promised a support to the Republicans. Not that he was prejudiced against Fascim, but that its literature sounded him more dangerous to the world than any other political programme, that he wanted to save the world from its clutches. He depicts in his own words the horror that Fascism involved :

"To hundreds of people, of whom I was one, the most significant happenings in Europe between 1933 and 1936 had been the triumph of dictatorship and the consequent accumulation of fury. Like

2. Stephen Spender, *World Within World* Hamish Hamilton London (1951) p. 9
3. All citations from Spender's poetry are from *Collected Poems* (1928-53) Faber and Faber, London.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

many others I had watched the bases, on which European freedom had seemed to rest, destroyed. Innocent people where persecuted for no reason than that they belonged to a racial minority. A whole generation of the young was taught violence, the absolute authority of power, and that lies were justified if they served a nationalist cause. There was something nightmarish about what was happening in Germany. Watching flagrant public injustice committed where there is no effective protest, is like a man's condition in a dream where some catastrophe takes place in front of his eyes and he is unable to prevent it. All he can do is to utter a shout but this too is ineffective unless it awakens him to the sanity of the daylight. But no shout awoke the world from Hitlerism during long years."[4]

It was this state of affairs that had driven Spender into politics. He wanted to awake the world against Fascism, and it was this 'fury' against fascism that made him support the communists in Spain, for the communists were on the side of the Republicans who were counter-acting fascism. 'Fascism' was the one 'evil' that all the young writers of 1930's were warning the world against. We can look to the poems produced during this period by Auden, C.Day Lewis, Louis Maceneice and Spender to see how wholeheartedly these poets attempted to make their readers conscious of the horror that fascism involved. All these young poets applauded the communists, for it were the communists who seemed competent at that time to oppose Fascism and who also sounded (to these poets) the ensurer of a better world. Their ignorance, of course, of what was happening in Russia is not to be overlooked. And this is because of the sympathies of this group of poets with the communists that they were once called 'left-wing' poets. But the support of an outside action by a poet should not in the least prejudice our reading of his work. I need not argue here the irrelevence of biographical facts to a poet's work, more so in the case of a modern poet. We can always look to a poet's work to see whether or not he is so and so. Let us then look into those poems of Spender that sound political, and see how far the politics of the poet has influenced his poetry. We can consider Poem No. 26 (Preludes 1930-33) which has generally been called as a piece of left-wing propaganda. And it is these following lines that have led many readers to misread the poem :

"In this day when grief pours freezing over us,
When the hard light of pain gleans at every street-corner,
When those who were pillars of yesterday' roof
Shrink in their clothes : then surely from hunger
We may strike fire, like fire from flint ?
And our strength is now the strength of our bones
Clean and equal like the shine from snow

4. *World Wothin World*, pp. 187-88

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

And the strength of *famine and our enforced idleness,*
And it is the strength of our love for one another."

Now, it is clear from these lines that Spender is complaining about the failure of the social order (*the failure of the 'pillars of yesterday's roof'*) and the depression of the 'decade of despair' *i.e.* 1930's (*'famine' and 'enforced idleness'*). Further. the poet does argue that something must be done before it is too late. Of course, the persons that are addressed to by the poet are those who are the victims of the depression, but they are not necessirily the 'proletariats'. And, above all, what is more important is not the invocation of the action as such, but the 'cause' which has necessitated this action. The cause does not lie in a communist's hatred of the 'bourgeois', but the poet's concern with the 'moral' health of the people :

"Here you may wonder
How it was that works, money, interest,
building could ever hide
The palpable and obvious love of man for man."

Therefore, it could be justly asserted here that Spender's concern with the contemporary social situation is not of a politican but of a poet. Since the social health of the contemporary world is unbearably unhealthy, Spender does desire strongly a change for the better, but we have seen in the poem as to how the conflicting forces are not the 'proletariat' and the 'bourgeois', rather the materialistic or utilitarian values on one side and the human on the other. In fact, Spender was never convinced by Marxists' theory of 'social man', though he became a member of the party for a week :

".........I failed to find myself convinced by Communism", says Spender. "Even when I had accepted in my mind the possibility of having to sacrifice everything I gained by living in a bourgeois society, I still could not abandon my liberal concepts of freedom and truth."[5]

To avoid multiplication of examples, we could simply say here that though Spender is a 'socially minded' poet during 1930's, as all his contemporaries were, he has treated the subject of politics in a poetic manner. And, after all, it is not the subject of a poem which matters as much as its treatment by the poet; not what the poet chooses as the subject of his poetry but what he makes out of it is of more importance. Also, such poems are neither representative of Spender nor are more than only a few in number.

The major portion of the poetry that Spender wrote during the war is of subjective nature. And it is in the writing of subjective experiences that Spender is at his best. Like Keats, he cannot talk well of anything

5. *World Within World*, p. 135.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

that has not been felt on pluses by him. And we find that the poems written during the Spanish Civil War are radically different from those that were written on the eve of this war. The change in the attitude of the poet towards war and politics is clear in these poems. Here, in these poems, he is not talking of any programme, nor does he favour any political action to bring about a change, but simply relates sincerely his own nerve-breaking experiences during the war. 'Thoughts during An Air Raid', 'Two Armies', 'Ultima Ratio Regum', 'In No Man's Land', 'The Coward', and 'Port Bou', are the important poems of this period. One thing remarkable about these poems is the poet's sincerity with which the experiences are conveyed. Take, for example, the poem "Two Armies". It opens in a strikingly impartial tone :—

"Deep in the winter plain, two armies
Dig their machinery, to destroy each other.
Men freeze and hunger. No one is given leave
On either side, except the dead and wounded.
These have their leave; while new battalions wait
On time at last to bring them violent peace."

Then, the poem proceeds on to give an apt description of what happens in a battle field, culminating into :—

"When the machines are stilled, a common suffering
Whitens the air with breath and makes both one
As though these enemies slept in each other's arms."

There is, as we see, no sign of any politics in the poem, not even the vision is political; it is a poet's vision where even enemies are friends, and both are one. The actual combatants here are seen innocent and peaceful, it is only the 'furious words' and 'minerals' which destroy.

Again, consider another poem entitled "Ultima Ratio Regum", which, like the first, opens in an air of objectivity :—

"The guns spell money's ultimate reason
In letters of lead on the Spring hillside.
But the boy lying dead under the olive trees
was too young and too stilly
To have been notable to their important eye.
He was a better target for a kiss."

What Spender is doing here is to depict the horrors of war, and to bring out the 'pity of it'. The pity of the poet for the innocent boy killed is distilled all through the poem. It is a poem weich is at once lyrical and thought provoking.

Consider still another poem of the same period, "Port Bou." This poem is also about war, the poet sitting on the port projects the whole

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

situation of war, the mind is shown working during the bad hours of life *i.e.* amidst the horrors of war :—

> "My circling arms rest on the newspaper,
> My mind is paper on which dust and words sift,
> I assure myself the shooting is only for practice
> But I am the coward of cowards. The machine-gun stitches
> My intestines with a needle, back and forth;
> The solitary, spasmodic, white puffs from the carbines
> Draw fear in white threads back and forth through my body".

The poem brings out successfully the sufferings of a sensitive soul during war times. There is no colouring of the poem by any political idea of the poet, nor is there any topicality about the poem. The poem is of universal appeal.

Spender in these poems of the Spanish Civil War deals exclusively with 'what is experienced.' These poems are about personal experiences, where the 'individual's agony' and the 'un-reasoning brutality of war' are brought home to the reader in a direct manner. This is a clear assertion of Spender's 'Liberal indivldualism' as against Marxist programme of 'impersonal collectivism.' These poems clearly express how Spender is willing to see both sides of the question. Pity, we have seen, is his main concern in these poems, which is peculiarly a personal feeling of a humanitarian. So these poems are personal in a sense that defies the charge of Spender's being a poet in the service of any political cause. Here, I would like to quote another poem, "The Coward", which belongs to the same group of poems written during the Spanish Civil War. This poem, again, is about pity, and the object of pity is a person who would surely offend a Marxist. Spender's heart goes out for the coward :-

> "To populate his loneliness
> And to bring his ghost release
> Love and pity dare not cease
> For alife time, at the least."

We see that all these poems are about war, but they show tenderness towards 'cowards and deserters, refuse to strike heroic attitudes, and refuse to regard war, even for a moment, as anything but the most horrible necessity'. Therefore, it can rightly be said that he is not a "war poet" in the ordinary sense of the term. On the other hand, he is a poet of 'personal emotions'.

War poetry or any poetry that concerns itself with the political events of the times is, if not journalism, very much near it. For example, the war poems of Auden have something journalistic about them, and seem to become documentry, instead of fine pieces of literature. To record an incident and to comment upon it is the work of journalism. Of course,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Spender's theme of these poems is the contemporary social and political life, but his subjectivism makes literature of the material which otherwise is of journalistic interest. See, for instance, his poem "The Landscape near an Aerodrome." The description of the landscale is oblique, instead of being direct; the scene seems to have been observed with an inward eye, rather than with the outward. Also, nor is he viewing the situation from any other view-point than his own. The third section of the poem describes the horror of a nightmare, and the fourth, instead of describing the city, tells of the horror of it. The fifth and the last section is an implied condemnation of religion. As we see, nothing is objectively observed here, nothing recorded like camera, but every-thing is perceived by an individual's sensibility. Or, in other words, it is an experience that is gone through by an individual, and is not the description of a place near an aerodrome as the title of the poem seems to suggest.

Then, after the Spanish Civil War, there is a further change in Spender which is in the direction of growth. On the eve of the Spanish Civil War, he was an enthusiastic young liberal who was in favour of some action to found the world on better social and political principles; during the war, he was a humanistic liberal disillusioned by political revolution, feeling on his nerves the horrors of war, and feeling pity for others that were sufferers like him. Now, he is a poet who instead of being a suffering soul, is observing things and brooding over them. This is an advanced stage towards maturity in the growth of the poet's mind. The poems in the volume 1940-1944 are again poems about war, but the same subject of war is differently treated here. See, for example, the poem "The War God".

"The world is the world
And not the slain
Nor the slayer, forgive.
There's no heaven above
To make passionate histories
End with endless love.
Yet under wild seas
Of Chafing despairs
Love's need does not cease."

Here is the mature perspective of the war and the world, and instead of seeing the community of men as simply divided into 'the slayer' and 'the slain' the world is viewed 'as in itself it really is', to borrow a phrase from Matthew Arnold. Here there is not felt any need of political revolution for a social regeneration, nor is felt the pity of the unavoidable war, but love's regenerating power is affirmed. In these later poems, Spender seems to have reached a stage in his growth where he can view the world with a sort of God's-eye-view. Take, for example, the poem 'Rejoice in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the Abyss', Like Eliot, Spender declares modern city as 'hell', and seeks consolation in the spiritual life of things :

"Then in the sky, indifferent to our
Sulphurous nether hell, I saw
The dead of all pasts float on one calm tide
Among the foam of stars
Above the town, whose walls of brick and flesh
Are transitory dwellings
Of spirits journeying from life to death.

"I saw whole street aflame with London prophets,
Saints of Covent Garden, Parliament Hill Fields,
Hampstead, Hyde park Corner, Saint John's wood,
Who cried in cockney fanatic voices:
'In the midst of Life as Death."

This is the same 'Death-in-Life' which Elict equates with modern life, and which makes the dominant subject of his poetry. Spender has also come to see now the horror in modern life which has completely neglected the spiritual side of it. And it is precisely this 'life devoid of morals' that the 'prophets' in this poem prays against :-

"...............They kneeled
And prayed gainst the misery manufactured
In mines and ships and mills, against
The greed of merchants, vanity of priests."

Then, the poem further contains a warning against the 'emptiness' of the 'bells' in the 'Catherdrals,' and the reader is asked to "Rejoice in the Abyss." This 'Abyss', as is made clear by the poem, is the Heaven, and this Heaven signifies the life of the spirit. Again, this 'Abyss' is contrasted with the 'hell' which stands for the modern city where life is devoid of all moral values.

It can clearly be seen here that in his later poetry Spender, like Eliot, has a purely spiritual concern. Instead of dwelling on the 'ugliness' and 'horror' of modern llfe, he is emphasizing 'the glory' of the soul. This spiritnal concern runs through the whole of his later poetry that dates 40's and after. We can examine another poem entitled 'Meeting' which again shows the spiritual concern of the poet. It is a love poem written during the Second World War. The poem opens with the lovers walking the pavement together, followed by the contrast made between love and war, where love is shown bringing union and the war separation. Then, through mataphysical imagery, Spender dwells on the spiritual union of the lovers which will occur beyond the physical separation cansed by war:

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"Distances between us are of crystal
Traversed with diagonals of rays,
In which our eyes meet when, near or far, they gaze.
Gazing into that crystal, behold the possible
Nankedness nakeder than nakedness
Where, stripped of time and place, as of a dress.
We shall meet again, although invisible.

Therefore, in the later poetry, wnich can be called the cuimination of Spender's career as poet, he has sought the same 'spiritual consolation' which had failed to satisfy him in the early 30's. Spender's early concern with the social health of his times has led him to his concern with the reality, the permanence of life itself. Like Eliot, he seems to have found an answer in his later poetry to the question which the 'neurotic' modern life had provoked in his early poetry.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

K. K. Shukla,

ANTHEM : A STUDY OF SOCIETY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

Chronologically, *Anthem* came out second in the series of four novels by Ayn Rand. In terms of bulk and number of pages, *ANTHEM* is closer to a novelette covering only 123 pages which have been apportioned into twelve small chapters. Originally conceived as a play, its outline was made some time after she entered the University of Petrograd in the fall of 1921.[1] It was finally written in 1937 in Connecticut where she was spending the summer with her husband, Frank O' Connor.[2] However, because of some unaccountable reason, the novel was first published in England in 1938 and its American edition published by the Caxton Printeres, Ltd. Caldwell, Idaho[3] was not out until 1946.[4] That the book enjoyed a measure of popularity since it first went to the press in 1938 is amply evidenced firstly by its as many as seven printings by April 1946,[5] and secondly that its paper back edition was considered a sound business proposition by the New American Library in 1961.[6]

It is interesting to speculate that the explosive years of 1938 to 1946 when mankind was caught in the stranglehold of the anti-democratic forces might have been singularly propitious for the ideas propounded in the novel and that its provocative story of a fearful society that one man dares to defy might well have compelled the attention of many thinking persons on both sides of the Atlantic.

We the living sought to adumberate the political silhouette of a totalitarian collectivism and its paralysing consequences to civilization. The tensely ominous portents of the Russian Revolution were worked out in it through the struggle for existence of a group of characters, chief of which are Leo, Kira and Andrei. Theirs is also a world of unending grayness : the grayness of crumbling souls and of chronic despair of weary men. However, in *We the living* the cataclysmal panorama of events is firmly rooted in the present tense, and thus it is the study of a society that is 'existing'. *Anthem*, on the contrary, is a fictional study of a society that would be a logical corollary to the one portrayed in *We the living*. It projects a totalitarian society of the *future* and outlines the

1. Branden, Nathaniel : *Who is Ayn Rand*, New York, 1965, p. 131.
2. Rand, Ayn - *Anthem*, N. A. L., New York, 1946, p.v. of the foreword by the author.
3. *American authors and books*.
4. *Who is Ayn Rand*, p. 158.
5. *Anthem*'s copyright particulars.
6. White, Robert : *New university thought II* (Autumn, 1962) p. 59.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

shape of things to come. It depicts the horror which can threaten the mankind if the socio-political trends insinuated in *We the Living* are allowed to prosper without any let or hinderance.

Obviously, therefore, *Anthem* forms a neat though terse sequel to its predecessor and demonstrates an observable progression of thought of the novelist from political to sociological plane. This novel unfolds a depolarized society in which from the cradle to the grave the creature called man has to pass through a cramping iron-mould of regimentation. The individual has been abjectly consecrated to the dictatorship of the proletariat where he lives like an impotent zombie without intellect, efficacy or self-esteem. He is under the alien weight of the ugly and the sordid and drags himself from day to day with nothing to desire because there is nothing to hope for. The appalling details of his life and society are revealed to us by means of a brief diarized biography of the leading character, Equality 7-2521. He struggles valiantly against brutal impediments and demented with rage at the illogical social set-up escapes into the Unchartered Forests where he is joined by his sweetheart and makes the soul-suffusing discovery of "the sacred word : *EGO*"[7].

Thus *Anthem* enunciates a powerful theme, for right in the murky gehenna of totalitarianism, it endeavours to celebrate the triumphant rebirth of I-ness in man, the non-entity. It is a Declaration of Independence promulgated by the invincible human psyche and a blueprint of what Man would do to preserve his inalienable rights of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness in a society swept by the dark tideless floods of nothingness.

Anthem is a significant contribution of Miss Rand to American fiction because in the continuum of time, she, by her penerating vision, has interpolated a blank leaf of a society where one civilization is dead and the other is yet powerless to be born. It is illuminating to note, in passing, a crucial difference between Ayn Rand's *Anthem* and Orwell's 1984 which was written a few years later. In 1984, Orwell presents a super-industrialized and highly developed scientfic civilization. He may abhor totalitarianism as an inhuman political dogma, but he seems to believe that it is possible to enslave man, to forbid independent thought—and yet somehow, to keep and continue all that is the achievement of a free mind. *Anthem* formulates a distinct antithesis to Orwellian view. The inhabitants of the moribund and insensate congeries of *Anthem* are human automata who have lost all reverence of the spirit. Life for them is no longer an exalted, demanding, triumphant adventure. A sunlit world of unobstructed action and of unobstructed fulfilment is inconceivable. In the twilight of human civilization man was amenable only to the brute force and the world of *Anthem*, inter-historic as it is, is also peopled by 'dumb-driven cattle' where brute force of numbers is vested with highest authority.

7. *Anthem*, p. 123.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

This world comprises a host of small territories which are termed 'cities', Each one of them enjoys more or less complete autonomy. Yet a vast portion of inhabitable land is dotted over by ancient forests about which many legends are popular. Equality 7-2521, the hero of the novel has met his ladylove. Enraptured by the ecstasy of love, his imagination, rolling from heaven to earth, transforms the drabness of his surroundings and then, in a few obiter dicta, a fleeting glimpse of topography is granted to us in these words:

> But we, Equality 7-2521, look through the window upon the sky, and there is peace in the sky and cleanliness and dignity. And beyond the City there lies the plain and beyond the plain, black upon the black sky, there lies the Uncharted Forest.
>
> ....
>
> ....
>
> ....We have heard that there are many uncharted forests over the land, among the cities. And it is whispered that they have grown over the ruins of many cities of the Unmentionable Times[8].

These forests have swallowed the ruins, and the bones under the ruins, and the life that was pulsating in those bones. All the 'high items of civilization', which a Henry James would have prized, have perished in a widespread conflagration.

> Then great fires raged over the land. And in these fires the Evil Ones and all the things made by the Evil Ones were burned. And the fire which is called the Dawn of the Great Rebirth, was the Script Fire where all the scripts of the Evil Ones were burned and wtih them all the words of the Evil Ones[9].

This is the genesis of the Uncharted Forests. In their dark unfathomable mantle of impassable undergrowth there lie concealed from human view the charred skeletons of a by-gone civilization. A flourishing culture was stamped out under the iron heel of collectivism. Torn by the anguish of inquisitiveness, Equality looks upon the Uncharted Forest with wistful eyes and speculates in vain about the achievements of the Unmentionable Times which have been lost to his society. The fund of untransmitted knowledge which has been lost to the world for ever has been forbidden from exploration on pain of death. Even an allusion to those times in ordinary conversation is prohibited and offenders are sentenced to three years of rigorous imprisonment in the Palace of Corrective Detention. One can, however, glean a few sporadic accounts from the gossip

8. *Ibid.* p. 49.
9. *Ibid.* p. 50

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of superannuated fogies. They whisper many strange things about 'those unhappy far-off things and battles long ago'—

> ......of the towers which rose to the sky, in those Unmentionable Times, and of the Wagons which moved without horses, and of the lights which burned without flame[10].

It is perhaps stressing the obvious to state that 'towers', 'wagons which woved without horses' and 'lights which burned without flame' symbolically are among the proudest achievements of the twentieth century. And all of them have disappeared. The Uncharted Forests of Anthem are Clio's dismal catacombs where the mangled corpse of our civilization lies buried in layers upon layers of the charred ruins which have been occasioned by the devastating fires of the proletarian vandals.

As a result of these unholy bonfires the society is in a mindless darkness. Everything has to begin from the very beginning. With the demolishion of the industrial base and the resultant affluent society even fine arts have beaten a retreat to the limbo of oblivion. Either they do not exist at all or at best can offer crudest specimens matching in finesse the endeavours of some primitive society. Painting is the monopoly of the Home of the Artists. Only this school is 'permitted to draw pictures[11]. No one else can indulge his roving fancy in this aesthetic urge. The punishment for the transgression of this social law is out of all proportions with the enormity of the crime. International 4-8818 is a bête noire beeause he

> ......took pieces of coal and they drew pictures upon the walls, and they were pictures which made men laugh[12].

The promising cartoonist has earned the displeasure of his Home Council and is therefore awarded the Life Mandate of Street Sweeper by the Council of Vocations. The novel does not furnish any internal evidence of the achievements of the Home of the Artists except

> ...a great painting on the wall over their heads of the twenty illustrious men who had invented the candle[13].

Similarly in the sphere of literature, the Home of the Scholars owns all that the Anthem society possesses. All the literature is embodied in manuscripts and Equality informs us that

> Manuscripts are precious, for our brothers in the Home of the Clerks spend one year to copy one single script in their clear handwriting. Manuscripts are rare and they are kept in the Home of the Scholars[14].

10. *Ibid.* p. 14
11. *Ibid.* p. 27
12. *Ibid.* p. 27
13. *Ibid.* p. 76
14. *Ibid.* p. 34

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The printing press has not yet been invented. The Script Fire has reduced to ashes 'all the scripts of the Evil Ones[15]'. The process of reproduction is painfully slow and almost as tortuous as it was for monks and amanuenses copying sacred scripts in the monasteries.

There is only a limited supply of the reading material and that can be made use of by the inmates of the Home of the Scholars and the Home of the Leaders,

> ...which is the greatest house in the city, for it has three stories. And there they study for many years[16],...

Aside from these factors hampering the growth and development of literature, a restriction on writing has also been clamped down.

> 'The laws say that men may not write unless the Council of Vocations bid them so[17].

Obviously the prospects for the development of any literature are very slim. In such uncongenial social climate lIterature, if any, loses the accent of sincerity. Art feeds on the drama of life and shapes lts raptures and agonies into things of beauty. Aliented from life it loses its bearing and the results are inevitable awakward gaucheries. The world of Anthem boasts of some such pale and emaciated forms. We learn that after Community gatherings have been exhorted about 'our duties and of our brother men'[18], they have a season of Community singing.

> ......the bell rings and we walk in a straight column to the City Theatre for three hours of Social Recreation. There a play is shown upon the stage, with two great choruses from the Home of the Actors which speak and answer all together, in two great voices[19].

There is yet one more form of social recreation. But, it seems, it is used more for the purpose of indoctrination than for mitigating the tedium of the daily round of drudgery. It is primitive and barbarous for it concerns the burning at stake of some unfortunate social heretic. People of all age-groups[20] are required to attend these blood-curdling spectacles of an inhuman custom which incidently reminds us of the Spanish Inquisition and its auto-da-fe.

The propensity and ability to relish gruesome pastimes bespeaks a primitive and backward mode of life and the Anthem-society is no exception to this sociological observation. A society that saps its

15. *Ibid.* p. 50
16. *Ibid.* p. 21
17. *Ibid.* p. 11
18. *Ibid.* p. 24
19. *Ibid.* pp. 24-25
20. *Ibid.* pp. 51-52

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

industrial complex would have to fall back upon the dispensation of the plough, because the only facile yet degenerate alternative to production with the aid of scientific inventions, is the coulter that scratches the soil. Accordingly, the mainstay of Anthem's economy is predominently agriculture whose sector is situated on 'the northern road[21] where the helots of the soil live in the Homes of the Peasants beyond the city :

> Where the City ends there is a great road winding off to the north, and we Street Sweepers must keep this road clean to the first mile-post. There is a hedge along the road, and beyond the hedge lie the fields. The fields are black and ploughed[22].

Homes of the Peasants is only one unit of a vast compartmentalized social structure inasmuch as all the professions have their separate Homes Thus, aside from Home of the Artists,[23] Home of the Clerks,[24] Home of the Actors,[25] Home of the Leaders,[26] Home of the Scholars,[27] there are Home of the Street Sweepers,[28] Home of the Useless,[29] Home of the Infants,[30] Home of the Students,[31] and a few unidentifiable homes of the different trades. Each of these homes is groverned by its own council which like its sister bodies is integrated to City Council. Over and above City couucils are the State Councils and to complete the pyramidal formation of administration, the supreme body of the World Council has been placed at the top. The offices are manned by representatives drawn from the Home of the Leaders, whose inmates

> ......may become candidates and be elected to the City Council and the World Council[32].

Among the institutions and councils which apparently wield a profouuder influence upon the lives of the citizens may be enlisted City Theatre[33], City Halls for Social Meeting 9[34], Council of Vocations[35], Palace

---

21. *Ibid.* p. 39
22. *Ibid.* pp. 19-20
23. *Ibid.* p. 27
24. *Ibid.* p. 34
25. *Ibid.* p. 24
26. *Ibid.* p. 21
27. *Ibid.* pp. 19-20
28. *Ibid.* p. 23
29. *Ibid.* pp. 25 & 14
30. *Ibid.* p. 15
31. *Ibid.* p. 16
32. *Ibid.* p. 21
33. *Ibid.* p. 24
34. *Ibid.* p. 24
35. *Ibid.* pp. 11, 18, 20-22

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Corrective Detention[36], Department of Candles[37], Council of Eugenics[38], and the abominable Palace of Mating[39].

Perhaps the last two bodies of the inventory signify the acme of collectivism. Man in the inverted utopia of *Anthem* has lost his quondam sanctity for his person; and every other social and personal ideal, for which he might have been justly proud has been placed under an interdiction. Love which was one of the noblest sentiments has been outlawed in the new social order. Sex is likewise socially tabooed and any person found indulging in amorous or sexual dalliances is liable to severest conceivable punishments. The affairs of Equality 7-2521 provide an apt illustration. Stricken with love at first sight,

> ......for the first time did we know fear, and then pain. And we stood still that we might not spill this pain more precious than pleasure[40].

Nevertheless, he dare not speak her name, Liberty 5-3000, above a whisper :

> For men are forbidden to take notice of women, and women are forbidden to take notice of men[41].

They can greet each other only with their eyes or with some gestures of there hand, the secret of which can be deciphered by them alone. There is a complete social stratification and

> It is a trangression to speak to men of other trades, save in groups at the Social Meetings[42].

Therefore "The Unconquered[43]" hero by loving his "Golden One[44]" is guilty of a multiple-heinous crime. In the first place he is guilty of reinstating Cupid on his throne of pristine glory in a society which has ostracized him lock, stock and barrel. Secondly, he talks to the Golden One who belongs to another trade. Thirdly, he is enamoured of a person in particular and thereby commits a 'new sin' :

> It is our second Transgression of Preference, for we do not think of all our brothers as we must, but only of one, and their name is Liberty 5-3000[45].

36. *Ibid.* p. 69
37. *Ibid.* p. 82
38. *Ibid.* p. 41
39. *Ibid.* p. 41
40. *Ibid.* p. 38
41. *Ibid.* p. 37
42. *Ibid.* p. 40
43. *Ibid.* p. 59. It is the name given by the heroine to Equality, the hero.
44. *Ibid.* p. 42. It is the name given by the hero to Liberty
45. *Ibid.* pp. 40-41

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The laws enacted by the Council of Eugenics forbid day-dreaming about women save at the time of mating. This is the time each spring when

> ......all the men older than twenty and all the women older than eighteen are sent for one night to the City Palace of Mating[46].

Every male member who satisfies the condition of age is assigned a women by the Council of Eugenics. Children are born each winter, but women never see their children and children never know their parents. The criteria of the Council of Eugenics governing the selection of mates and procreation of childern are anybody's guess, but the artistic reticence of Ayn Rand, especially in this portion of the novel, has imparted such a virulent trenchancy to her satire as one is apt to associate with some of the seemingly artless yet incisive narratives of Swift and Voltaire.

After the children are born they are sent to the Home of the Infants where they live till they are five years old. We learn about the mass upbringing of children from the reminiscences of Equality 7-2521 himself.

> We remember the Home of the Infants where we lived till we were five years old, together with all the children of the city who had been born in the same year[47].

When they are five years old, they go to the Home of the Students,

> Where there are ten wards, for our ten years of learning. Men must learn till they reach their fifteenth years. Then they go to work[48].

Thus it seems that whereas ten years of basic education is compulsory for the boys, girls are exempted from a strict compliance with this requirment. Their lot is therefore somewhat happier because the courses offered in the educational institutions are neither stimulating nor challenging. For bright students, classes soon become a monotonous duty. They grasp the contents of their text-books on first reading and then restlessly endure teachers' laborious explanations of material already clear to them. Education does not offer any exhilirating intellectual challenge. If they wish to come to grips with problems on their own initiative and demonstrate an insatiable hunger for the attainment of knowledge, they are viewed with disfavour. Manifestation of intellectual superiority is an unpardonable transgression of proletarian conformity. Promising students consequently learn to concel their flair for knowledge and intelleetual alertness as soon as a few rounds of corporal punishments have been administered to them. If in spite of these punitive measures the demeanour of a student

46. *Ibid.* p. 41
47. *Ibid.* p. 15
48. *Ibid.* p. 16

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

shows a supercilious disregard of the academic conformity, he earns the vindictive wrath of his teachers and is consequently assigned the job of a street sweeper. For a corroboration of these observations the educational details furnished by Equality are more than sufficient.

> It was not that the learning was too hard for us. It was that the learning was too easy. This is a great sin, to be born wish a head which is too quick. It is not good to be different from our brothers, but it is evil to be superior to them.........
> So we fought against this curse. We tried to forget our lessons, but we always remembered We tried not to understand what the teachers taught, but we always understood it before the teachers had spoken[49].

So he is lashed more often than all the other childern and in the spring of his fifteenth year the accolade of the Council of Vocation creates him a Knight of Brocm.........

"Street Sweeper"[50].

The students are taught a core curriculum of rudimentary knowledge concerning the physical universe.

> We learned that the earth is flat and that the sun revolves around it, which causes the day and night. We learned the names of all the winds which blow over the seas and push the sails of our great ships. We learned how to bleed men to cure them of all ailments[51].

Higher education is the exclusive preserve of the Home of the Scholars who, it seems, have straightened all the conudrums of the universe. Nothing more remains to be accomplished and to brood over the intriguing mysteries of the phyical world is a criminal waste of proletarian brain power.

> We think that there are mysteries in the sky and under the water and in the plants which grow. But the Council of Scholars has said that there are no mysteries, and the Council of Scholars knows all things.[52]

The Home of the Scholars is an august body of intellectual prodigies. Theirs is a devoted band of research-minded enthusiasts. They conduct experiments in the physical elements of nature and by their flaming passion for reality were able to invent two great articles of matchless utility barely a hundred years ago. They are

> ......candles from wax and string; also how to make glass which is put in our windows to protect us from the rain[53].

49. *Ibid.* pp. 16-17
50. *Ibid.* p. 22.
51. *Ibid.* p. 19
52. *Ibid.* pp. 18-19
53. *Ibid.* pp. 19-20

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Candles give light and we are informed by Harmony 9-2642 of the World Council that they are a "great boon to mankind"[54]. It was an epoch-making discovery and its greatness is therefore jealously guarded by the Department of Candles.

However, neither the pronouncements nor the achievements of the Home of the Scholars carry conviction with the protagonist who is, incidently, the exponent of Ayn Rand's views. He regards the state scholars as an unenlightened herd.

> But we think that the Council of Scholars is blind. The secrets of this earth are not for all men to see, but only for those who will seek them[55].

He shunned delights and lived laborious days. For over years he had been prosecuting his further studies in a secret tunnel which he discovered in the proximity of the City Theatre and as a result of his studious devotion he has been able to make the stunning discovery of electricity.

> Tonight, after more days and trials than we can count we finished building a strange thing, from the remains of the Unmentionable Times, a box of glass, devised to give forth the power of the sky of greater strength than we had ever achieved before. And when we put our wires to this box, when we closed the current—the wire glowed. It came to life, it turned red, and a circle of light lay on the stone before us[56].

Yet, while a student, his talent and zeal were smothered by the outmoded learning of his teachers and still more by their ever-active lashes. And after the completion of his schooling at the age of fifteen, as noticed before, the Council of Vocations at its fateful investiture honoured him with the proud regalia of a scavenger.

The judgment of the Council of Vocations is unimpeachable and its decisions are likewise worthy of highest reverence.

> For the Council of Vocations knows in its great wisdom where you are needed by your brother men, better than you can know it in your unworthy little minds[57].

The Council consists of five aged fogies 'three of the male gender and two of the female.' It holds its sessions on the first day of spring and assigns jobs to the able-bodied men at the age of fifteen. Its functions correspond to that of a modern employment exchange bureau and its awards or Life Mandates are nonappealable. The proceedings of the

54. *Ibid*. p. 82
55. *Ibid*. p. 55
56. *Ibid*. pp. 63-64
57. *Ibid*. p. 18

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Council are very solemn, brief and expeditious. The session in which employment was assigned to Equality makes this point abundantly clear.

> ...they sat in the great hall. And we who were fifteen and all the teachers came into the great hall. And the Council of Vocations sat on a high dais, and they had but two words to speak to each of the students. They called the students' names and when the students stepped before them, one after another,the Council said: "Carpenter" or "Doctor" or "Cook" or "Leader". Then each student raised their right arm and said: "The will of our brothers be done[58]".

'The will of our brothers' is the tenet central to the philosophy of totalitarian collectivism. "What is not done collectively cannot be good,"[59] says International 1-5537 and "what is not thought by all men cannot be true," remarks[60] Collective 0-0009. On one occasion Equality steals a brief opportunity to talk to his sweetheart. He feels elated and is in the cloud-cuckoo land of romance. He hums aloud some tune which he had never heard before and consequently he is reprimanded for his indiscretion. When, on being asked the reason of his aberration, he attributes it to his being happy, the Home Council sententiously expatiate upon the identical theme.

> Indeed you are happy, they answered. How else can men be when they live for their brothers?[61]

'Our brother' is a great magic formula. It is all-powerful and all-persuasive. It is the summun bonum, and hence its universal effectiveness. It can even avert the wrath and compel the attention of unwilling ears. The episode in which Equality makes a dramatic and unbidden appearance beforc the World Council brings out the power inherent in the 'frater noster'. He has escaped from the Palace of Corrective Detention. In a determined bid to place the fruit of his laborious researches before the World Council of Scholars, he marches with his glass box to the great hall where the Council sat in solemn meeting.

> "A street sweeper ! A street sweeper walking in upon the World Council of Scholars. It is not to bo believed. It is against all the rules and all the laws[62].

But Equality 7-2521, is an astute observer of Our brother's psychology. He knows how to silence the choric burst of indignant

58. *Ibid.* p. 21
59. *Ibid.* p. 81
60. *Ibid.* p. 81
61. *Ibid.* p. 46
62. *Ibid.* p. 77

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

exclamation of the World Council of Scholars and instantly resorts to the well-tested and universally effective tactical device of 'Our Brothers'.

> We matter not, nor our transgression. It is only our brother men who matter. Give no thought to us, for we are nothing, but listen to our words,........Then they listened[63].

This is the philosophy; this is their song. They praise 'our brothers' all the day long. An altogether new hagiology has been established. There are the.

> ...Saints of Labor, and Saints of the Councils, and the Saints of the Great Rebirth[64].

All the citizens strive to be like 'Our Brothers' and whenever they are confronted with some overpowering temptation they repeat to themselves the words engraved over the portals of the Palace of the World Council which are :

> We are one in all and and all in one. There are no men but only the great We, One, indivisible and forever[65].

Similarly every night before retiring to their beds all the inmates of the Home of the Students raise their right arm and offer a community prayer to the deity of collectivism.

> We are nothing. Mankind is all. By the grace of our brothers are we allowed our lives. We exist through, by and for our brothers who are the state. Amen[66].

To complete the missal, a new hymnology containing prayers to suit all the occasions has also been perfected. These prayers are sung in the City Halls where everyone congregates after the day's work is over.

> Then we sing hymns, the Hymn of Brotherhood, and the Hymn of Equality, and the Hymn of the Collective Spirit[67].

— — — —

In one of his short poems 'Brainwashing' Carl Sandburg describes the modus operandi of the collectivist states for cultural revolution.

> Repeat and Repeat till they say what you are saying.
> Repeat and repeat till they are helpless before your repetitions.
> Say it over and over till their brains can hold only what you are saying.[68]

---

63. *Ibid*. p. 77
64. *Ibid*. p. 52
65. *Ibid*. p. 14
66. *Ibid*. p. 16
67. *Ibid*. p. 24
68. Sandburg, Carl : *Harvest Poems* 1910-60, N. Y., 1960. p. 119

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The gospel of collectivism has been repeated and repeated. It has been spoken soft; it has been yelled, day after day, hour after hour. It has brainwashed the citizenry to the backhone. The GREAT WE has triumphed. The individual has lost his entity. People use 'they' for 'he' and 'she'. *We* has replaced the first person singular in the parts of speech and the social anathema against the individual has branded the word 'I' as the Unspeakable Word. No one uses it. This is a word which has been lost completely and one who speaks it is punished with death. But sometimes,

> ...They find it upon scraps of old manuscripts or cut into the fragments of ancient stones. But when they speak it they are put to death[69].

The Saint of the Pyre was found guilty of this transgression. Consequently he was hauled to the great square and consigned to the leaping flames of fire. Out of the sixteen identifiable characters of *Anthem* none refers to himself with the first person singular. To remember a formidable array of statistics is an intellectual feat without compare and people of *Anthem* must be having a phenomenal memory inasmuch as they.

> ...are identified by serial numbers as in the telephone directory. Listen to the exchanges: Liberty, Solidarity, Equality, Collective, International, Similarity–and all the other political prejoratives[70].

Similar to the ancient Roman custom for slaves, people wear an iron bractelet "on their left wrists with their names upon it[71]. They have been expostulated to be happy :

> ...it has been explained to us, men are free and the earth belongs to them[72].

Individual is indoctrinated that he is free but every where he is in chains. His mouth is muzzled and heavy lie the fetters on his mind and spirit. An iron code of conduct which lies interspersed throughout the pages of the novel has reduced the concept of freedom to a horrid mockery. In this society.

> It is a sin to think words no others think and to put them down upon a paper no others are to see. It is base and evil........... And we know well that there is no transgression blacker than to do or think alone[73].

Of all the animals man alone has the conceptual faculty. Only he can use intellect to integrate the data furnished by sense perceptions. Mind

69. *Anthem*, p. 51
70. Cain, Edward : *They'd Rather Be Right*, Macmillan ,N.Y. ,1963. p. 38
71. *Anthem* p. 13
72. *Ibid.* p. 46
73. *Ibid.* p. 11

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

alone distinguishes him from the brutes. With the aid of this supra-brutal power he distinguises right from wrong and A from Non-A. It alone enables him to study the logic of events and analyse the posture of circumstances. So the use of mind is forbidden. The uncharted forests are the great archaeological repositories of ancient mode of life. By collecting information from the finds of these ruins, people of *Anthem* might come to possess a corpus of truth which would subvert the sacrosanct proletarian cause. Therefore a commandment has been issued to the people :

> Beyond the ravine there is a plain, and beyond the plain there lies the Uncharted Forest, about which men must not think[74].

The use of the mind by cogitating over the material salvaged from the ante-incendium days may spotlight embarrassing facts, hence the mind of the individual has been declared a redundancy. Attila has reduced man, the glory of creation, to a mere brute. Not only his liberty of thought has been scandlously garrotted, but in the universal repression, his liberty of expression also has met with a similar fate. The laws of the microcasm found in *Anthem* have expressly contramanded the people against writing.

> The laws say that men may not write unless the Council of Vocatios bid them so[75].

It seems that the society has codified a list of subjects which people are forbidden to refer to in their conversation and in all probability these subjects were expunged by the World Council which was ushered into existence soon after the Great Rebirth. It constitutes the highest authority and is the supreme body on all matters.

> Thus it has been ever since the Great Rebirth, and farther back than that no memory can reach.
>
> But we must never speak of the times before the Great Rebirth, else we are sentenced to three years in the Palace of Corrective Detention[76].

Obviously this legislation has been enacted to complement the law pertaining to thinking. The new republic will remain safe and secure from the inroads and encroachments of the effete civilization. Life has turned over a new leaf and an intellectual climate can be built without any opposition to propagate the proletarian virtues, the first and foremost of which is to absorb the individual into the nondescript herd. It is in persuance of this avowed policy that the personal pronoun 'I' has been scrapped from

74. *Ibid*. p. 28
75. *Ibid*. p. 11
76. *Ibid* p. 14.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the language and THOU SHALT NOT SPEAK THE UNSPEAKABLE WORD has been made the first commandment of the mobocracy.

> There is no crime punished by death in this world save one crime of speaking the Unspeakable Word[77].

Since 'I' has been collectivized and individual has been reduced to a zero in the social equation, it is in the fitness of things that he should be deprived of all emotions. In a society, where the individual has the right to exist only by the sufferance of the people ;

> And if you are not needed by your brother men, there is no reason for you to burden the earth with your bodies[78].

the luxury of indulging in emotions which are purely personel would obviously be as incompatible as a square plug in a round hole. Accordingly the laws provide that

> ......it is not proper to smile without reason[79].
>
> (and) ......it is not proper to sing withot reason[80].

Man's body is a contemptible nonentity and it does not behove an individual to pamper it with self-admiration. There are no mirrors in the republic of ANTHEM and

> Men never see their own faces and never ask their brothers about it, for it is evil to have concern for their own faces or bodies[81].

Any encouragement given to the individual for cherishing the Narcissus complex would inevitably alienate his devotion and fidelity to the Great We. Therefore, in recognition of this basic law of human psychology, the Councils in their hoary wisdom have enjoined on the people to refrain from entertaining any exhilirating emotions which are likely to enfeeble their love for 'our brothers'. The laws say

> It is not good to feel too much joy nor to be glad that our body lives. For we matter not and it must not matter to us whether we live or die, which is to be as our brothers will it[82].

Thus, divested of all personal freedom of thought, speech and emotion, an individual in the world of ANTHEM is but a mere passive cog whose sphere of activity is circumscribed by a few depersonalized and sterile functions. His body, mind and life are hostages to a blind impersonal social machinery and an iron curtain has descended on his personal

77. *Ibid.* p. 51.
78. *Ibid.* p. 18.
79. *Ibid.* p. 27.
80. *Ibid.* p. 46.
81. *Ibid.* pp. 66-67.
82. *Ibid.* p. 48.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

virtues, adventures and heroism. Gruelling fetters have shackled his movements and he cannot do anything since

> ......everything which is not permitted by low is forbidden[83].

A perpetual curfew order has been clamped down by the state and people cannot freely move about on the streets after specified hours. We are told about it by Equality himself. He has accidently come upon a tunnel where to accomplish his unconquerable desire to probe the inscrutable secrets of the universe, each night, for the space of three hours of play sessions, he pursues his clandestine studies in his underground laboratory. Continuing his narrative, he states

> Later it is easy to steal through the shadows and fall in line next to International 4-8818. as the column leaves the Theatre. It is dark in the streets and no men may walk through the City when they have no mission to walk there[81].

Furthermore, there is an omnibus clause in the manual of social decorum. It is styled Transgression of Preference and forbids people to exercise any choice or show any preference in regard to persons or professions. Under the provisions of this clause, an individual is forbidden to cultivate friendship with anybody.

> International 4-8818 and we are friends. This is an evil thing to say, for it is a transgression, the great Transgression of Preference, to love any among men better than the others, since we must love all men and all men are our friends[85].

The area of operation of the doctrine of Transgression of Preference has been extended to the bipartite division of society on the basis of sex. The extension is intended to curb and discipline the unruly and amorous propensity so deeply ingrained in the human nature. Similarly in a sort of convocation address, a heavy accent is laid on the other sub-clause of the doctrine. Students are exhorted to discard all personal aspirations about career and professions and work for the common weal as disciplined soldiers in the great proletarian venture.

> Dare not choose in your minds the work you would like to do when you leave the Home of the Students, you shall do that which the Council of Vocations shall prescribe for you[86].

The doctrine, by extirpating the evil inherent in the choice of profession, exercises a salutary effect on the minds of the prospective workers. It seeks to forestall disgruntlement in their rank and file and by

---

83. *Ibid.* p. 29.
84. *Ibid.* p. 33.
85. *Ibid.* p. 27.
86. *Ibid.* p. 18.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

fostering the noble virtue of contentment it strengthens the cause of 'our brothers.' The desire to rise and prosper in life is an unmitigated evil and man is to perish as a sacrificial animal, so that 'men must be happy'[87]. Men, who from time immemorial has sought to comprehend the wonderous architecture of the world, man, who has hurled defiance to the mystics of muscles and plucked the imposssibles from the loom of fate, lies maimed and broken in the *Anthem* society. The grinding reign of terror has sapped his vitality. Small wonder, he now presents an unedifying picture of bowed heads, sunken cheeks and hunched shoulders. His miserable role in such a society is merely 'to look before and after and pine for what is not'. Fear stalks his mind ; misery dogs his steps

> There is fear hanging in the air of the sleeping halls and in the air of the streets. Fear walks through the City, fear without name, without shape. All men feel it and none dare to speak[88].

In times gone by he could proudly proclaim 'I am the master of my fate/I am the captain of my soul.' But the society of *Anthem* has exiled its 'captains' and 'masters' to the howling wilderness of the Uncharted Forests, where snarling beasts of prey with their lolling tongues and zipping fangs prowl around them in murky silence.

——*—*—*

In her foreword to the Signet Book edition of *we the Living*, Ayn Rand wrote in October 1958 :

> The Naturalist school records the choices which men happened to have made. The Romantic school projects the choices which men can and ought to make. I am a Romantic Realist—distinguished from the Romantic tradition in that the values I deal with pertain to this earth and to the basic problems of this era[89].

Anthem, without doubt, deals with one of the 'basic problems of this era'. Like *we the Living*, it is a novel about Man against the State. Its basic theme is the sanctity of human life—

> ......using the word "sanctity" not in a mystical sense, but in the sense of "supreme value"[90].

Anthem is one of the classic statements of the ideals cherished by Ayn Rand. From the picture of the horrid society projected in *Anthem*, it is evident that man is regarded as an insignificant brute to be sacrificed to the whims of the society. It is a frightful world of mindless darkness populated by willless vassals of the totalitarian collectivism. Man means a two-legged animal who has traded his head for a vacuum flask. Society

87. *Ibid*. p. 47
88. *Ibid*. p. 47.
89. Rand, Ayn: *We the Living*. N.A.L. p. vii
90. *Ibid*. p. 5.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

means an impersonal monster of vox populi. The values expounded by Ayn Rand in *Anthem* explode the myth of the Benthamite calculus. For her collectivism is a new-fangled tyrant and

> ......the word "we" must never be spoken, save by one's choice and as a second thought. This word must never be placed first within man's soul, else it becomes a monster, the root of all the evils on earth, the root of man's torture by men......[91]

She does not favour the ideology of socialization because it fosters the growth of pretentious mediocrity and lumps the creators with the parasites. The splendour of human achievements down the ages was the product of a few dedicated individuals, not the half-morons and nitwits of a vast sprawling *we*. It is the

> ......word by which the depraved steal the virtue of the good, by which the weak steal the might of the wrong, by which fools steal the wisdom of the sages.[92]

Obviously such an atmosphere is not conducive to the edifying adventures of human spirit. It kills initiative and breeds festering stagnation. Raucous voices of the indiscriminate criticism may, with a sweeping gesture of hand, point out to the great strides made by the thoroughly socialized communities, but it may be instructive to bear in mind, that the banners proudly held aloft by these enclaves of heart-rending tyranny are smeared with the blood of countless men and women for whom the lashes of the slave-drivers were more dreadful than the scourges of biblical antiquity. It is impossible to compute the human suffering, degradation, deprivation and horror that went to pay for the much-vaunted inventions like 'candles from wax and string'.[93] Equality 7–2521 has made the stunning discovery of electricity, but in rapturous ecstasy of his illuminating achievement he has forgotten the age-old maxim that where ignorance is bliss it is folly to be wise. Consequently, when he presents his glass box to the World Council of Scholars

> We give you the key to the earth ! Take it, and let us be one of you, the humblest among you. Let us all work together, and harness this power, and make it ease the toil of men[94]

they fulminate in a thundering voice :

> "You shall be burned at the stake", said Democracy 4–6998. "No, they shall be lashed", said Unanimity 7–3304, till there is nothing left under the lashes."[95]

---

91. *Anthem*, p. 111
92. *Ibid.* p. 112
93. *Ibid.* p. 19
94. *Ibid.* p. 79
95. *Ibid.* p. 80

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

No man who has a reverence for his spirit will offer the sacred temple of his body to be trampled upon by the society whose only claim to authority lies in its teeming numbers. For what aura of holiness is left to an individual

> ..... if all hands, even the unclean, can reach into it ? What is my wisdom, if even the fools can dictate to me ? What is my freedom, if all creatures, even the botched and the impotent, are my masters ? What is my life if I am but to bow, to agree and to obey ?[96]

For Ayn Rand the word 'We' as a symbol of altruist-collectivist ethics is a lexical item whose semantic significance can be comprehended by its near-synonyms of serfdom, plunder, misery, falsehood and shame. In her views, it represents a creed of corruption. Man should discard his grinding yoke and sing the 'song of myself'. 'I' is the god and egoism the religion of those who wish to have pride, peace and joy. "I will it" is the holiest anthem of Man :

> Whatever road I take, the guiding star is within me; the guiding star and the load stone which point the way. They point in but one direction. They point to me.[97]

In the climatic chapter, Equality has discovered the word 'I' in his mountain hideaway of the Uncharted Forests and when he understands the full meaning of the word he weeps for joy at the boundless treasures found by him. A free society and a free mind has been the dream of all the idealists. Thus Tagore in his Gitanjali dreams of a heaven of freedom

> Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high ;
> Where knowledge is free ;
> Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;
> Where words come out from the depths of truth ;
> Where tireless striving stretches it arms towards perfection.[98]

People who admire a 'clear stream of reason', 'mind' and 'heaven of freedom' for the individual will find a powerful ally in Ayn Rand for she is one of the most outspoken exponents of these concepts. Without mincing words she observes :

> I do not surrender my treasures, nor do I share them. The fortune of my spirit is not to be blown into coins of brass and flung to the winds as alms for the poor of the spirit. I guard my treasures: my thought, my will, my freedom. And the greatest of these is freedom. I owe nothing to my brothers, nor do I gather debts

96. *Ibid*. p. 112
97. *Ibid*. p. 109
98. *Agra University Publication*, No. 15 : p. 31

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

from them. I ask none to live for me, nor do I live for any others.[99]

'Live and let others live' is one of Rand's basic primary. She would not lend her countenance to any social structure or political set-up based on the contemptible relations of tyrant and victim; master and servant; or creditor and debtor. Man realizes his latent potentialities when he is free and when his spirit can caress his dreams in the beauty of her innate holiness. A society that sanctions compulsion and upholds measures under which men can be used as a cat's paw for salvaging a chestnut from fire would not flourish. Man's happiness is an end in itself. His happiness should not be used as a means to any other end or to further the interests of any other individual. History of man has been many ups and downs. It is a sordid register of war, ravages and grandiloquent swagger of disdainful conquistodors. But the insane eccentricities of power-drunk war lords could not vanquish the spirit of man. Goddess of freedon could not be enchained and infinitum. Nor was man for ever beaten. Yet deep in the turbulence of time, in the eddying froth of far-reaching changes rung in by the rise and fall of empires and systems, there is one image uglier than which was never conceived in any age or time. It is the black evil of the 'Great We' and man has to guard his freedom against it.

> Freedom from what ? There is nothing to take a man's freedom away from him, save other men. To be free, a man must be free of his brothers. That is freedom.[100]

Nothing is further from the intention of Ayn Rand than to denounce the bonds of spirit realized by man in an ideal friendship. And a fancy that may read a sneering cynicism of a mysoginisi in her caution against the hazards of freedom would inevitably be far from the nucleus of her professed avowals. The virtues of a recluse or the modus operandi of an escapist from the battle of life is not the code of chivalry. For what can aid the valiant fighter—Man, more than the cheerful smile of a friend and the warmth of an understanding hand ? Yet

> ......to earn my love, my brothers must do more than to have been born. I do not grant my love without reason, nor to any chance passer-by who may wish to claim it. I honour men with my love. But honour is a thing to be earned.[101]

Friendship is a hymn set in the melody of two souls. Its resonance is bred by the nobility of an obligation shared alike as partners in a duet. Yet in the esoteric privacy of our soul, in our holy of holies, each one of us instals a prima donna, majestic and aloof. She has to be kept undefiled for that which is inalienable in man needs the vestal purity of

99. *Anthem* p. 110
100. *Ibid.* p. 118
101. *Ibid.* p. 111

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

an aurora borealis. Browsing among the dusty tomes of prehistoric era, the hero of *Anthem* in his mountain home makes out a write-up on the Randian ideal of friendship which is well worthy of our consideration.

> I shall choose friends among men, but neither slaves nor master. And I shall choose only such as please me, and them I shall love and respect, but neither command nor obey. And we shall join our hands when we wish, or walk alone when we so desire. For in the temple of his spirit, each man is alone.[102]

Baptized in the font of equal esteem let us hold the hands of our friends not as patrons and proteges, but as partners of equal status and respect marching hand in hand in the boulevard of life.

The hands that are linked on the anvil of ulterior motives fall asunder all too soon; the fidelities forged in the blacksmithy of compulsion do not subsist very long. The drama of life is strung with high excitement but a social code that deprives its members of their right to live their lives in meaningful endeavours spells disaster on the creative aspirations. Man loses his bearings and moves in a blindman's buff cluching at every random fancy which holds out a promise to him to yield the meaning of life. He gapes at the tall manifestoes of social rejuvenation with dismay and astonishment when he finds the challenging verities of his heart sadly at variance with the decadent social ethos.

> There is no life for men, save in useful toil for the good of all their brothers. But we lived not, when we toiled for our brothers, we were weary. There is no joy for men, save the joy shared with all their brothers. But the only things which taught us joy were the power we created in our wires, the Golden One. And both these joys belong to us alone, they bear no relation to our brothers, and they do not concern our brothers in any way. Thus do we wonder.[103]

Neither surrender and servility nor abject worship of idols outside one's body unfold the secret meaning and sanction of life. Man holds these secrets in the hollow of his palm. His life is holy and to live it happily and joyfully is its only warranty. He is to hold the worship of joy as his shield against the sunless murk around. Equality earnestly longed for the meaning of things. He wanted to know the end of the quest and after a protracted lucubration he realizes that he himself is

> ......the meaning. I wished to find a warrant for being. I

102. *Ibid.* p. 118
103. *Ibid.* pp. 97-98

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

need no warrant for being, and no word of sanction upon my being. I am the warrant and the sanction.[104]

Barbara Branden states that from her earliest years, Ayn Rand felt a profound antipathy

......to the dark, almost Oriental mysticism that permeates the Russian mentality—to the blind, primitive worship of brooding emotions—to the unquestioning belief that suffering is man's inevitable fate on earth, which must be accepted in patient resignation.[105]

Her views and values embodied in *Anthem* provide an illuminating illustration of Mrs. Branden's assertions. The pronouncements of the mystics and their claims to the knowledge of the universe and its dark mystery may or may not be true. But the attainment of happiness in our life, she holds and affirms, is within the realm of possibility. Mysticism is an abstruse metaphysical subject and forms a major theme especially in the radio broadcast of John Galt in *Atlas Shrugged*. However, in Anthem she implicitly rejects the soul-body dichotomy and maintains with resolute firmness that the persuit of happiness does not constitute a moral transgression nor is body a despicable appendage of soul.

I know not if this earth on which I stand is the core of the universe or if it is but a speck of dust lost in eternity. I know not and I care not. For I know what happiness is possible to me on earth. And my happiness needs no higher aim to vindicate it.[106]

Equality 7-2521 is roaming about in the forests. He goes on and on with nothing to fear, nothing to feel 'save the song of our body'[107]. He possesses a well-proportioned physique which is the cynosure of neighbouring eyes especially of his comrades-in-brooms. His teachers have however, taught him to despise his body :

There is evil in your bones, Equality 7-2521, for your body has grown beyond the bodies of your brothers.[108]

Body, in such a society, is an object of scorn and people are forbidden to pamper it. But, freed from the malignant influence of this pale hue of sickly thought, and amidst the exhilirating luxuriance of sylvan beauty, Equality is seized with a passionate lust for life. With an unprecedented wild abandon and with his heart as light and blithe as that of a gleeful babe in arms, he frisks and gambols along. Struck with the wonderous beauty of his sinewy muscles under whose powerful weight the branches

104. *Ibid.* pp. 108-109
105. Branden, Nathaniel : *Who is Ayn Rand* (New York, 1965), pages 125-126.
106. *Anthem*, p. 109
107. *Ibid.* p. 89
108. *Ibid.* p. 13

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

sag and twigs snap, he is thrilled with the joy of living and bursts into waves upon waves of a clear sun-lit laughter, an act he has never done before. And as he stoops to drink water from a meandering stream nearby, he beholds his image reflected in the tranquil water. He is rooted to the spot. Enchanted by the charms of his physical perfections, he feels neither shame nor pity for what he owns. New vistas of truth are suddenly thrown open before him and a belief in the holiness of his body is instantly formed :

> And we thought that we could trust this being who looked upon from the stream and that we had nothing to fear with this being.[109]

The mist has dissolved. A new being is born. Glory to the Man in the highest for he is the measure of all things.

For this new-born creature, stupefied by the centuries of confusion, Ayn Rand holds out the supreme gospel of incessant work. Work is his worship. Like the Ulysses of Tennyson he is to follow knowledge like a sinking star :

> ......how great is the unexpected, and many life times will not bring us to the end of our quest, We wish nothing, save to be alone and to learn,......[110]

The overwhelming odds imposed by social and political imbroglio should not dishearten the indomitable souls. They have to scale new heights at all costs. Even if the monstrosities of a social stratification hold out a dire threat to life and have outlawed any daring adventure of the soul on the part of an individual, he has to carry on his work and accomplish his mission. For

> Nothing matters save the work, our secret, our evil, our precious work.[111]

Work is life and the sanctity of soul can be realized only through the instrumentality of an overmastering passion for work. Not infrequently these noble souls have to plough their lonely furrows but the loneliness of the path and the companionlessness of their incessant strivings do not dampen their invincible zeal :

> So much is still to be learned! So long a road lies before us and what care we if we must travel it alone ![112]

Unflagging devotion to one's work is the badge of those seekers after truth who cherish the sacredness of their life and all the values that it

109. *Ibid.* p. 90
110. *Ibid.* p. 35
111. *Ibid.* p. 12
112. *Ibid.* p. 57

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

stands for. But for the enlightenment and prosperity, produced by the ceaseless efforts of these architects, mankind would still have been groping in some uncharted forests of dark ages. By their determination and perseverance, they have discovered the secrets of the earth which

> ......are not for all men to see but only for those who will seek them.[113]

They are the progenitors of human civilization. They are the producers and Equality 7-2521 is only one of them. And the secrets so wrenched by them from the unknown blind darkness are their cxculsive intellectual offsprings; because, they alone have paid for them by their holy toil, by their excruciating spine-ache by their precious drops of blood. Bound by invisible ties of reverence for their produce they care for it as if it were a part of their body :

> For this wire is as a part of our body, as a vein torn from us, glowing with our blood. Are we proud of this thread of metal, or of our hands which made it, or is there a line to divide these two.[114]

Most of the views in *Anthem* have been enlarged and elucidated by the author in her sebsequent works especially *Atlas Shrugged* with whcih it bears a remarkable similarity on a large number of points.[115] In its own rights, however, *Anthem* is an emphatic reaffirmation of a sort of secret vow that Ayn Rand took when she was about twelve years old. Those were the dismal days of blood-spattered Russian Revolution. The horrors and atrocities coming in the wake of communist regime, left a deep scar on her sensibility and she wondered in mute astonishment at the new-fangled political slogan that man must live for the state. The blind worship of statism and shapeless mob aroused her indignant contempt and her stirring rejoinder to their ideology

> ......was that nothing could be higher or more important than an individual's right to his own life,......[116]

Such a view of man in *Anthem* forms an apt prelude to her magnum opus—*Atlas Shrugged*, in which without any shadow of ambiguity, she affirms emphatically that

> My philosophy in essence, is the concept of man as a heroic being with his own happiness as the moral purpose of his life, with productive achievement as his noblest activity, and reason as his only absolute.[117]

---

113. *Ibid.* p. 54
114. *Ibid.* p. 66
115. Aside from the points of technical similarity, the following pages may be refered to for comparable events and thoughts : 8, 83, 117, 118, 120 & 122.
116. Branden, N. : *who is Ayn Rand* ? p. 126.
117. *Atlas Shrugged* (Signet Edition). See the note about the Author p. i

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

M. R. Tewari

LA BELLE DAME SANS MERCI

The fact that Keats wrote *La Belle Dame Sans Merci* between the two Hyperions should invest the poem with more meaning than has been attributed to it. The reader would recall that in the concluding portion of *Hyperion*, with which this poem was contemporaneously composed, Apollo does not know the cause of his agonised torture. In *La Belle* the situation is much the same except that the Knight at arms does know the reason of his suffering—an indication, if any be needed, that Keats was steadily marching ahead in the eventful year 1819. And what Mnemosyne does not tell Apollo (But dees she at all know the reason is a question which is unavoidable in the light of her own query—*Hyperion* III : 68-70),* Moneta will tell keats in *The Fall of Hyperion*. And since Moneta's explanation has something in common with what the Knight at arms has to say in *La Belle*, this little poem serves for an important link which connects the two Hyperions, incidentally telling us why the longer poem had to be abandoned. The three poems therefore mark out the phases through which Keat's consciousness seems to pass towards maturity. At first Apollo, certainly a Keats figure, does not know the cause of his giant agony. In *La Belle*, which marks the intervening stage, and a very revealing stage it is, the Knight at arms (who again is a Keatsian figure) knows the reason of his suffering and finally, in *The Fall of Hyperion* a deeper layer of the meaning of this torturing conflict is laid bare. The linking of the second and third phases, as we shall presently see, tells us the real reason which led Keats to give up *Hyperion*.

The three important poems mentioned above have certain common characteristics. For instance, Mnemosyne, and the nameless woman of La Belle, and Moneta are three important female figures to reckon with. (In passing it may be pointed out that practically all the important poems of Keats have a woman to deal with). And whereas Keats tells us enough about the first and the last, the central figure remains unnamed although certainly not undefined. Secondly, there is a reference to *sleep* in all these poems. Apollo dreams of Mnemosyne, and she has been the "watcher of thy sleep......" (*Hyperion* III : 72). In *La Belle* Keats says :

And there she lulled me asleep
And there I dream'd Ah woe betine !
The latest dream I ever dreamt
On the cold hill side

*For lines of Keats's poetry I have mainly depended upon John Keats, *The Poems*, Edited with an Introduction by E. De Selincourt, (Metheun & Co., London, 1961).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

As already indicated, this latest dream marks the next impotrant stage in the development of Keats genius. But *La Belle* mainly describes the horrific nature of that dream. Its deeper implications are worked out in another dream sequence in *The Fall of Hyperion.* It would appear as if the complexity of the problem facing the young poet could be explored only in a state of sleep which provides free access to the unfettered imagination to penetrate to those recesses of the mind to which the wakeful consciousness cannot probe. Keats's wakeful consciousness is too much tied up with the things of beauty to allow him to go deeper. He can seek emancipation only in sleep. The dream sequence in these three poems links them up in a unique significance and makes this linking up significant.

Then lastly, all these three poems are dialogues—the longer ones at least in important sections. As in the case of the namelees woman, the reader has to start by making sure as to the identity of the Knight at arms. There are two possibilities. He may either stand for the simple and age-old device used by writers in telling the tale, or he may represent some principle of deeper significance. In the state of mind in which Keats was when he composed his great poetry, the latter is to more probable. If we grant it to be so, then the dialogue actually turns out to be a dialogue not between two different persons but between two divergent principles of Keats's own being: the contrary elements of his personality which lend tension and charm to the whole body of his poetry. They are the two electrodes within which the electrolytic process of poetic composition takes place in Keats. The wakeful Keats asks his deeper self the reason of his ailment. And the answer that is provided is relevant to the Keatsian predicament. He is not being able to break himself free from the alluremens of *La Belle* who may represent the weaker half of Keats's self—his attachment to the senses. And sensuousness in this context is a symptom of the 'fever' of the 'self' from which Keats suffers. Moneta tells Keats in *The Fall of Hyperion* :

Thou art a dreaming thing,
A fever of theyself;

—Canto I : 168-169

With an economy which points to the coming odes, *La Belle* had already admirably summed up the whole situation. As early as 1816 he had asked :

Can I ever bid these joys farewell ?

—*Sleep and Poetry:* 122

Obviously he cannot. This is a matter of dire concern to the rapidly maturing Keats. In *Hyperion* Mnemosyne had watched Apollo grow but had only dimly guessed the cause of his agony. She does not speak out

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

because Keats is not yet prepared to face facts. Why, for instance, does Apollo waste his time in the Arcadian shades when he should be busy ousting Hyperion? Apollo is obviously shirking responsibility, more so because Keats is not yet ready to effect the change in his mode of life. Apollo's "bright tears" are shed over his own weakness and his high falutin speech is a little out of keeping with the real state of affairs. In spite of the keen desire on his part to write in an objective vein, Keats just cannot succeed. The personal situation gets mixed with the story of the Titans. He was too great a romantic, and too young at that, to help it. Practically all the romantic poets wished to write a long poem in the epic style. But only Wordsworth succeeded. In that age, the conclusion is inescapable, only a long poem of the kind of *The Prelude* could have been written. The subjective experience had to be made the starting point. Wordsworth at least did not hesitate to undertake the "unprecedented" thing in literary history when he resolved to sing of his personal experience in the first person singular and at such great length, while Keats seemed all the time busy in hiding the private significance in a garb of seeming objectivity. Be that as it may, we find Keats achieving a measure of success in *La Belle* which he is nowhere near achieving in *Hyperion*. He had reasons for abandoning the longer poem because he could not keep the two *genre*, the epic and the lyric, from getting mixed. The venture was bound to fail from the very beginning.

Nevertheless, in the agony of Apollo Keats shows himself arriving at an acute awareness of that side of life which he was not temperamently suited to follow up and explore although he was to make a tremendous effort even with his failing health (or was it because of it ?) to break away from the delimiting and debasing weakness. This is the predicament with which *La Belle* deals more effectively. The poem opens with a question :

> O what can all thee Knight at arms
> Alone and palely loitering?
> The sedge has withered from the Lake
> And no birds sing !

And the question is repeated :

> O what can all thee Knight at arms
> So haggard, and so woe begone ?
> The Squirrel's granary is full
> And the harvest's done.

The questioner is certainly Keats himself, and the answerer is again Keats. The reply is :

> I met a Lady in the Meads
> Full beautiful, a fary's child
> Her hair was long, her foot was light
> And her eyes were wild—

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

But whereas the questioner is Keats, the Lady referred to is certainly not Fanny Brawne or any other woman whom Keats may have met in actual life. If the poem is read in this superficial way, then the actual significance of the poem is likely to be lost. That Keats may have infused it with profound meaning would be, as already said, entirely in keeping with the mood in which Keats must have been in that fateful year which was to grant him immortality. The poem is not a frivolous song sung in a fleeting mood of lighthearted gaiety in that dark period of high seriousness in the face of death which was not very far. On the contrary, it is a song fraught with a profound meaning of a symbolic kind.

Stanzas 5 to 8 show Keats occupied with the Lady, and the ground is prepared for what is to follow. The Lady serves for a powerful symbol of sensuousness which has the power to fascinate and over-power Keats's whole being. As sensuousness incarnate she keeps Keats enthralled by charm. Keats has indicated this unconscionable power of sensuousness over him in the *Bright Star* sonnet. This poem is a useful side comment on the theme of *La Belle*. Keats says :

Bright star ! would I were steadfast as thou art—
Not in lone splendour hung aloft the night,
And watching, with eternal lide apart,
Like Nature's patient, sleepless Eremite,
The moving waters at their priestlike task
Of pure ablution round earth's human shores,
Or gazing on the new soft fallen mask
Of snow upon the mountains and the moors—
No—yet still steadfast, still unchangeable,
Pillow'd upon my fair love's ripening breast,
To feel for ever its soft fall and swell,
Awake for ever in a sweet unrest,
Still, still to hear her tender-taken breath,
And so live ever-or else swoon to death.

This short poem illustrates the point that is being made here. It is marked by the same pull in opposite directions which invests his poetry with human significance. He looks up at the bright star in its *lone* splendour. But even in the very moment when Keats would wish to emulate its steadfastness, the poet rejects the bright star's cool, cut-off loneliness with an emphatic *No.* At this point the direction of the poem turns into more recognisable Keatsian channels. Keats knows that he cannot be the spectator *ab extra*. Objectivity does fascinate him, and yet he would prefer a direct and involving contact with the world of senses. The state "sweet unrest" is more intriguing to the young poet, while all the time his soul yearns for Shakespearean impersonality. It must, however, be recognised that this ardent love of sensuousness is at once the strength and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

weakness of Keats poetry. By 28th April 1819, at any rate, Keats views it, as it indeed should have been viewed if the nobler aspirations of the soul had to get fulfilled, as a nightmare which haunts and holds him in its pernicious influence. Keats says :

> And there she lulled me asleep
> And there I dream'd Ah woe betide !
> The latest dream I ever dreamt
> On the cold hill side
>
> I saw pale Kings, and Princes too
> Pale warriers death pale were they all
> They cried La belle dame sans merci
> Thee hath in thrall.

The death pale figures which flit before his *seeing* eye actually represen all those who had aspired for nobler things but had been betrayed by their weakness. Keats is shaken to the very roots of his being at this ghastly vision, which may be a projection of his fears at his own inability to rise superior to this weakness—his attachment to the things of the senses. In spite of the "horrid warning", however, Keats does not find it easy to cast aside the spell. He continues to *sojourn* there. The "cold hill's side" may be said to bring out the condition of uterly desolate loneliness through which, Keats subconsciously knows, lies the path to greatness. This is where the problem has to be faced and reckoned with. The ghastly memory of what he had seen, which is a visualised picture of what might befall him, engrosses his whole being. And the absence of the Lady from the final scene is symbolic of Keats's awareness that this love would ulimately betray him, and that the realisation of his nobler aims depends on the severence of this amorous relationship. And even though he lingers round the place, a definite step has nevertheless been taken forward in the form of the horrid dream. The danger has been made evident to him in no uncertain way.

The Fall of Hyperion takes up the same theme. The lovely Lady of the earlier poem is now replaced by the august figure of Moneta who throws the challange in more unambiguous terms :

> "If thou canst not ascend
> These steps, die on that marble where thou art.
> Thy flesh, near cousin to the common dust,
> Will parch for lack of nutriment, —thy bones
> Will wither in few years, and vanish so
> That not the quickest eye could find a grain
> Of what thou now art on that pavement cold.
> The sands of thy short life are spent this hour,
> And no hand in the universe can turn
> Thy hourglass, if these gummed leaves be burnt
> Ere thou canst mount up these immortal steps."

—Canto I, 107-117.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The correspondence with the earlier poem is obvious. The cold marble where Keats stands will cause his destruction. The steps on which he is invited to climb are the steps to immortality. The choice is his, and the effort also his to make. And the lines that follow give a graphic account of the Keatsian situation. The colossal difficulty that the threat poses is vividly dramatised in the first canto in the following lines :

> I heard, I look'd : two senses both at once,
> So fine, so subtle, felt the tyranny
> Of that fierce threat and the hard task proposed.
> Prodigious seem'd the toil ;

He falls in the deathly grip of a palsied chill :

> I strove hard to escape
> The numbness, strove to gain the lowest step.
> Slow, heavy, deadly was thy pace : the cold
> Grew stifling, suffocating, at the heart ;
> And when I clasp'd my hands I felt them not.
> One minute before death, my iced foot touch'd
> The lowest stair; and, as it touch'd, life seem'd
> To pour in at the toes ; I mounted up,
>
> —Canto I : 118-134

That records a great imaginative victory over the consuming weakness. From being a *fever* of himself, Keats seeks to become physician. But the transition from one state to another is by no means easy. It lies in escaping from the tyranny and thralldom of sensuousness, and the acceptance of the awesome condition of loneliness referred to in the poem about the Lady without mercy.

La Belle therefore is a poem with a deep meaning which has a direct bearing on the life of the poet. It dramatises his sore plight; and the poem easily dovetails into the longer poem which picks up the threads left loosely hanging at the end of the song. It faithfully portrays the drama of Keats's brief life. As a gloss on the meaning of this tragic but fascinating drama, it helps in bringing out the issues involved. The struggle is the age-old struggle between the senses and the soul. And the measure of the triumph of the latter over the former in Keats's case lies in the calm serenity of *To Autumn*, where the mind already stands dis-associated from the all-engrossing senses. But if the last great ode still records only the harvest of the senses reaped in a mood of quiet and subdued passion, that only proves how young Keats was when he died : yet how much had he achieved at that young age !

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

HINDI

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

छविनाथ त्रिपाठी

पृथ्वीराज रासो : एक पौराणिक महाकाव्य और चन्द का व्यक्तित्व

पृथ्वीराज रासो के मूल स्वरूप के सम्बन्ध में अब तक निर्विवाद निष्कर्ष नहीं निकल सका है। विविध विद्वानों के मत से यह विशालकाय रासो भी है और अल्पकायं 'रासउ' भी। यह ऐतिहासिक काव्य भी है और अनैतिहासिक भी। यह एक कवि-कृत भी है और अनेक कविकृत विकसन-शील महाकाव्य भी। हिन्दी का यह आदि महाकाव्य, हिन्दू धर्म के ब्रह्म की भांति ही परस्पर विरोधी गुणों का समन्वय माना जाता है। यदि साहित्य के इतिहासकारों और काव्य के आलोचकों द्वारा इसके सम्बन्ध में परस्पर विरोधी विचार व्यक्त होते रहे हैं, तो इसमें आश्चर्य ही क्या है ? इसे महाभारत की भांति विकसित महाकाव्य मान लेने पर भी उन कवियों के नाम अज्ञात हैं, जिन्होंने अपने कवि-यश को चन्द के यश के साथ मिला कर एकाकार कर दिया है। इस सम्बन्ध में प्रायः सभी विद्वान, एक मत हैं कि इसका बृहत् उपलब्ध रूप सोलहवीं शताब्दी से पूर्व ही आकार पा चुका था[१]।

सामान्यतः पृथ्वीराज रासो पर उसकी ऐतिहासिकता और अनैतिहासिकता पर बहुत कुछ लिखा जा चुका है। गार्साँ द तासी के अनुसार 'चन्द का काव्य अपने युग का पूर्ण इतिहास है।'[२] टॉड के अनुसार 'कवि के काल का यह पूर्ण इतिहास है'।[३] ग्रियर्सन इसके काव्य-सौन्दर्य पर मुग्ध हैं।[४] जेम्स मोरिसन इसे जाली ग्रन्थ मानते हैं।[५] ये विचार कुछ यूरोपीय विद्वानों के हैं। हिन्दी साहित्य के विद्वानों के भी तीन वर्ग हैं। एक वर्ग उसे जाली समझता है, दूसरा वर्ग उसे प्रामाणिक रचना मानता है और तीसरा वर्ग उसके कुछ अंश को प्रामाणिक और कुछ अंश को अप्रामाणिक या प्रक्षिप्त मानता है। जिन अंशों की प्रामाणिकता निर्विवाद समझी जाती है, उन अंशों का पृथक् संपादन डॉ० माताप्रसाद गुप्त ने 'पृथ्वीराज रासउ' के नाम से किया है। गुप्त जी का विचार है कि 'रासो सम्पूर्ण रूप से ऐतिहासिक रचना नहीं है, उसके अनेक उल्लेख या विस्तार अवश्य ही कल्पना-प्रसूत हैं और इतिहास से समर्थित नहीं हैं।...यह कहना अनावश्यक होगा कि हमें सम्पूर्ण रचना को प्रायः उसी दृष्टि से देखना चाहिए जिस दृष्टि से हम मध्य युग में लिखे गये एक अच्छे से अच्छे ऐतिहासिक महाकाव्य को देख सकते हैं।'[६] 'रासो की चरित्र-कल्पना ही उसकी सब से बड़ी विशेषता है जैसा कि वह प्रत्येक महाकाव्य की हुआ करती है। पृथ्वीराज इस महाकाव्य का नायक है। उसके समस्त कार्यधर्म-वृद्धि से होते हैं।'[७] 'जयचन्द और शहाबुद्दीन

---

१. द्रष्टव्य—हिन्दी काव्यधारा-पृष्ठ ४३४, राहुल जी-चन्द का समय-१२०० ई०, हिन्दी साहित्य का इतिहास-राम चन्द्र शुक्ल-पृथ्वीराज रासो की रचना सं० १४०० के लगभग हुई ही मानी जा सकती है, इस से पूर्व नहीं-पृ० ४६-५४ 'पृथ्वीराज रासउ' की भूमिका में-माता प्रसाद गुप्त-आइने अकबरी से पूर्व पृथ्वी राज रासो की रचना हो चुकी थी-पृष्ठ १६८

२. चन्द वरदायी और उनका काव्य-पृष्ठ ३५२ से उद्धृत

३. वही-पृष्ठ ३५४ पर

४. वही-पृष्ठ ३५५ पर

५. वही-पृष्ठ ३५५ पर

६. पृथ्वी राज रासउ-पृ० ११२

७. वही-पृ० १८६

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

पृथ्वीराज के अच्छे और समर्थ प्रतिद्वन्दी हैं।"[८] 'रासो 'साहित्य दर्पण' के काव्य लक्षणों के अनुरूप अवश्य नहीं पड़ता है और उसका कारण यह है कि महाकाव्य होने के साथ साथ यह छन्द-वैविध्यपरक रासो-परम्परा की रचना है।"[९]।

पृथ्वी राज रासो पर अब तक तीन दृष्टियों से विचार किया गया है--(१) ऐतिहासिक रचना की दृष्टि से (२) ऐतिहासिक महाकाव्य की दृष्टि से और (३) छन्द वैविध्य—परक रासो-परंपरा के काव्य की दृष्टि से। पृथ्वीराज रासो ऐतिहासिक नहीं है, अतः उसमें इतिहास-विरुद्ध तथ्यों का होना आश्चर्यजनक नही है। एक ऐतिहासिक महाकाव्य के लिए यह आवश्यक है कि उसमें ऐतिहासिक घटनाओं और तथ्यों को विकृत न किया जाय। कल्पना का योग इन सत्य घटनाओं को सुन्दर और काव्यात्मक रूप देता है, उनको विकृत नहीं करता। निस्सन्देह पृथ्वीराज रासो में इतिहास-विरुद्ध तथ्य हैं, फिर इसे ऐतिहासिक काव्य मानने का भी मुख्य आधार छूट जाता है। ऐतिहासिक तथ्यों के अनुकूल बनाने के लिए समग्र पृथ्वीराज रासो के कुछ अंशों को ही एक रूप देकर पृथ्वीराज रासो कहना भी उपलब्ध सम्पूर्ण काव्य के प्रति अन्याय ही है। छन्दों की विविधता, चन्द के काव्य-युग की शैली-सम्बन्धी विशेषता है, अतः उसके आधार पर कुछ अंश को ही प्रामाणिक मानने का कोई आधार उपलब्ध नहीं होता। सम्पूर्ण पृथ्वीराज रासो में यह छन्द-वैविध्य दृष्टिगोचर होता है। आज कुछ साहित्य के इतिहासकार इस काव्य की उपेक्षा कर 'भरतेश्वर बाहुबली रास' को हिन्दी साहित्य का आदि काव्य सिद्ध करने लगे हैं अतः यह आवश्यक है कि पृथ्वीराज रासो को इस श्रेय से वंचित करने के पूर्व इसके समग्र रूप पर एक बार और गहरी दृष्टि डाल ली जाय। इस सम्बन्ध में पृथ्वीराज रासो के कवि का विचार किसी भी आलोचक के मत से अधिक महत्त्वपूर्ण सिद्ध हो सकता है, जिसकी ओर अब तक ध्यान नहीं दिया गया है।

पृथ्वीराज रासो एक पौराणिक काव्य—

स्वयं चन्द ने इसे 'प्रथिराज काव्य' या पुराण कहा है[१०]। पौराणिक काव्य का नायक अवतारी पुरुष होना चाहिये। देव और दानव के अवतार ही पौराणिक काव्यों के नायक प्रतिनायक तथा अन्य पात्र होते हैं। पृथ्वीराज को विशिष्ट अवतारी पुरुष सिद्ध करने के लिए चंद ने 'ढूंढा' राक्षस की कल्पना की और उसी की ज्योति से पृथ्वीराज, उनके सूर-सामंत तथा संयोगिता आदि की उत्पत्ति का प्रसंग प्रस्तुत किया है। यह दानव बाद में सिद्ध बना और उसने काशी में अपने को हवन-कुण्ड में जला दिया और पृथ्वीराज आदि के रूप में अवतरित हुआ।[११] बावन वीर, योगिनी, देवी आदि की सिद्धि के प्रसंग काव्य को पौराणिक रूप ही देते हैं। पृथ्वीराज के अवतार होने का उल्लेख कवि ने अनेक स्थलों पर किया है[१२]।

---

८. वही–पृ० १९७

९. वही–पृ० २१७

१०. षट्भाषा पुराणं च कुराणं कथितं मया। पृथ्वीराज रासो १।८३।
सोयं पातु गनेस सेस सफलं प्रथ्राज काव्यं कृतं। पृ० रा० १।२०॥

११. इस आतम उद्धार करि जनम लियो भुअ आय।
सो वृत्तंत कवि चंद कहि बरन्यो कवित बनाय। पृ० रा० १।५७८।

१२. द्रष्टव्य-पृ० रा० १।९,[illegible] आदि।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

पृथ्वीराज रासो के जिस अन्तिम युद्ध को प्रामाणिक माना जाता है वह भी पौराणिक शैली में ही है। यह युद्ध—(१) चंद और उनकी पत्नी, (२) शिव और यक्ष तथा (३) संयोगिता और गिद्धिनी या डाकिनी के संवाद रूप में ही वर्णित है। वक्ता और श्रोता का सन्निवेश पौराणिक विशेषता रही है। मध्ययुग के प्रायः सभी प्रबन्ध काव्य इस शैली का अनुसरण करते है। तुलसी का रामचरित मानस भी इसका अपवाद नही है।

एक पुराण में सर्ग, प्रलय, वंश, मन्वन्तर तथा वंशानुचरित का वर्णन अपेक्षित होता है, किन्तु किसी पौराणिक काव्य के लिये यह आवश्यक नहीं है कि वह सर्ग, प्रलय और मन्वन्तर का भी वर्णन प्रस्तुत करे। आदर्श-चरित्र, सदाचार-सम्पन्न और यशस्वी राजाओं का वर्णन ही पुराण भी करते हैं, एक पौराणिक काव्य के लिए भी ऐसे ही राजा या राजाओं का चरित अपेक्षित है। इस सम्बन्ध में भागवत का यह कथन साक्षी है—

कथा इमास्ते कथिता महीयसां, हिताय लोकेषु यशः परे युषाम्।

विज्ञान-वैराग्य-विवक्षया विभो, वचो विभूतिर्न तु पारमार्थ्यम् ।१२।३।१४ कि महान् और यशस्वी चरित ही वर्ण्य होने चाहिए। चन्द ने महान्, यशस्वी और अवतारी पुरुष पृथ्वीराज सहित अनेक यशस्वी सामंतों के चरित और उनकी वीरता को अपना वर्ण्य बनाया है।

चंद, रामायण और महाभारत सहित पुराणों के मर्मज्ञ थे। महाभारत को तो वे जैसे वीरता का आदर्श ग्रन्थ मानते थे और जहां कहीं उन्हे काव्य में अवसर मिला है, अपने काव्य-पात्रों की तुलना उसके पात्रों से करने लगते हैं।[13] पार्थ और दुर्योधन दोनों की ही वीरता और रणनीति के कारण चन्द बार बार इनका उल्लेख करते हैं। पृथ्वीराज रासो का आदर्श एवं प्रेरक महाभारत ही रहा है।

आबू के यज्ञकुण्ड से चार क्षत्रिय कुलों की उत्पत्ति तथा पृथ्वीराज, संयोगिता और गोरी आदि के जन्म की अद्भुत कथा का वर्णन काव्य को पौराणिक रूप देने के लिये ही प्रस्तुत किया गया है। पुराणों को पुराण का रूप उसके बीच बीच में आने वाले उपाख्यान ही देते हैं। पृथ्वीराज रासो में भी भागीरथी माहात्म्य (समय ६१), जयचन्द की रानी जुन्हाई की उत्पत्ति-कथा (समय ६१), अतातायी चौहान की उत्पत्ति-कथा (समय ६१) तथा स्वप्न (अन्तिम युद्ध ८,९) और शकुन (समय ६१।७०, ६५।१०२) आदि[14] का वर्णन उपाख्यान शैली पर ही हुआ है। जिस प्रकार किसी पुराण से उसके उपाख्यानों को निकाल कर मूल कथा के अंश को ही ग्रहण करना अभीष्ट नहीं होता, वैसे ही पृथ्वीराज रासो से उसके इन स्थलों को पृथक् नहीं किया जा सकता।

युद्ध क्षेत्र में वीरों की मृत्यु पर अलौकिक दृश्यों की व्यंजना केवल अतिशयोक्तिपूर्ण वर्णन मात्र नहीं है, वह पौराणिक शैली की अनुरूपता लाने का प्रयत्न भी है—

गंग डोलि ससि डोलि, डोलि ब्रह्मंड सक्र डुल।
अष्ट थान दिगपाल, चाल चंचाल विचल थल ॥६१।१४९३।

---

१३. द्रष्टव्य—पृ० रा० १।७२७, ५७।८८, ५।१०१, ५१।१०२ आदि।

१४. अन्य उपाख्यानों के लिए—परीक्षित का तक्षक दंशन, जनमेजय का नागयज्ञ तथा आबू पर्वत का उद्धार (समय १), शंखधुनि योगियों की कथा (समय ६१) अतातायी चौहान स्त्री से पुरुष बना था। एक ही कनवज्ज खंड में महाभारत की भांति कई सामंत सेनापतित्व ग्रहण करते हैं।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

गोरी के साथ पृथ्वीराज के अन्तिम युद्ध को तो चन्द ने असुर-सुर युद्ध भी घोषित कर दिया है—

धर धक्कि धमकिनि धारनं ।
मिलि असुर सूर प्रहारनं ॥६६।१५४३॥

पौराणिक काव्य में काव्य के पठन का फल-निर्देश भी अवश्य होता है । चन्द ने पृथ्वीराज रासो की विशेषताओं को गिनाते हुये इसे मुक्ति और ज्ञान का प्रदाता, पार उतारने वाला राजनीति रूपी जहाज, तर्क-वितर्क-सम्पन्न, राज सभा के उपयुक्त तथा कवियों के लिए आदर प्राप्ति का साधन माना है ।[१५] भक्ति और चतुर्थ पुरुषार्थ मुक्ति अनेक पुराणों के पाठ का भी फल है ।

स्थान स्थान पर शास्त्रीय उक्तियों और धार्मिक उपदेशों के समावेश से भी पृथ्वीराज रासो के पौराणिक स्वरूप की पुष्टि होती है । ये उक्तियां कहीं तो विधि-ग्रन्थों से ज्यों की त्यों उद्धृत कर दी गई हैं, कहीं उनका रूपान्तर कर दिया गया है ।[१६] किसी काव्य को पौराणिक-काव्य कहने का यह अर्थ नहीं है कि उसमें महाकाव्य के तत्त्व या उसकी विशेषतायें नहीं हैं । ऐतिहासिक तथ्यों के अन्वेषण के समय उनकी अनुपलब्धि पर किसी काव्य को ही जाली मान लेना एक पौराणिक काव्य की मूल-प्रवृत्ति के साथ अन्याय ही हो सकता है ।

चन्द का सबल व्यक्तित्व—

पृथ्वीराज रासो में चन्द भी स्वयं एक पात्र है । इसकी अनेक महत्त्वपूर्ण घटनाओं से उसका स्वयं भी सम्बन्ध रहा है । महाभारत के व्यास की भांति ही वह काव्य का प्रणेता और पात्र दोनों ही है । वह अवतारी पुरुष महाराज पृथ्वीराज का सखा, परामर्शदाता, मित्र, सामंत, योधा, दूत, पथप्रदर्शक, उपकारक और अन्तिम समय में उद्धारक भी था । इसके साथ ही वह कवि भी था, दरबारी कवि, जिसकी वाणी दरबार के वीर सामन्तों को काव्यामृत से अमरत्व प्रदान करती थी । चन्द की कविता में स्थान पाने के लिये वीर-सामंत रणक्षेत्र में मरण के खेल खेला करते थे । चन्द के लिये स्थान स्थान पर प्रयुक्त विशेषणों और अन्य पात्रों द्वारा की गई उसके लिए प्रशंसात्मक उक्तियों में उसके कवि-व्यक्तित्व की झलक दिखाई पड़ती है ।

चन्द द्वारा बावन वीरों की सिद्धि के उपरान्त पृथ्वीराज ने उसकी प्रशंसा करते हुए, उसको तीनों लोकों में असम, नट, भट्ठ, नाटिक्कनर, संसार-समुद्र के लिए बोहित तथा देवी से वर-प्राप्त कहा है ।[१७] कवि चन्द से जब कभी कोई प्रश्न किया जाता था तब उसके 'वरदाइ' और बुद्धिमान् होने का संकेत अवश्य किया जाता था ।[१८] चन्द में अदृष्ट वर्णन की क्षमता थी । पृथ्वीराज द्वारा चुनौती दिये जाने पर उसने भरे दरबार में कैमास-वध का

---

१५. द्रष्टव्य—पृ० रा० १।८५ 'मुगति समप्पन ग्यान' ।
१६. यं कर्म क्रियते प्रानी सो प्रानी तत्र गच्छति ॥ पृ० रा० ६४।३२०॥
तथा द्रष्टव्य अन्यस्थल—२।५१४, ७।७६४, ६१।१८२५, ६४।१६८,३११–३२० ।
१७. पृ० रा० ६।४८
१८. द्रष्टव्य ... आदि स्थल ।

CC-0. In Public Domain, Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

रहस्य उद्घाटित कर दिया था[१९]। पृथ्वीराज के इस कुकृत्य का वर्णन सुन कर अन्य सामंत क्रुद्ध एवं खिन्न हो गए। पृथ्वीराज स्वयं लज्जित हो गया। पृथ्वी राज के साथ कन्नौज दरबार में प्रवेश करने के पूर्व भी उसकी अदृष्ट-वर्णन की क्षमता की परीक्षा ली गई थी और उसमें वह पूर्ण सफल रहा।[२०] उसके अदृष्ट-वर्णन की क्षमता की प्रशंसा करते हुए जयचन्द के कवियों ने कहा कि चन्द की काव्य में गति और उक्ति-विचार की प्रतिभा समिधाग्नि के प्रकाश तुल्य है। वह अपने आश्रयदाता नरेश्वर के लिए सुखप्रद सम्पत्तितुल्य है और अन्य के लिए उसके शरवाक्य वीरवर अर्जुन के शर-प्रहार के अनुरूप हैं।[२१] अदृष्ट-वर्णन के लिए प्रस्तुत होते ही सरस्वती मानो उसके मानस-चक्षुओं के समक्ष प्रत्यक्ष हो जाती थीं। तीनों लोकों में व्याप्त उनकी शक्ति से स्वयं चन्द को भी उदय से अस्त तक सब कुछ दृष्टिगोचर होने लगता था। उसकी कवि प्रतिभा का संचार तीनों कालों में अव्याहत था।[२२] स्वयं चन्द को अपने 'वरदाइ' होने और अदृष्ट-वर्णन की क्षमता पर गर्व भी था।[२३]

चन्द ६ भाषाओं का ज्ञाता और नव रसों में काव्य-रचना-निपुण था। छन्द-प्रबन्ध पर उसका पूर्ण-प्रभुत्व था। चंद के समय संस्कृत, प्राकृत, अपभ्रंश, मागध, पिशाच और शौरसेनी का ज्ञान एक उच्च कोटि के कवि के लिए अनिवार्य माना जाता था।[२४]

चंद की वाणी सरस थी। वह यशस्वी और गुणों का समुद्र था। उसकी सूक्तियां लहरियों के समान थीं। युक्तिपूर्ण कविता उसकी मर्यादा थी और प्रखर व्यंग्य-पूर्ण वाक्य ही उसके रत्न थे। वह गुण से कसी हुई प्रत्यंचा वाला अक्षय धन्वी था। कीर्ति-वाक्य ही उसका तरकस था और सरसता ही उसका सर-समूह, अभिलाषायें उसके हाथ थीं। उससे गर्व करने वाला कवि दलित हो जाता था।[२५]

पृथ्वीराज के दरबार में चन्द को राजा के सम्मुख ही स्थान प्राप्त होता था तथा युद्ध-यात्रा के समय वह सेना के मध्य में चलने वाले राजा के साथ ही रहता था। वह सामंत, मंत्री और मित्र होने के कारण पृथ्वीराज से प्रचुर धन और सम्मान प्राप्त कर चुका था। विश्वसनीय होने के कारण वह महत्त्वपूर्ण अवसरों (भीम से युद्ध-योजना, हाहुली हमीर को मनाना) पर दूत का कार्य भी करता था। कन्नौज-युद्ध में उसने स्वयं भाग लिया था। चन्द कवीन्द्र था और वाद-विवाद में अनेक कवियों और राजाओं को उसके सामने मौन हो जाना पड़ता था। जयचन्द द्वारा यह पूछे जाने पर कि—

मुह दरिद्र अरु तुच्छ तन, जंगलराव सुहद्द।
वन उजार वन-पशु चरन, क्यों दूबरो वरद्द॥ ६१।५८०

उसने पृथ्वीराज की प्रशंसा में जो उक्तियां प्रस्तुत कीं उससे जयचन्द जल-भुन कर रह गया।

---

१९. द्रष्टव्य—पृ० रा० समयो ५७॥
२०. द्रष्टव्य—पृ० रा० ६१।५१३
२१. द्रष्टव्य—पृ० रा० ६१।५१५ एवं उसके आगे का वर्णन।
२२. द्रष्टव्य—पृ० रा० ५८। २२५, ६१। ५५४, १। ३०।
२३. द्रष्टव्य—पृ० रा० ५८। १२६, ६१। ५५०।
२४. वही—१। ८३, ६१। ७४४, ६७। १८६।
२५. वही—६१ [illegible]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

चंद के सबल-कवि-व्यक्तित्व को व्यक्त करने वाले अनेक स्थल पृथ्वीराज रासो में उपलब्ध हैं। क्या ये उक्तियां अन्य कवियों द्वारा बाद में जोड़ दी गई हैं ? इस प्रश्न का उत्तर 'नहीं' में दिया जा सकता है। एक पौराणिक-काव्य के निर्माता के लिए त्रिकालज्ञ और अदृष्ट-वर्णन में सक्षम होना ही चाहिये। चन्द, व्यास की भांति ऋषि नहीं था। वह राजकीय ऐश्वर्य से सम्पन्न था। बावन वीरों और सरस्वती की सिद्धि के कारण वह ऋषि-तुल्य था। चन्द की वाणी में स्थान पाने के लिए वीर सामंत लालायित रहते थे। चन्द, काव्य का स्वयं एक पात्र है अतः जिस प्रकार उसने अन्य सामंतों का वर्णन किया है, स्वयं अपना वर्णन भी किया है। इसके मूल में अपनी कीर्ति को स्थिर रखने का प्रयोजन भी निहित था, जिसे चन्द ने स्वयं स्पष्ट किया है।

स्वामि-धर्म की प्रतिष्ठा ही प्रयोजन—

प्रत्येक पुराण किसी विशेष प्रयोजन से निर्मित हुआ है। पौराणिक-काव्य उन प्रयोजनों में से किसी एक को लक्ष्य बना कर चलते हैं। चंद ने पृथ्वीराज रासो की रचना उस समय की जब पृथ्वीराज और गोरी का अन्तिम युद्ध भी समाप्त हो चुका था। वह एक उच्चकोटि के कवि को सुलभ धन, ऐश्वर्य, सम्मान और यश आदि सब कुछ प्राप्त कर चुका था। पृथ्वीराज और गोरी के अन्तिम युद्ध के समय वह हाहुलि हमीर की कैद में था जिसे मना कर सहायता देने के लिए प्रेरित करने को पृथ्वीराज ने चंद को दूत रूप में भेजा था। हाहुलि की कैद से मुक्त होकर जिस समय चन्द दिल्ली पहुंचा, उस समय तक युद्ध समाप्त हो चुका था। पृथ्वीराज-विहीन दिल्ली के नगरवासियों ने आंसुओं से कवि का स्वागत किया। स्वयं चन्द विह्वल हो उठा। पृथ्वीराज और उसके वीर सामन्तों का साहचर्य और प्रेम उसे बार बार स्मरण हो आता था।[२६] पृथ्वीराज और उसके सामन्तों की प्रशंसा करते हुए चन्द ने पहले भी बहुत कुछ लिखा होगा। समय समय पर लिखे गये इन अंशों को वस्तु-क्रम में सजा कर स्वयं चन्द ने अपनी पत्नी की प्रेरणा से एक प्रबन्धात्मक रूप दे दिया, अन्यथा दो मास आधे दिन में इतने विशालकाय काव्य की रचना असंभव ही लगती है।[२७] इन अंशों में बहुत सा अंश वह भी होगा जो केवल मनोरंजनार्थ लिखा गया होगा और जिसमें ऐतिहासिक तथ्यों को ढूंढ़ने का प्रयत्न करने पर भी कुछ नहीं मिलता, जो केवल कल्पना पर ही आश्रित है और रासो के आलोचक जिसे प्रक्षिप्त मान लेते हैं। एक ही कवि के समय-समय पर लिखे गये काव्यांशों के स्वरूप में प्रौढ़ता-अप्रौढ़ता के भी दर्शन हो सकते हैं।

चन्द ने स्वयं यश की महिमा का बखान किया है और अपनी पत्नी से स्वयं यशस्वी बनने की बात कही है।[२८] पृथ्वीराज सहित उसके वीर सामंतों को यशस्वी बनाना ही चन्द का उद्देश्य था। यश ही कवि की दृष्टि में अमरता का प्रतीक है। यश की स्थिरता, किसी काव्य-नायक या उसके वीर-पात्रों की वीरता-पूर्ण गाथा और महान् गुणों के काव्य-निबद्ध होने पर ही निर्भर करती है। कवि का यह परम धर्म है कि वीर-पात्रों को अपनी कविता में जीवित रखे। चन्द का प्रयोजन वीरों को अपने छन्दों में जीवित रखना ही था। 'सुकवि

२६. द्रष्टव्य—पृ० रा० ६६। १७०२।

२७. वही—६७। ४०–५०।

२८. वही—६७। २२।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

छन्द चन्दे जिआ' जैसी उक्तियां इसकी साक्षी हैं। मरणोपरान्त कीर्ति ही शेष रहती है।[२९] चन्द युद्ध क्षेत्र में स्वयं वीरों के यश-अयश का साक्षी रहता था—

हौं भट्ट चंद जस अजस पढ़ि भरौं साषि सूरह समर ॥ ६६ । ६६७ ॥

अन्तिम युद्ध में पृथ्वीराज के सामंतों ने स्वामिधर्म का पालन करते हुए प्राणोत्सर्ग कर दिया था। चंद को यह अवसर न मिला। उन्होंने पृथ्वीराज रासो के निर्माण द्वारा न केवल इस धर्म का पालन किया अपितु पृथ्वीराज का उद्धार कर उन्हें अमर भी बना दिया।

सामन्तवादी व्यवस्था भारत में प्राचीनकाल से ही चली आ रही है। चन्द का युग तो सामन्तवादी युग था ही। राजा इस पृथ्वी पर 'महती देवता' समझा जाता था। शिशु राजा की भी अवज्ञा करना वर्जित था। राजा के प्रति इस अन्ध-विश्वासी श्रद्धा को बद्ध-मूल करने में धर्मशास्त्र और नीतिशास्त्र के ग्रन्थों ने प्रचुर योग दिया। राजा की इच्छा पर सैनिक प्राण-पण से युद्ध करने को तत्पर हों और या तो विजय प्राप्त करें या मरण का वरण; इसके लिए उनके सामने एक निश्चित आदर्श प्रस्तुत किया गया। यही आदर्श था 'स्वामि-धर्म'। धार्मिक पृष्ठभूमि पर इस आदर्श की प्रतिष्ठा होते ही स्वर्ग, नरक और मुक्ति का विधान आवश्यक हो गया। स्वामि-धर्म का पालन करने वाले सैनिक और सामंत को स्वर्ग और मुक्ति की उपलब्धि सुलभ हो गई और इस धर्म से च्युत होते ही नरकवास भी निश्चित हो गया। कौटिल्य ने तो राजा के लिये न लड़ने वाले सैनिक या सामंत को श्राद्ध-जल से वंचित ही नहीं घोषित किया, उसे नरक जाने का शाप भी दे डाला है। चन्द ने न केवल स्वामि-धर्म का पालन करते हुए स्वयं प्राण विसर्जित किया अपितु पृथ्वीराज रासो में उन्होंने इस धर्म के पालन के लिये अन्य सामंतों को प्रेरणा भी दी।

स्वामि-धर्म के पालन के साथ क्षत्रिय-धर्म का अविच्छिन्न सम्बन्ध है। चन्द के शब्दों में जो क्षत्रिय खड्ग-धर्म (युद्ध) का पालन नहीं करता उसे नरकवास मिलता है और जो विजय की कामना में प्राण देता है उसे सूर्य-मंडल में तेजोलोक मिलता है—

पगधार ध्रम्म पत्री तनौ चूकै न्रक्क निवासियै।
जै काम सूर साधन चले धू धू मंडल वासियै ॥ ६३ । ६७६ ॥

सुरलोक के साथ यश और नरक के साथ अयश बंधा हुआ है। तलवार ही मुक्ति का मुख्य साधन है[३०]। स्वामि-धर्म के साथ ही मुक्ति और यश बंधे हुए हैं—

सा ध्रम्म मुकति बन्धै रवन सामि-ध्रम्म जस मुगतिवर।
अव कित्ति कित्ति करतार कर, नरक चूक भुम्मोति नर ॥ ६६ । ६६३ ॥

चन्द की दृष्टि में वे ही क्षत्रिय धन्य हैं जिनकी बुद्धि धर्म में हैं। जो स्वामी के संकट में पड़ने पर भी स्वामि-धर्म नहीं छोड़ते उन्हें ही राव-श्रेष्ठ समझा जाना चाहिए :—

वरदाय चंद चिंतनु करे, धनि छत्री जिन ध्रम्म मति।
मुक्कहिं न स्वामि संकट परे, ते कहिये रावत्त पति ॥ ६१ । ५६६ ॥

---

२९. वही—३१ । ६, ३१ । १०, ६६ । ३८३ ।
३०. द्रष्टव्य—[illegible] ६६ । ६८१ ।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

क्षत्रिय की मुक्ति और सूर-मंडल में निवास स्वामि-धर्म के पालन से ही संभव है। सामंतों में सिंह वही है जो अपना मन इसी में लगा कर शीघ्र मुक्ति और सुगति के लिये प्रयत्न करे। चन्द ने सामन्ती-जीवन के इस आदर्श पर पूरा बल स्थान स्थान पर दिया है।[31]

चंद ने 'स्वधर्मे निधनं श्रेयः' का पूर्ण पालन किया है। बारहवीं शताब्दी तक प्राचीन परंपराओं की मर्यादा में अधिक बल नहीं रह गया था। बाहरी आक्रमणों के आरंभ होने पर परस्पर संघर्षरत सामंतों और राजाओं की शक्ति क्षीण होने लगी थी। संभवतः निरन्तर युद्धों से सैनिक और सामन्त ऊब गये थे और उनमें एक नई प्रेरणा भरने की आवश्यकता थी। सैनिक किसी आदर्श के लिए ही युद्ध-क्षेत्र में प्राण विसर्जित करता है। राष्ट्र-भावना तब थी नहीं अतः कौटिल्य-युगीन क्षत्रिय-धर्म और स्वामि-धर्म की प्रतिष्ठा करने का प्रयत्न किया गया। पौराणिक काव्य पृथ्वीराज रासो इसी आदर्श की प्रतिष्ठा का प्रयत्न करता है। इस धर्म के पोषण के लिये उसने जीवन की क्षणभंगुरता का स्थान स्थान पर निर्देश किया है।

भारतीय परम्परायें आध्यात्मिकता से ओत-प्रोत रही हैं। इस नश्वर जीवन से परे भी कुछ है, उसकी सत्ता आरंभिक काल से ही भारतीय मनीषियों ने स्वीकार कर ली थी। स्वर्ग-नरक और इससे भी परे मुक्ति की कल्पना पारलौकिक सत्ता की स्वीकृति पर ही निर्भर रही। उत्तम कर्मों से स्वर्ग, हीन कर्मों से नरक तथा मानव-जीवन के लिए निश्चित आदर्श के प्रति तन-मन-धन के पूर्ण समर्पण से मुक्ति का विधान धर्म शास्त्रीय ग्रन्थों में किया जाने लगा। पुण्य और पाप तथा निष्काम कर्म की व्यवस्थायें सामने आयीं। परलोक की सत्ता का स्वीकरण और जीवन की नश्वरता का परिज्ञान, मरणोपरान्त भी उत्तम की उपलब्धि के लिए प्रेरणाप्रद सिद्ध हुए। एक पौराणिक परम्परा का पालन करते हुए पृथ्वीराज रासो में जीवन की नश्वरता का अनेक स्थलों पर संकेत किया गया है। स्वामि-धर्म और कर्तव्य-पालन के लिए प्रेरकतत्त्व के रूप में स्वयं चन्द ने इसका बार बार संकेत किया है—

> धिग धिग सुवीर वसुधा करै तौ न छुट्टै नर काल भर ॥ ६६ । ६८६ ॥
> रजपूत मरन संसार वर ॥ ६१ । १५७६ ॥
> सा पुरुषां का जीवना थोड़ाइ है भल्हां ॥ ६४ । १६८ ॥

हाहुलि हम्मीर को समझाते हुए चंद ने सांसारिक सुखों की भर्त्सना की है और जीवन की नश्वरता का संकेत किया है—

> धिग्ग सुष्प संसार धिग्ग मिष्ठान पान वर ॥ ६६ । ६८१ ॥
> पय लग्गानिय मीच मंत को करै जियन को ॥ ६६ । ६८३ ॥
> संसार अथिर सामंत मत ॥ ६६ । ६८३ ॥

संसार अस्थिर या क्षणभंगुर है, यही एक सामंत का मत या सिद्धान्त है। इस सिद्धान्त को छोड़ कर वह इस नश्वर माया शरीर की ओर तभी उन्मुख होता है जब वह असत् मार्ग ग्रहण कर लेता है।

चंद का कवि-व्यक्तित्व इतना सबल था कि वह अपने प्रभाव का उपयोग उस सामन्ती युग में क्षत्रियत्व-सम्पन्न स्वामि-धर्म की पुनः प्रतिष्ठा में कर सके। महाभारत ही

३१. वही—६१ । ६५३-६५६ ॥

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

पृथ्वीराज रासो का आदर्श रहा है। एक पौराणिक काव्य की अनेक विशेषतायें इसमें उपलब्ध होती हैं। भारतीय-परंपरा के आधार पर जीवन की नश्वरता का बोध कराते हुए एक ऐसे निश्चित जीवनादर्श की प्रतिष्ठा इस पौराणिक-काव्य का प्रयोजन है जो उस युग-विशेष के लिए सर्वथा उपयुक्त और वांछनीय था। स्वामि-धर्म को स्वर्ग-नरक, पुण्य-पाप, यश-अपयश और चरम लक्ष्य मुक्ति से जोड़ कर चंद ने इसकी महत्ता स्थापित की है। पुराणों का प्रभाव हिन्दू जीवन पर था ही, अपने काव्य को पौराणिक रूप दे कर चन्द ने इसकी मान्यता को और भी प्रभावशाली बनाने का प्रयत्न किया है। यदि इन तथ्यों का ध्यान में रखा जाय तो पृथ्वीराज रासो के अध्ययन की और अधिक आवश्यकता प्रतीत होगी। उसके सम्बन्ध में जो कुछ कहा जा चुका है वही पर्याप्त नहीं है।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

हरिश्चन्द्र वर्मा

आधुनिक हिन्दी कवियों पर कालिदास का प्रभाव

तत्त्वतः सम्पूर्ण सृष्टि की गतिशीलता के मूल में प्रभाव की सत्ता विद्यमान रहती है और सम्पर्कजन्य आकर्षण का सिद्धान्त सभी प्रभावों के मूल में रहता है। स्वभाव के निर्माण में योग देने वाले पैतृक संस्कार, बाह्य परिवेश और परिस्थितियाँ तथा सम्पर्क में आने वाले व्यक्ति और वस्तुएँ किसी मनुष्य के अन्तःकरण पर पड़ने वाले प्रभावों के स्वरूप का निर्धारण करते हैं। इस प्रकार किसी वस्तु या व्यक्ति के गुणों की प्रत्यक्ष या अप्रत्यक्ष रूप से सम्पर्क में आने वाले व्यक्ति के अन्तःकरण पर पड़ी वह छाप जो उसे उन गुणों की ओर आकर्षित, प्रेरित या प्रवृत्त करे, 'प्रभाव' कहलाती है। प्रभावों के ग्रहण में व्यक्ति की निजी रुचि और स्वभाव का विशेष महत्त्व होता है। स्वभाव और रुचि के प्रतिकूल गुणों वाले व्यक्तियों से सम्पर्क होने पर आकर्षण के स्थान पर विकर्षण होता है। आकर्षण क्रिया को जन्म देता है तो विकर्षण प्रतिक्रिया को। जिस व्यक्ति में अनुकूल प्रभावों के ग्रहण की जितनी अधिक प्रवृत्ति और क्षमता होती है, उसका अन्तःकरण उतना ही सम्पन्न और विकसित होता है और उतनी ही उसमें प्रतिकूल गुणों या तत्त्वों के प्रति प्रतिक्रिया करने की सामर्थ्य होती है। मनुष्य की आन्तरिक शक्ति बाह्य प्रभावों को आत्मसात् करने से जितनी अधिक बढ़ जाती है उतने ही सशक्त रूप में जीवन और साहित्य में उसकी अभिव्यक्ति होती है और उसी अनुपात में वह मनुष्य दूसरों को प्रभावित करता है। इस प्रकार गुण की दृष्टि से अपने से महानतर से प्रभावित होना और अपने से हीनतर को प्रभावित करना जीवन और जगत् की गति का नैसर्गिक क्रम है।

विभिन्न प्रभावों के अन्तःकरण में संघटित सामञ्जस्य से व्यक्ति के व्यक्तित्व का निर्माण होने तथा उस व्यक्तित्व की ही कृतित्व में अभिव्यक्ति होने के कारण कोई भी कृति नितान्त नवीन होने का दावा नहीं कर सकती। कृतिकार की मौलिकता विभिन्न प्रभावों की नवीन तथा अनूठी संयोजना के रूप में ही देखी जा सकती है। प्रभाव में नूतन निर्माण की बलवती प्रेरणा रहती है। अनुकरण में प्रभावों को सजीव रूप में पचाकर उन्हें नूतन सर्जन में परिणत करने की क्षमता नहीं होती। अनुकरणकर्त्ता अपेक्षित ग्राहिका प्रतिभा और विधायिका क्षमता से शून्य होने के कारण प्रभावों को स्थूल और निर्जीव रूप में अपनाता है, सूक्ष्म और सजीव रूप में नहीं।

कालिदास की अद्भुत प्रभाव-क्षमता उनके व्यक्तित्व की महानता में निहित है, जिसके निर्माण में उनसे पूर्ववर्ती सम्पूर्ण भारतीय मनीषा का योग रहा है। उनके ग्रन्थों के अध्ययन से स्पष्ट है कि वे अपने से पूर्ववर्ती संस्कृत वाङ्मय के प्रायः सम्पूर्ण विस्तार से परिचित थे। वैदिक साहित्य, रामायण, महाभारत, पुराण, अर्थशास्त्र, नाट्य शास्त्र, कामसूत्र, धर्मशास्त्र, नीति-शास्त्र, दर्शन-शास्त्र आदि के अतिरिक्त सभी कलाओं के सारभूत तत्त्वों का उनके व्यक्तित्व में अप्रतिम सामञ्जस्य संघटित हुआ था।

यद्यपि कालिदास का प्रभाव परवर्ती सभी युगों पर न्यूनाधिक रूप में रहा है, तथापि आधुनिक युग के हिन्दी कवियों में उसके प्रति विशेष रुचि दिखलाई पड़ती है। इसके कई

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

कारण हैं। भारतेन्दु युग में पहली बार हिन्दी कवियों में विदेशी शासन और सभ्यता के प्रति प्रतिक्रिया हुई, जो सांस्कृतिक जागरण और स्वदेश-प्रेम के रूप में फलित हुई। कवियों का ध्यान संस्कृति और संस्कृत की ओर आकृष्ट हुआ। फिर, काम-शास्त्र और काव्य-शास्त्र के सूत्रों से निर्मित परिपाटी-विहित साँचे में ढली-ढलायी रीतिकालीन बासी कविता से ऊबे हुए नवयुग के कवियों को संस्कृत के प्राचीन कवियों में मनवांछित ताज़गी और स्वच्छन्दता के दर्शन हुए। भाषा के स्तर पर भी कवियों को संस्कृत के आश्रय की आवश्यकता थी, क्योंकि अब ब्रजभाषा के स्थान पर खड़ी बोली काव्य-भाषा का दर्जा ग्रहण करती जा रही थी, जिसको अपने शब्द-भण्डार की समृद्धि के लिए संस्कृत के अतिरिक्त और कोई आसरा नहीं था। यही बात छंद-योजना के विषय में भी सत्य है। संक्षेप में, भाव, भाषा और छंदों की दृष्टि में आधुनिक हिन्दी कवियों का ध्यान संस्कृत कविता की ओर आकृष्ट होना स्वाभाविक ही था।

हिन्दी कवियों में कालिदास के काव्यों के प्रति अनुराग दो रूपों में प्रकट हुआ — (१) कालिदास के काव्यों के अनुवाद करने की प्रवृत्ति के रूप में और (२) कालिदास के काव्यों की प्रेरणा से अनुप्राणित होकर मौलिक सर्जन में प्रवृत्त होने के रूप में।

किसी महान् कवि की कृतियों के साथ अधिक निकटता और अनुराग का अनुभव ही अनुवाद की प्रवृत्ति को जन्म देता है। अनुवादक मूल कृति के प्रति तन्मयता की स्थिति में उसके रचनाकार की सर्जन-मनःस्थिति के साथ तादात्म्य स्थापित कर लेता है। पूर्ण तन्मयता की स्थिति में किए गए अनुवाद की एक ऐसी दशा की भी परिकल्पना की जा सकती है, जब वह मौलिक सर्जन से भी होड़ लेने लगे। भारतेन्दु युग से लेकर द्विवेदी युग तक कालिदास के ग्रंथों के हिन्दी में किए गए अनेक अनुवादों को दृष्टि में रखते हुए यह निष्कर्ष सहज ही निकाला जा सकता है कि आधुनिक हिन्दी कवियों के मनस्तत्त्व के निर्माण में कालिदास का ज़बरदस्त प्रभाव बहुत सक्रिय रहा है। यह विशेष उल्लेखनीय है कि उस समय अनुवादों को मौलिक कृतियों के समान ही महत्त्व प्राप्त था। इस युग में सर्वप्रथम, बुलन्दशहर के डिप्टी कलेक्टर राजा लक्ष्मणसिंह ने संवत् १९१९ में अभिज्ञान शाकुन्तल का अनुवाद प्रकाशित किया।[1] काव्यगत सरसता और भाषा की विशुद्धता के कारण इसकी बहुत प्रशंसा हुई। इस अनुवाद का द्विविध प्रभाव पड़ा। एक तो हिन्दी कवियों का ध्यान कालिदास की ओर आकृष्ट हुआ और दूसरे, राजा शिव-प्रसाद 'सितारेहिन्द' द्वारा प्रवर्तित उर्दू-फारसी-बहुल विदेशी रूप-रंग की भाषा के विपरीत साहित्य-सेवियों को अपनी प्रकृति के अनुकूल असली हिन्दी भाषा का उत्कृष्ट नमूना मिल गया। संवत् १९३४ में राजा साहब ने कालिदास के 'रघुवंश' का हिन्दी गद्य में अनुवाद किया और संवत् १९३८ और १९४० के मध्य उन्होंने मेघदूत का बड़ा ही ललित और मनोहर पद्यानुवाद किया। राधाचरण गोस्वामी ने 'दोहा-समालोचना' में इसकी प्रशंसा करते हुए कहा है, "बिन संसय कहिये यही अति रसमय अनुवाद"।[2] डॉ० श्यामसुन्दर दास ने उक्त तीनों अनुवादों की प्रशंसा में कहा है, "गवर्नमेंट के लिए इन्होंने कई अन्य ग्रंथों का अनुवाद भी किया है, परन्तु राजा साहब की उत्कृष्ट कृतियों में से केवल शकुन्तला, रघुवंश और मेघदूत के अनुवाद हैं, जो हिन्दी संसार

---

१. आ० रामचन्द्र शुक्ल : हिन्दी साहित्य का इतिहास (सातवाँ संस्क०) पृ० ४४०।

२. सम्पा० ललिता प्रसाद सुकुल : मेघदूत (भूमिका-भाग में संकलित 'दोहा-समालोचना' द्रष्टव्य) पृ० ७६।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

में उनकी कीर्ति को बनाए रखने के लिए अलम् हैं।"[3] इसी युग में पं० प्रतापनारायण मिश्र ने "संगीत शाकुंतल" नाम से लावनी छंद में अभिज्ञान शाकुन्तल का पद्यानुवाद किया।[4]

भारतेन्दु युग में ठाकुर जगमोहन सिंह ही प्रथम महत्त्वपूर्ण व्यक्ति थे जो संस्कृत के कालिदास, भवभूति और वाल्मीकि आदि कवियों की नैसर्गिक भाव-प्रवणता के संस्कार लेकर काव्य-सर्जन में प्रवृत्त हुए। उन्होंने संवत् १६३२ में १५ वर्ष की अवस्था में ही 'ऋतुसंहार' का सरस कविता में अनुवाद किया और संवत् १६४३ में उसका दूसरा संशोधित संस्करण निकाला।[5] अनुवाद में मौलिक रचना जैसा प्रवाह और प्रभाव है। ठाकुर साहब ने रघुवंश महाकाव्य को छोड़कर कालिदास के शेष तीनों काव्यों के अनुवाद किए हैं।[6] उन्होंने छंद के विषय में लिखित अपनी एक पुस्तिका 'प्रमिताक्षर दीपिका' में संस्कृत छंदों के सौन्दर्य के उदाहरण के रूप में एक को छोड़कर शेष सभी उदाहरण कालिदास के ग्रन्थों से ही चुने हैं। पुस्तक की भूमिका में उन्होंने संस्कृत कविता में प्रयुक्त छंदों के माधुर्य पर प्रकाश डालते हुए कालिदास की भी मुक्त कण्ठ से प्रशंसा की है।[7] यह ही नहीं, वे अपनी लघु पुस्तिका 'प्रेम रत्नाकर' में 'गङ्गाष्टक' नाम की कालिदास की (?) रचना को समाविष्ट करने का मोह नहीं छोड़ सके हैं।[8] उनकी श्यामा-स्वप्न नामक मौलिक रचना की नायिका 'श्यामा' के सौन्दर्य का निर्माण बहुत-कुछ अंशों में कालिदास की यक्षिणी, पार्वती और शकुन्तला के सौन्दर्य-तत्त्वों से हुआ है। उन्होंने श्यामा के सौन्दर्याङ्कन में कालिदास के ग्रंथों के उद्धरणों का सहारा भी लिया है। अनेक स्थानों पर गद्य में भी कालिदास का प्रभाव स्पष्ट प्रतीत होता है। उदाहरण के लिए श्यामा के सौन्दर्य का वर्णन करते हुए ठाकुरसाहब कहते हैं: "पंकज का गुण न चंद्रमा में और न चंद्रमा का पंकज में होता है। तो भी इसका मुख दोनों की शोभा अनुभव करता था।"[9] उक्त वर्णन पर कुमारसम्भव का प्रभाव प्रत्यक्ष है।[10] डॉ० रामचन्द्र मिश्र ने मेघदूत की प्रेरणा से अनुप्राणित होकर लिखी गयी ठाकुर साहब की 'पवनदूत' नामक ३६ पद्यों की अप्रकाशित रचना का उल्लेख किया है।[11] इसी

---

३. वही (भूमिका भाग) पृ० ५४।

४. आ० रामचन्द्र शुक्ल: हिन्दी साहित्य का इतिहास (सातवाँ संस्क०) पृ० ४६६।

५. ठा० जगमोहन सिंह : ऋतुसंहार (वंगीय हिन्दी परिषद्) की दूसरी आवृत्ति की भूमिका।

६. "कालिदास के काव्य मनोहर, उलथा किये विचारा।
रितुसंहारहिं, मेघदूत पुनि संभव ईश कुमारा॥"
ठा० जगमोहन सिंह : देवयानी (भारती जीवन प्रेस बनारस) पृ० ६५।

७. "The most lively and charming verses are the Indravajra, the Upendravajra...........and the Sragdhara, the prevailing metre of the 1st, 3rd and 7th Cantos in the Kumara Sambhava of Kalidas ....whose name has floated down the stream of time and acted upon the minds of generation after generation."
प्रमिताक्षरा (वंगीय हिन्दी परिषद्) पृ० ५।

८. 'प्रेम रत्नाकर' (बनारस प्रिण्टिंग प्रेस १८७३) पृ० १-२।

६. श्यामा स्वप्न (वंगीय हिन्दी परिषद्) पृ० १८।

१०. "चन्द्रं गता पद्मगुणान्न भुङ्क्ते पद्माश्रिता चान्द्रमसीमभिख्याम्।
उमामुखं तु प्रतिपद्य लोला द्विसंश्रयां प्रीतिमवाप लक्ष्मीः।
कुमार सम्भव (१, ४३)

११. श्रीधर पाठक तथा हिन्दी का पूर्व स्वच्छन्दतावादी काव्य (डा० रामचन्द्र मिश्र) पृ० १२०।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

युग में लाला सीताराम बी० ए० के पद्यानुवाद भी आते हैं। उन्होंने 'रघुवंश' का अनुवाद दोहा-चौपाइयों में और 'मेघदूत' का घनाक्षरी में किया।[१२]

प्रकृति-निरीक्षण की जो प्रवृत्ति कालिदास तथा वाल्मीकि आदि संस्कृत कवियों के प्रति गहन अनुराग के कारण ठा० जगमोहन सिंह में अङ्कुरित हुई थी, वह ही आगे चल कर स्वच्छन्दतावादी काव्य के अग्रदूत पं० श्रीधर पाठक में विकसित हुई। पाठक जी संस्कृत कवियों के प्रकृति-वर्णन से बहुत प्रभावित थे। उन्होंने कालिदास के 'ऋतुसंहार' के ग्रीष्म, वर्षा और शरद् के वर्णनों का हिन्दी में अत्यन्त सरस अनुवाद किया। शुक्ल जी ने इसकी प्रशंसा करते हुए कहा है, "·········पर जैसी मधुर और रसभरी ब्रजभाषा उनके ऋतुसंहार के अनुवाद में है, वैसी पुराने कवियों में किसी किसी की ही मिलती है।"[१३] उनकी 'काश्मीर सुषमा' 'वनाष्टक' 'घनाष्टक' 'हेमन्त' 'नववसन्त' 'सान्ध्य अटन' आदि प्रकृति-सम्बन्धी कवितायें अपनी मूल चेतना में संस्कृत कवियों की प्रकृति-साधना की परम्परा में ही पड़ती हैं। मनोवैज्ञानिक दृष्टि से यह सम्भव है कि संस्कृत कवियों के प्रकृति-प्रेम के संस्कारों ने ही उन्हें समान प्रवृत्तियों वाले प्रकृति-प्रेमी पाश्चात्य कवि गोल्डस्मिथ के काव्यों की ओर प्रवृत्त किया हो। गोल्डस्मिथ का 'डैजर्टिड विलेज', जिसका अनुवाद पाठक जी ने "ऊजड़ गाँव" के नाम से किया, प्रकृति-चित्रण की सहजता के साथ ही दृश्य-योजना की दृष्टि से 'अभिज्ञान शाकुन्तल' के चतुर्थ अङ्क से मिलता-जुलता है। ऑबर्न (Auburn) नामक गाँव से विदा होते हुए दुःखी ग्रामीण परिवार के दृश्य का शकुन्तला की विदाई के प्रसंग से सादृश्य है। सम्भव है इसी प्रवृत्ति और प्रसंग के सादृश्य ने पाठक जी का ध्यान उक्त काव्य की ओर आकर्षित किया हो।

पं० महावीर प्रसाद द्विवेदी भवभूति, भारवि, श्री हर्ष आदि संस्कृत कवियों से सामान्यतः और कविवर कालिदास से विशेषतः प्रभावित थे। संस्कृत की रसमयी कविता के संस्कारों से सम्पन्न होने के कारण उन्होंने हिन्दी कवियों के सामने व्यावहारिक और सैद्धान्तिक दोनों रूपों में कालिदास आदि संस्कृत कवियों के आदर्श स्थापित किए। व्यावहारिक रूप में उत्तम कविता का आदर्श उपस्थित करने के लिए उन्होंने सन् १९०२ में 'कुमारसम्भव' का 'कुमारसम्भव सार' नाम से बहुत ही सरस अनुवाद शुद्ध खड़ी बोली में प्रस्तुत किया[१४]। उन्होंने सन् १९१२ में 'रघुवंश' का सन् १९१५ में 'कुमारसम्भव' का और सन् १९१७ में मेघदूत, का गद्य में अनुवाद किया[१५]। इन पुस्तकों की द्विवेदी जी द्वारा लिखित भूमिकाओं से सिद्ध होता है कि उन्होंने कालिदास की रचनाओं की काव्य-माधुरी का आस्वाद कराने के लिए तथा हिन्दी संस्कृत के वर्ण-वृत्तों का प्रचार करने के उद्देश्य से ही ये अनुवाद प्रस्तुत किए थे। सरस्वती पत्रिका में वे समय-समय पर संस्कृत कवियों की कविता के अनुवाद नमूने के तौर पर प्रस्तुत करके अपने सहयोगी कवियों को नखशिख-निरूपण, नायिका-भेद आदि की भद्दी प्रवृत्तियों से पूर्ण रीतिकालीन कविता की परम्परा से हटा कर व्यापक और उदात्त भाव-भूमि पर आने के लिए प्रेरित करते थे।

---

१२. आ० रामचन्द्र शुक्ल : हिन्दी साहित्य का इतिहास पृ० ५८३।

१३. आ० रामचन्द्र शुक्ल : हिन्दी साहित्य का इतिहास पृ० ५८३।

१४. डॉ० उदयभानुसिंह : महावीर प्रसाद द्विवेदी और उनका युग (प्र० सं० संवत् २००८) पृ० ७८।

१५. वही, पृ० ८०।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

सैद्धान्तिक रूप में वे अनेक लेखों के माध्यम से संस्कृत कविता के आदर्शों की स्थापना करते थे। यह बात विशेष ध्यान देने योग्य है कि उन्होंने अधिकतर समालोचनाएँ संस्कृत काव्य और कवियों पर ही लिखीं; हिन्दी काव्य और कवियों पर समालोचना लिखने का कार्य मिश्रबन्धुओं ने प्रारम्भ किया था। द्विवेदी जी ने इस ओर दृष्टि भी न डाली। इस का स्पष्ट रूप से यही कारण समझ में आता है कि जिसे वे सच्चे अर्थों में कविता मानते थे, उसका आदर्श उन्हें कालिदास जैसे संस्कृत कवियों की कविता में ही मिला था। अपने समय की रीतिकालीन ढर्रे की रचनाओं से दुःखी होकर उन्होंने अपनी 'हे कविते' शीर्षक कविता में कालिदास का स्मरण करते हुए कहा है, "सती हुई क्या कवि कालिदास के शरीर के साथ तभी अनाथ हो?"[16] अपने 'मेघदूत' शीर्षक लेख में उन्होंने कहा है, "मेघदूत की कविता सर्वोत्तम कविता का एक बहुत ही अच्छा नमूना है।"[17] इसी लेख में वे अपने पाठकों को सम्बोधित करते हुए कहते हैं, "प्राचीन दशपुर, प्राचीन ब्रह्मावर्त, प्राचीन कनखल, प्राचीन कैलास, प्राचीन अलका के दर्शन अब दुर्लभ हैं। तथापि उनकी छाया मेघदूत में हैं। पाठक! आप ने इनको न देखा हो तो मेघदूत पढ़िये।"[18] यह ही नहीं, उन्होंने हिन्दी कवियों को दोहा, सवैया, घनाक्षरी आदि घिसे-पिटे छन्दों को छोड़कर संस्कृत वर्ण-वृत्तों को अपनाने और संस्कृत की कविता के समान तुकान्तहीन कविता लिखने की ओर प्रेरित किया। रघुवंश को आधार बनाकर उन्होंने संस्कृत वर्ण-वृत्तों में स्वयं "अयोध्या का विलाप" नाम की रचना की।[19]

द्विवेदी युग में कालिदास के ग्रंथों के अनुवादों और उनसे प्रेरणा लेकर लिखे गए मौलिक ग्रंथों का सिलसिला निरन्तर चलता रहा। राय देवीप्रसाद 'पूर्ण' ने सन् १९०२ में मेघदूत का "धाराधर धावन" नाम से ब्रजभाषा में अनुवाद किया[20]; यह अनुवाद मूल मेघदूत और राजा लक्ष्मण सिंह के मेघदूत के अनुवाद के साथ बंगीय हिन्दी परिषद् ने सन् १९५८ में फिर से छपवाया है।[21] पं० सरयू प्रसाद मिश्र ने रघुवंश का पद्यानुवाद ब्रजभाषा में किया, जिसका प्रारम्भिक अंश भारतेन्दु जी की 'कवि वचन सुधा' में प्रकाशित हुआ था।[22] रामचरित उपाध्याय ने मेघदूत से प्रेरित हो कर 'पवनदूत' और 'देवदूत' काव्यों की रचना की।[23] संस्कृत कविता के जिन आदर्शों की द्विवेदी जी ने स्थापना की, उनको व्यावहारिक रूप देने में पं० अयोध्या सिंह उपाध्याय का नाम विशेष उल्लेखनीय है। उन्होंने संस्कृत के महाकाव्यों को आदर्श मानकर संस्कृत वर्ण-वृत्तों में 'प्रिय-प्रवास' नामक महाकाव्य की रचना की। कालिदास के मेघदूत से प्रेरित होकर उपाध्याय जी ने 'प्रियप्रवास' के छठे सर्ग में, मेघदूत में प्रयुक्त मन्दाक्रान्ता छंद में ही 'पवनदूत' की योजता की है, जिसमें पवन के माध्यम से कृष्ण के प्रति विरह-विकला राधिका का सन्देश भिजवाया गया है। श्री केशव प्रसाद मिश्र और श्री लक्ष्मीधर ने मेघदूत के हिन्दी में रूपान्तर किए।[24]

---

१६. सरस्वती हीरक जयन्ती विशेषाङ्क (कविता खण्ड) पृ० १४।
१७. पं० महावीर प्रसाद द्विवेदी : सञ्चयन (साहित्यकार संघ प्रयाग) पृ० १५०।
१८. वही, पृ० १६३।
१९. आ० रामचन्द्र शुक्ल : हिन्दी साहित्य का इतिहास पृ० ६१०।
२०. डॉ० सुधीन्द्र : हिन्दी कविता में युगान्तर (प्र० सं०) पृ० १९५।
२१. सम्पा० ललिता प्रसाद सुकुल : मेघदूत (बंगीय हिन्दी परिषद् कलकत्ता-१२)
२२. आ० रामचन्द्र शुक्ल : हिन्दी साहित्य का इतिहास पृ० ६११।
२३. डॉ० सुधीन्द्र : हिन्दी कविता में युगान्तर पृ० १९५-९६।
२४. केशनी प्रसाद चौरसिया: मेघदूत (प्र० सं० १९५८) परिशिष्ट पृ० क।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

मैथिली शरण गुप्त ने सन् १९१४ में 'अभिज्ञान शाकुन्तल' का अनुवाद किया। गुप्त जी के 'साकेत' नामक काव्य के ऊपर दो प्रकार से कालिदास का प्रभाव दिखलाई पड़ता है—(१) कालिदास की मूल चेतना से अनुप्रेरित होने के रूप में, (२) काव्य में प्रसङ्गानुसार कालिदास के भावों को ज्यों-का-त्यों अथवा किञ्चित् परिवर्तन के साथ अपनाने के रूप में। महात्मा गाँधी जी को लिखे गए अपने एक पत्र में पहली प्रकार के प्रभाव को उन्होंने स्वयं इन शब्दों में स्वीकार किया है, "साकेत में मैंने कालिदास की प्रेरणा से, उस प्रेम की एक झलक देखने की चेष्टा की है, जो भोग से आरम्भ होकर, वियोग झेलता हुआ, योग में परिणत हो जाता है। प्रथम सर्ग में उर्मिला और लक्ष्मण का प्रेम भोगजन्य किंवा कामजन्य है। उसी को योगजन्य और रामजन्य देखने के उद्योग में साकेत की सार्थकता है"।[25] यह ही नहीं, उन्होंने साकेत के दशम सर्ग में कालिदास को अपने प्रेरणा-स्रोत के रूप में सविनय श्रद्धाञ्जलि अर्पित की है।[26] दूसरे प्रकार के भाव-ग्रहण के उदाहरण साकेत में अनेक हैं।[27]

छायावादी कवियों में प्रसाद जी पर कालिदास का बहुत गहरा प्रभाव रहा है। भारतेन्दु काल से लेकर द्विवेदी काल तक चली आ रही कालिदास की प्रभाव-परम्परा ने उनके अन्तर्जगत् के निर्माण में योग दिया, अतः उनमें संस्कारवश ही संस्कृत वाङ्मय और उसमें भी विशेषकर कालिदास की रचनाओं के प्रति गहन अनुराग-भावना थी। उन्होंने 'अयोध्या का उद्धार'[28] नामक लघु आख्यानक काव्य का सर्जन रघुवंश के सोलहवें सर्ग की 'कुश द्वारा अयोध्या के उद्धार' की कथा के आधार पर किया है। इसकी भूमिका में उन्होंने स्वयं स्वीकार किया है कि 'इसमें कालिदास का ही अनुसरण किया गया है[29]।'

२५. डॉ० कन्हैयालाल सहल : साकेत के नवम् सर्ग का काव्य-वैभव (परिशिष्ट १) पृ० १५०-५१।

२६. चिर काल रसाल ही रहा, जिस भावज्ञ कवीन्द्र का कहा,
जय हो उस कालिदास की, कविता-केलि-कला-विलास की।
साकेत पृ० २४९।

२७. (अ) पुत्र रूपी चार फल पाये यहीं।
भूप को अब और कुछ पाना नहीं।
साकेत पृ० १९।

स चतुर्धा बभौ व्यस्तः प्रसवः पृथिवीपतेः
धर्मार्थकाममोक्षाणामवतार इवाङ्गभाक्।
रघुवंश (१०, ८४)

(ब) पास पास ये उभय वृक्ष देखो अहा।
फूल रहा है एक, दूसरा झड़ रहा।
है ऐसी ही दशा प्रिये नरलोक की।
कहीं हर्ष की बात कहीं पर शोक की।
साकेत पृ० १११

यात्येकतोऽस्तशिखरं पतिरोषधीना—
माविष्कृतोऽरुणपुरःसर एकतोऽर्कः
तेजोद्वयस्य युगपद्व्यसनोदयाभ्यां
लोको नियम्यत इवात्मदशान्तरेषु।
अभिज्ञान शाकुन्तल (४, २)

२८. जयशङ्करप्रसाद : चित्राधार (तृ० संस्क०) पृ० ४९-६०।

२९. जयशंकर प्रसाद : चित्राधार (तृ० संस्क०) पृ० ५०

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"वन मिलन"[३०] नामक रचना की मूल प्रेरणा अभिज्ञान शाकुन्तल से ग्रहण की गई है। इस कविता का प्रवाह भी कालिदास की शैली के अनुकूल है और भाषा पर कालिदास की कोमल कान्त पदावली का प्रभाव लक्षित होता है।[३१] प्रसाद जी ने 'विक्रमोर्वशीय' की कथा को आधार बनाकर 'उर्वशी' नाम का एक चम्पू भी लिखा है[३२]। अजातशत्रु के तृतीय अङ्क के एक गीत पर मेघदूत की छाप स्पष्ट है[३३]। कालिदास के कृतित्व की भावगत भंकृतियों और भाषा की लाक्षणिक और कोमल पदावली को प्रसाद की प्रखर प्रतिभा ने इतनी गहराई से आत्मसात किया है कि उनकी परिपक्वता की आयु में लिखी गई आँसू, लहर और कामायनी नाम की कृतियों में कहीं भी कालिदास का प्रभाव बहुत स्पष्ट रूप में नहीं झलकता है। फिर भी, कामायनी की सौन्दर्य और प्रेम से सम्बन्धित विचारधारा पर कालिदास की तत्सम्बन्धी विचारधारा का प्रभाव समझ में आता है। दोनों कवियों की विचारधाराओं के तुलनात्मक अध्ययन से यह बात स्पष्ट हो जाती है। ये दोनों ही कवि प्राकृतिक मानवीय और दिव्य जगत् में एक ही सौन्दर्य-सत्ता के दर्शन करते हैं; दोनों ही मांसल सौन्दर्य और वासनामय प्रेम की परिणति आन्तरिक सौन्दर्य और सात्त्विक प्रेम में दिखलाते हैं। दोनों ही प्रकृति में मानवीय मनोभावों के समानान्तर संवेदनशीलता के दर्शन करते हैं। दोनों ही विश्व के अन्य रोमाण्टिक कवियों की भाँति प्रथम दर्शन से ही प्रेमोदय की स्थिति मानते हैं। कालिदास की भाँति प्रसाद जी भी नारीत्व की चरम परिणति तपस्या के कठिन मार्ग से गुज़र कर प्राप्त किए गए निष्कलुष प्रेम में और उस प्रेम की परिणति मातृत्व में मानते हैं।[३४] भोग और योग, गृहस्थ और सन्यास के सामञ्जस्य से संयुक्त तपोवन की संस्कृति का आदर्श प्रसाद जी को भी मान्य है।[३५] पर्वतों में हिमालय, ऋतुओं में वसन्त और देवताओं में शिव का दोनों के मन में महत्वपूर्ण स्थान है। उपर्युक्त समता आकस्मिकता मात्र कह कर टाल देने योग्य बात नहीं है। कहीं कहीं भाव के साथ ही

---

३०. वही, पृ० ६३-७०।

३१. री अनुसूया! देखु सामुहे चम्पक-लतिका।
भरी सुरुचि सुकुमार अंग-अंगन मों कलिका॥
मन-ही-मन कुम्हिलात खिलत वेहाल विचारी।
'प्रियम्वदा' दृग भरि वोली उसास लै भारी॥
चित्राधार पृ० ६४।

३२. वही, पृ० ६-२५।

३३. अलका की किस विकल विरहिणी की पलकों का ले अवलम्ब।
सुखी सो रहे थे इतने दिन कैसे हे नीरद निकुरंब।
अजातशत्रु पृ० ११८।

३४. कुछ उन्नत थे वे शैल शिखर
फिर भी ऊँचा श्रद्धा का सिर
वह लोक अग्नि में तप गलकर
थी ढली स्वर्ण प्रतिमा बनकर
मनु ने देखा कितना विचित्र।
वह मातृ मूर्ति थी विश्वमित्र॥
कामायनी (दर्शन सर्ग) पृ० २४७।

३५. बोली, "हम जहाँ चले हैं, वह है जगती का पावन,
साधना-प्रदेश किसी का शीतल अति शान्त तपोवन।
कामायनी (आनन्द सर्ग) पृ० २८१

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

कालिदास की शब्दावली की छाप भी प्रसाद जी की पंक्तियों में झलकती है।[36] प्रसाद जी ने अपनी पुस्तक 'काव्य कला तथा अन्य निबन्ध' के 'छायावाद' शीर्षक लेख में मेघदूत तथा ध्वन्यालोक से उद्धरण देकर यह सिद्ध किया है कि जो छायावादी प्रवृत्ति उनके तथा अन्य समकालीनों के काव्यों में स्फुरित हो रही थी, उसका व्यावहारिक रूप बहुत पहले कालिदास आदि संस्कृत कवियों में और सैद्धान्तिक मान्यता आनन्दवर्धन में प्राप्त है।[37] डॉ० हरिवंश राय 'बच्चन' और श्री अमृतलाल नागर के अनुसार कालिदास पन्त जी के बहुत ही प्रिय कवियों में से हैं[38]। पन्त जी की वीणा, ग्रन्थि, पल्लव और ज्योत्स्ना आदि रचनाओं में संस्कृत की कोमल कान्त पदावली का बाहुल्य है। उनकी 'बादल' और 'अनंग' शीर्षक कविताओं की कुछ पंक्तियों पर मेघदूत का प्रभाव स्पष्ट है[39]। महादेवी वर्मा ने 'सप्तपर्ण' नाम की पुस्तक में आर्ष वाणी, वाल्मीकि, थेरगाथा, अश्वघोष, कालिदास, भवभूति और जयदेव के चुने हुए सरस काव्यांशों का स्वच्छंद भावानुवाद किया है।[40] उनके एक गीत "लाये कौन सँदेश नए घन" पर मेघदूत का किञ्चित् प्रभाव स्पष्ट है।[41] छायावादी कवियों में निराला ही एक ऐसे कवि हैं, जिन पर कालिदास का प्रत्यक्ष प्रभाव कहीं नहीं दिखलायी पड़ता है। उन्होंने 'बादल राग' नाम की छह कवितायें लिखी हैं, किन्तु उनके महाप्राण बादल में 'आर्द्रान्तरात्मा" मेघ की आत्मा कहीं स्पन्दित नहीं हुई है। छायावाद के

---

३६. (अ) ऊँचे स्तम्भों पर वलभीयुत बने रम्य प्रासाद वहाँ
धूप धूम सुरभित गृह, जिनमें थी आलोक-शिखा जलती।
कामायनी (स्वप्न सर्ग) पृ० १८२।

(आ) सुरा-सुरभिमय वदन अरुण थे नयन भरे आलस अनुराग।
कल कपोल था जहां बिछलता, कल्पवृक्ष का पीत पराग।
कामायनी (चिन्ता सर्ग) पृ० ११।

३७. काव्य कला और अन्य निबन्ध पृ० ३०।

३८. डा० हरिवंश राय 'बच्चन' लिखते हैं, "एक ओर तो वे पढ़ते हैं मेघदूत और शकुन्तला और दूसरी ओर उपनिषद् और गीता...।" कवियों में सौम्य सन्त (प्र० संस्क० १९६०) पृ० ३९। वे आगे लिखते हैं, "जो किताबें हमेशा उनके साथ रहती हैं उनमें शब्दसागर, आप्टे का संस्कृत-अंग्रेजी कोष और कालिदास के कुछ ग्रन्थ हैं, जैसे शकुन्तला और रघुवंश। रघुवंश को वे सस्वर पढ़ते हैं और उसका अर्थ भी बतलाते हैं और उसमें काफी रस लेते हैं। मुझे कई बार उनसे 'रघुवंश' सुनने का अवसर मिला है।" वही, पृ० ५४।
अमृतलाल नागर लिखते हैं, "बहलाने और उद्बोधन देने के लिए उन्होंने बम्बई में नियमित रूप से डेढ़ दो महीने तक कालिदास की रचनायें मुझे सुनाई हैं। मैंने महाकवि से 'रघुवंश' पूरा सुना है और कुमारसम्भव तथा मेघदूत के अनेक अंश।"
श्री सुमित्रानन्दन पंत—स्मृति चित्र (प्र० संस्क०) पृ० ६५।

३९. बादल—सुरपति के हम ही हैं अनुचर,
जगत्प्राण के भी सहचर,
मेघदूत की सजल कल्पना
चातक के चिर जीवनधर।
पल्लविनी (द्वि० संस्क०) पृ० २८।

अनंग—कहां मेघ और हंस किन्तु तुम
भेज चुके संदेश महान्।
पल्लविनी पृ० ५४।

४०. सप्तपर्णा (१९६०)

४१. यामा (तृ० संस्क०)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

परवर्ती कवियों में रामधारीसिंह 'दिनकर' ने 'विक्रमोर्वशीय' के आधार पर 'उर्वशी' नाट्य-काव्य की रचना की है, जिसमें कवि ने पुराने कथानक के माध्यम से ही सौन्दर्य और प्रेम के विविध स्तरों पर गहन अनुभूतियों और गम्भीर चिन्तन को संस्कृत की कोमल कान्त पदावली से संवलित प्रवाहमयी शैली में अभिव्यक्त किया है।[४२] श्री जानकीवल्लभ शास्त्री के 'शिप्रा' नामक गीत-संग्रह में 'शकुन्तला' नामक कविता कालिदास से अनुप्रेरित होकर लिखी गयी है। इस संग्रह की सबसे लम्बी और महत्त्वपूर्ण कविता 'शिप्रा' में कवि ने आधुनिक युग की सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक और कलागत विसंगतियों और विद्रूपताओं से क्षुब्ध होकर मेघदूत की पद्धति पर ही स्वर्गवासी कालिदास के प्रति 'मेघ' द्वारा विरहिणी कविता का मर्मस्पर्शी संदेश भेजा है।[४३] इस कविता में, मूल प्रेरणा ने कवि की मौलिक उद्भावना को उकसाकर युगानुकूल रूप ग्रहण किया है। कवि की भाषा मेघदूत की भाषा को आत्मसात करके नयी भास्वरता के साथ उपस्थित हुई है।[४४] उक्त संग्रह की समीक्षा में डॉ० हजारी प्रसाद द्विवेदी ने लिखा है, "जानकी वल्लभ जी की सहृदयता का बड़ा सबूत यह है कि कालिदास उनके चित्त में व्याप्त हैं।"[४५] डॉ० जयनाथ 'नलिन' की कविता 'मेघ-सन्देश' में कवि की नयी उद्भावना के बावजूद भी यह स्पष्ट है कि रचना की प्रेरणा 'मेघदूत' से ही मिली है।[४६]

कालिदास की प्रभाव-परम्परा आज भी विच्छिन्न नहीं हुई है। उनके ग्रन्थों के पद्य और गद्य में अनेक अनुवाद हो रहे हैं। आचार्य विनयमोहन शर्मा जी द्वारा किया गया ऋतुसंहार के ग्रीष्म, वर्षा और शरद के वर्णनों का सरस अनुवाद 'सारथी' नाम की पत्रिका में सन् १९५६ में नागपुर से प्रकाशित हुआ है। पिछले १०–१५ वर्षों में अकेले मेघदूत के ही गद्य और पद्य में अनेक अनुवाद हुए हैं। इनमें नागार्जुन द्वारा मुक्त वृत्त में सन् १९५५ में तथा केशनी प्रसाद चौरसिया द्वारा मुक्त छंद में सन् १९५८ में किये गये अनुवाद विशेष महत्त्वपूर्ण हैं।

नये कवियों में, गिरिजाकुमार माथुर ने स्वयं स्वीकार किया है, "मेघदूत में कालिदास की संपूर्ण रंगमयी आत्मा उतरी है, ऐसा मैं मानता हूँ। मुझे मेघदूत ने सदा ही आंदोलित किया है।"[४७] 'निराला के प्रति' लिखी गयी 'महाकवि' शीर्षक कविता के प्रारम्भ

---

४२. दिनकर : उर्वशी (उदयाचल पटना)।

४३. मेघ, दूत बन जाओ मेरे कालिदास के देश,
कहना हतभागी कविता का इतना ही सन्देश।
शिप्रा (द्वि० संस्क०) पृ० ११०।

४४. कर में लीला-कमल अलक में झलक कुन्द कलियों की
लोध्र-पराग-राग-रञ्जित मुख, वेणी-श्रेणि अलियों की,
नए स्तवक-कुरवक-से दोलित, कर्ण शिरीष सुशोभित,
प्रिय कदम्ब सीमन्त-घटा पर लहराता हो लोभित।
शिप्रा (द्वि० संस्क०) पृ० ११०।

४५. शिप्रा (द्वि० संस्क०) पृ० ११७।

४६. धरती के बोल (प्र० संस्क०) पृ० १६–१७।

४७. केशनीप्रसाद चौरसिया कृत मेघदूत के रूपान्तर के आवरण-पृष्ठ पर माथुर जी की टिप्पणी द्रष्टव्य।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

में उन्होंने कालिदास को महान् आदर्श कवि के रूप में स्मरण किया है।[४८] उन्होंने 'रघुवंश' के 'इन्दुमती स्वयंवर' के नाटकीय प्रसङ्ग का आश्रय लेकर 'इन्दुमती' शीर्षक काव्य-रूपक लिखा है, जिसमें कालिदास के भावों और बिम्बों को बहुत ही सजीव शैली में ज्यों-का-त्यों उतार लिया गया है।[४९] मदन वात्स्यायन ने तो कालिदास की गणना प्रयोगवादियों में करते हुए कहा है, "कालिदास का तो सारा का सारा 'मेघदूत' ही एक अनूठा प्रयोग है।"[५०] उन्होंने युगानुकूल नए ढंग से 'नया मेघदूत' कविता की रचना भी की है। 'सुशिप्रा की वर्षगांठ' नाम की उनकी रचना में मेघदूत की अलका झलक मारती दिखलाई पड़ती है।[५१] उनकी ऋतु संहार[५२] नामक रचना में कथ्य और शैली में नवीनता होते हुए भी पृष्ठभूमि में कालिदास की प्रेरणा सक्रिय मालूम पड़ती है। नागार्जुन की 'बादल' और भवानी प्रसाद मिश्र की 'मेघदूत' कविता भी कालिदास से प्रभावित हैं। डॉ० राम दरश मिश्र की 'प्रतीक्षा' और 'बादल चले जा रहे' कविताओं पर भी मेघदूत का प्रभाव है।[५३]

नव जागरण ने हिन्दी कविता का सम्बन्ध एक बड़े अन्तराल के पार कविवर कालिदास से स्थापित किया था। कालिदास की प्रतिभा ने आधुनिक हिन्दी कवियों में से कुछ को आकर्षित किया है, कुछ को प्रेरित और कुछ को नूतन सर्जन में प्रवृत्त। आधुनिक हिन्दी कविता के सम्पूर्ण विकास-क्रम को ध्यान में रखकर कहा जा सकता है कि हिन्दी कवियों की सर्जन-प्रतिभा के निखार और उभार के साथ ही भाषा और छंदों के परिष्कार में कालिदास की सरस्वती की प्रभविष्णुता का निरन्तर कुछ-न-कुछ योग रहा है। द्विवेदी काल की सम्पूर्ण मेधा पर तो कालिदास की प्रतिभा मानों छा ही गयी थी। छायावाद को प्रकृति-वर्णन की जो विविध पद्धतियां, अभिव्यंजना की जो विदग्धता और भाषा की जो प्राञ्जलता प्राप्त हुई, उसके संस्कार द्विवेदी काल में ही पड़े थे, जिनकी पृष्ठभूमि में कालिदास का काव्य-वैभव आकर्षण-केन्द्र के रूप में अवस्थित था। आधुनिक युग की विकृतियों और अनास्थाओं को लेकर चलने वाली तथा प्राचीन परम्पराओं और प्रभावों के प्रति विद्रोह का रवैया प्रकट करने वाली नयी पीढ़ी के कवियों में से किसी-किसी का ध्यान कालिदास की ओर बरबस ही आकर्षित हो जाता है।

---

४८. "तुम कालिदास, तुलसी, रवीन्द्र
के अमर चरण चिन्हों पर रखकर चरण चले।"
धूप के धान (द्वि० संस्क० १९५८) पृ० ५२।

४९. धूप के धान पृ० १३७-४८।

५०. सम्पा० अज्ञेय : तीसरा सप्तक (१९५९) पृ० १३५।

५१. वही पृ० १४७—१४९।

५२. वही पृ० १४९—५०।

५३. रामदरश मिश्र: बैरंग बेनाम चिट्ठियां पृ० ८९; १२२

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

रणजीतसिंह

बाल मुकुन्द गुप्त का राष्ट्रवाद

"आज के नहीं, अपितु एक सौ एक वर्ष पुराने हरयाणा के रोहतक जिले के गुड़यानी ग्राम में जन्म लेकर बाल मुकुन्द गुप्त ने हिन्दी साहित्य की सेवा की"। इस तथ्य को जब हरयाणा निवासी सुनते हैं तो उनकी छाती गौरव से फूल उठती है। महावीर प्रसाद के हिन्दी काल में हिन्दी साहित्य में तीन हरयाणवी नक्षत्र सर्वत्र अपनी आभा विकरित कर रहे थे। हिन्दी साहित्य संसार में ये नक्षत्र बाबू बाल मुकुन्द गुप्त, व्याख्यान वाचस्पति दीन दयालु शर्मा और माधव प्रसाद मिश्र त्रिमूर्ति के नाम से विख्यात थे।

बाल मुकुन्द गुप्त का हिन्दी भाषा के स्वरूप स्थैर्य में अप्रतिभ योग था। इनकी हिन्दी भाषा को मौलिक देन के विषय में कहा गया है "बाल मुकुन्द गुप्त ने हिन्दी के शिथिल बन्धों को बांधा, वाक्यों की चूलें बैठाईं और मुहावरों के शिकंजे में दबा कर उन्हें कसा और फिर इस सबल शस्त्र को व्यंग और अनुमितार्थता की सान पर चढ़ाकर धारदार और पैना बनाया। उन्होंने भारी-भरकम और कूट शब्दों के बोझिल और बेडौल अलंकारों की हंसली-हमेल और कड़ी-पछेली न पहनाकर हिन्दी को हलके-फुलके और सर्वप्रिय चमकते हुए जन भाषा के प्रयोगों द्वारा आभूषित कर "नागरी" बनाया।

भाषा को नागरी बनाने के अतिरिक्त बाल मुकुन्द गुप्त ने भारतेन्दु द्वारा साहित्य की भूमि में जो अभिनव बीज गिराये गए थे, उनमें से सबसे सशक्त बीज "समकालीन दुरवस्थाओं को साहित्य के कोमल हृदय में स्थान देना" को अपना कर संवृद्ध किया। इन संवृद्ध बीजों से जो अंकुर उपजे उन्हें हम बाल मुकुन्द गुप्त के 'राष्ट्रवाद' किसलय कह सकते हैं। बाल मुकुन्द गुप्त को राष्ट्रवाद की अटूट प्रेरणा निःसन्देह दीन दयालु शर्मा के सतत प्रयासों से ही मिली थी। गुप्त जी की लेखनी द्वारा विनिसृत राष्ट्रवाद की अपनी ही एक अनुपम धारा है। इनकी इस विरल परंच अप्रतिहत धारा को देखकर उस समय यह कहा जाता था कि "गुड़यानी के गुड़ के आगे, चलती मिश्री सीस नवा के"। हिन्दी में शुद्ध राष्ट्रवाद को लेकर लिखने वाले उस समय विरले ही व्यक्ति थे। उस समय राष्ट्रवाद को माध्यम बनाकर लिखना आज के स्वयंभू पत्रकारों की भाँति सरल न था। उस समय राष्ट्रवाद पर लिखना खाण्डे की धार पर चलना था। पर बाल मुकुन्द को नशा था, उनके शिव शम्भु की तरह। अतः वे शीश की चिन्ता नहीं करते थे।

"हिन्दोस्थान" के सम्पादक के रूप में कार्य करते हुए बाल मुकुन्द गुप्त को सर्वप्रथम राष्ट्रवाद का फल चखना पड़ा। आँखों से दिखाई देती दूध की मक्खी वे निगल नहीं सकते थे। अतः उन्होंने लार्ड डफरिन, लैन्स डाऊन, कर्जन और मिन्टो आदि के अत्याचारों को देखा और उनपर गूढ़ पर स्पष्ट, व्यंग्य पर सीधी, वाणी से प्रहार करना आरम्भ किया। जिसके परिणाम स्वरूप उन्हें नौकरी से हाथ धोना पड़ा। राष्ट्रवाद के प्रथम पुरस्कार का वह पत्र ज्यों का त्यों यहाँ उद्धृत किया जाता है :—

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

हिन्दोस्थान आफिस,
कालाकांकर
सिराथू स्टेशन द्वारा
२ फरवरी, १८६१।

प्रिय मित्र,

धन्य है उस परमेश्वर की माया को कि नाना प्रकार के रंग देखने में आता है। कहाँ मैं पत्र लिखने में आनन्दित होता था तहाँ आज दुख होता है। कल्ह तिथि १ के मध्यान काल में राजा साहब ने आज्ञा का पत्र मँगा के लिख दिया कि आज मुं० जी को आना चाहिये था सो अपने नियत समय पर नहीं आये इसलिये और हमारे चले जाने पर "हिन्दोस्थान" में उनका लेख जाने योग्य न होगा, "कारण गवर्नमेंट के विरुद्ध बहुत कड़ा लिखते हैं। अतएव इस स्थान के योग्य नहीं हैं, च्युत कर दिये जायँ। अधिक कारण तिथि पर न आये। और पंडित शीतल प्रसाद उपाध्याय को मासिक ३०) से ५०) किये और बी० ए० मास्टर राधारमण इटावे से आये थे उनको ५०) से ७०) किया है। ये दोनों महाशय म्याटर लिखकर टेम्पल को सुना दिया करें, उनकी अनुमति हो छपे। यह समाचार सुन कर मैंने कल्ह आपको तार दे दिया था कि आने की जल्दी नाहक न करके खर्चे का भार सिर पर लदाना अच्छा नहीं। मुझे तो साथ छूटने का बड़ा कष्ट हुआ परन्तु जगदीश की इच्छा को क्या किया जाय।"

राम लाल मिश्र

हिन्दी पत्रकारिता में सम्भवत: यह प्रथम ही अवसर था, जबकि सरकार के विरुद्ध लिखने के कारण किसी पत्रकार को जीविका का साधन छोड़ना पड़ा हो। इस दृष्टि से उपरोक्त पत्र एक ऐतिहासिक महत्त्व रखता है। देशवासियों की अभावमूलक कष्ट कथाओं को वाणी देने वाला हिन्दी महारथी नौकरी छूट जाने पर भी अपने महान् राष्ट्रवाद के मार्ग से यत्किंचित् भी विचलित नहीं हुआ। देशवासियों में स्वाभिमान और देशानुराग की ज्योति जगाने में बाल मुकुन्द गुप्त की लेखनी ने चमत्कारिक कार्य किया।

बाल मुकुन्द गुप्त के पास राजनैतिक प्रश्नों को देखने के लिए शुद्ध भारतीय दृष्टिकोण था। जिसे हम निम्न प्रकार से अनेक कोटियों में विभक्त कर सकते हैं।

१. तत्कालीन विदेशी शासकों की नीतियों के विरुद्ध लिखना :—

इस कोटि में सर्व प्रथम लार्ड कर्जन के शासन काल को गुप्त जी ने अपनी तीखी लेखनी का शिकार किया। लार्ड कर्जन की काली करतूतों को जन साधारण के सामने रखने में गुप्त जी ने शिवशम्भु के चिट्ठों के अतिरिक्त अनेक लेख और कविताएँ लिखीं। कर्जनशाही शीर्षक लेख में उन्होंने लार्ड कर्जन के काल का सिंहावलोकन करते हुए लिखा "कि......अहंकार, आत्मश्लाघा, जिद और गाल बजाई में लार्ड कर्जन अपने सानी आप निकले। जब से अंग्रेजी राज्य आरम्भ हुआ, तब से इन गुणों में उनकी बराबरी करने वाला एक भी बड़ा लाट इस देश में नहीं आया। पिछले बड़े लाटों में लार्ड लिटन के हाथ से इस देश के लोग बहुत तंग हुए थे। लार्ड कर्जन ने लिटन की सब बदनामी धो दी। अपने से पहले के सब लाटों को उन्होंने भला कहला दिया। उनकी कार्रवाही का आरम्भ बंग देश से हुआ और बंग देश से ही उसका अन्त हुआ। उनका पहला काम कलकत्ते की म्युनिसिपल कमेटी की स्वाधीनता छीनना है और अन्तिम बंग देश के टुकड़े कर डालना। यह अन्तिम अनिष्ट श्रीमान् ने ऐसे समय किया जबकि वह इस देश के निवासियों की आँखों में श्रीहत हो चुके थे। अर्थात् अपनी [illegible] थे। इसी से लोग चिल्ला

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

उठे कि ओह! इस देश से आपको इतना द्वेष है कि चलते चलते भी एक और चरका दे चले ।

२. बंग भंग विच्छेद और कर्ज़न का "ख्याल वाद"

लार्ड कर्जन के बंग भंग के दुष्ट विचार को बालमुकुन्द गुप्त ने अपने "दो दल" नामक लेख में निम्न प्रकार प्रकट किया है "इसके सिवा एक और बहुत बुरा काम करने की लार्ड कर्जन चेष्टा कर रहे थे। वह चुपके चुपके बंगाल के दो टुकड़े कर डालने की बात सोच रहे थे। इस बात को वह बड़े अन्याय से छिपाते रहे, प्रजा के पूछने पर उत्तर नहीं देते थे"। लार्ड कर्जन के बंग भंग के उद्देश्य को गुप्त जी एक मनोवैज्ञानिक की भांति "ख्याल" की संज्ञा प्रदान करते हुए शिवशम्भु के चिट्ठे में लिखते हैं "सब ज्यों का त्यों है। बंग देश की भूमि जहां थी वहां है और उसका हरेक नगर और गांव जहां था वहीं है। कलकत्ता उठा कर चीरापूँजी के पहाड़ पर नहीं रख दिया गया और शिलांग उड़ कर हुगली के पुल पर नहीं आ बैठा। पूर्व और पश्चिम बंगाल के बीच में कोई नहर नहीं खुद गई और दोनों को अलग-अलग करने के लिए बीच में कोई चीन की सी दिवार नहीं बन गई है। पूर्व बंगाल पश्चिम बंगाल से अलग हो जाने पर भी अंग्रेजी शासन ही में बना हुआ है और पश्चिम बंगाल भी पहले की भांति उसी शासन में है। किसी बात में कुछ फर्क नहीं पड़ा। खाली ख्याली लड़ाई है। बंग विच्छेद करके माई लार्ड ने अपना एक ख्याल पूरा किया है। इस्तैफा दे कर भी एक ख्याल ही पूरा किया और इस्तैफा मंजूर हो जाने पर इस देश में पड़े रह कर भी श्रीमान् प्रिन्स आफ वेल्स के स्वागत तक ठहरना एक ख्याल मात्र है"।

३. कर्जन की अहम्मन्यता पर व्यंग्य :—

लार्ड कर्जन ने कलकत्ता विश्वविद्यालय के सिनेट हाल में दीक्षान्त समारोह के अवसर पर भारतीयों को झूठा और बेईमान कहा और उनके पुराने साहित्य पर बड़ी चोट की। कर्जन की इस मनोवृत्ति का प्रभाव गुप्त जी पर "सर्प दंश" के समान पड़ा और उन्होंने एक व्यंग-कविता लिखी जिसकी कुछ पँक्तियां इस प्रकार हैं :—

हम जो कहें वही कानून, तुम तो हो कोरे पतलून ।।
हम से सच की सुनो कहानी, जिससे मरे झूठ की नानी ।।
सच है सभ्य देश की चीज, तुमको उसकी कहां तमीज ।।
औरों को झूठा बतलाना, अपने सच की डींग उड़ाना ।।
ये ही पक्का सच्चापन है, सच कहना तो कच्चापन है ।।
बोले और, करे कुछ और, यही सत्य है कर लो गौर ।।
झूठ को सच कर दिखलावे, सोही सच्चा साधु कहावे ।।

बंग भंग आन्दोलन के परिणाम स्वरूप सात अगस्त सन् १९०५ को बंगाल के शिक्षित लोगों ने कलकत्ता के टाऊन हाल में एक सभा की। जिसमें निश्चय किया गया कि यदि बंग भंग होगा तो हम अंग्रेज़ी चीज़ें लेना बन्द कर देंगे। विदेशी वस्त्रों के परित्याग स्वरूप इंगलैण्ड के व्यापार को आघात पहुंचा। इस आघात के नेता कर्जन महोदय से "कर्जनाना" नामक कविता में गुप्त जी ने उसकी अहम्मन्यता को इस प्रकार कहलवाया है:-

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

किसने मनचैस्टर को सड़कों सड़कों पर टकराया ?
किसने मलमल औ कपड़ों को आंधी में उड़वाया ?
"किया है मैंने" बोले कर्जन रंज करेगी चेम्बर ।
भूत भरें इसका हरजाना जब पहुंचु अपने घर ।

४. मार्ले के सुधारों की घोषणा और उसका शव परीक्षण :—

सन् १८०७ में मार्ले के सुधारों की घोषणा होने पर गुप्त जी ने अपनी सम्मति इस प्रकार प्रकट की थी "आज नहीं कोई एक वर्ष से मार्ले साहब भारत के शासन सुधार का राग आलाप रहे थे, पर क्या किया । पहाड़ खोदकर जरा सी चुहिया निकाली है । आपकी कुल पेचदार बातों का तत्व इतना ही है कि बड़े लाट की तथा प्राँतीय कौंसलों में जमीदार और मुसलमान कुछ और बढ़ाये जायें । जमीदार और मुसलमान तो अब भी कौंसिलों में बैठे हैं और पहले भी बैठ चुके हैं, पर यह कभी न देखा कि एक ने भी किसी उचित या अनुचित सरकारी काम पर चूं भी की हो, आलोचना की कौन कहे ? केवल काठ के पुतलों की भाँति यह लोग बैठे रहते हैं और अफसरों की हाँ में हाँ मिलाते रहते हैं । क्या सरकार ऐसा एक भी मेंम्बर बता सकती है, जिसकी आलोचना या सलाह से उसे कुछ लाभ पहुँचा हो। परामर्श सभाओं की बात लीजिए । यह सब राजकुमारों की सेना की भाँति सरकारी शोभा बढ़ाने के लिए बनाई गई है" ।

५. 'टाइम्स' समाचार पत्र की गीदड़ भबकी का करारा उत्तर :-

सन् १९०६ में कांग्रेस का महाधिवेशन कलकत्ता में भारतीय राजनीति के भीष्म पितामह दादा भाई नौरोजी जी की अध्यक्षता में हुआ । इस अधिवेशन की सफलता पर देश में एक नूतन क्रान्ति की धारा और जीवट की सरिता उद्वेलित हो गई । परिणामतः सम्पूर्ण भारत में जागृति की एक जीवन्त लहर दौड़ गई । किन्तु ब्रिटेन का समाचार पत्र "टाइम्स" कांग्रेस के प्रभाव तथा जन जागरण से बौखला गया । 'टाइम्स' की बौखलाहट पर गुप्त जी ने लिखा था कि "इस बार विलायत के प्रधान-पत्र 'टाइम्स' को बड़ी मिरचें लगी हैं । उसने बड़ी गीदड़ भबकी दिखाई है । उसकी समझ में हिन्दुस्थानियों को स्वाधीनता या स्वराज्य नाम ही मुंह से न निकालना चाहिये । वह इस बात से बहुत घबराया है कि भारतवासी भी वैसी ही स्वतन्त्रता चाहते हैं, जैसी अँग्रेजी कालोनियों को प्राप्त है । वह डराता है कि भारतवासी ऐसी बात मुँह से न निकालें, क्योंकि अंगरेजों ने भारत को तलवार से लिया है और तलवार से ही उसको अपने शासन में रखेंगे । पर हम कहते हैं कि यह सफेद झूठ है कि अँगरेज ने भारत को तलवार से जीता है वरंच भारतवासियों की तलवार ने स्वयं यह देश फतह करके अंगरेजों के सुपुर्द कर दिया । टाइम्स क़लाइव के समय की बात याद करे, उसी ने भारत में अंगरेजी राज्य की नींव डाली थी । उसकी सेना चन्दा साहब और फ्रांसीसियों से घिर गई थी और रसद निबड़ गई थी तो मालूम है, उसके हिन्दुस्थानी सिपाहियों ने क्या कहा था ।"

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"यह कहा था सुनिये साहब ! गोरों को भात खाने को दीजिये, हम लोग मांड पीकर गुजारा कर लेंगे।" टाइम्स को जानना चाहिये कि इस देश के वीरों ने तुम्हारे गोरों को चावल देकर और आप उसका मांड पीकर तलवार बजाई है और यह देश तुम्हारे लिए जीत दिया है। इसी प्रकार हिन्दुस्थानियों की मदद से ही अंगरेजों ने इस देश में अपना अधिकार फैलाया है। इस समय देखिये हिन्दुस्थानी फौज तुम्हारे लिये माल्टा जाती है, मिश्र जाती है, सुमालीलैण्ड जाती है, चीन जाती है और विलायत जा कर तुम्हारी शान शौकत बढ़ाती हैं। तुम्हारे लिये अफरीदियों से लड़ती हैं, चित्राल जीत देती हैं। तुम्हारे लिये तिब्बत का रास्ता साफ कर देती हैं और इतने पर भी तुम कहते हो कि यह मुल्क तलवार से लिया है। कितनी बड़ी लज्जा की बात है ? जिन हिन्दुस्थानियों ने अपना खून पानी की तरह बहा दिया है, उनकी बात सुनने से तुम्हें घृणा होती है ? कितनी बड़ी कृतघ्नता है।"

६. लिबरल हो या टोरी, दोनों का पन्थ अघोरीः—

बाल मुकुन्द गुप्त का काव्य काल कांग्रेस के जन्म के चार साल उपरान्त आरम्भ होता है। अतः वे भारतेन्दू की भाँति किसी निर्णय की ओर संकेत न करके, उसे परिणाम में परिवर्तिति कर देते हैं गुप्त जी का राष्टवाद उन्हें राजनैतिक लहरों के साथ तैरने को कहता है। यह राष्ट्रवाद उनमें निर्भीकता का शंखनाद ध्वनित करता है। इंगलैण्ड में लिबरल पार्टी की जीत के समय १९०६ में लिखी उनकी "पालिटिकल होली" इस बात का प्रमाण है कि विदेशी विदेशी है, उसका क्या अच्छा। अपने इस विचारों को गुप्त जी ने स्पष्ट शब्दों में इस प्रकार कहा हैः—

ना कोई लिबरल ना कोई टोरी,
जो परनाला सो ही मोरी।
दोनों का है पन्थ अघोरी,
होली है, भई होली है।
करते फुलर विदेशी वर्जन,
सब गोरे करते हैं गर्जन।
जैसे मिण्टो वैसे कर्जन,
होली है, भई होली है॥

इस निवन्ध का दूसरा पक्ष यह भी दिखलाता है कि गुप्त जी ने केवल विदेशियों को कोस कर ही अपने राष्ट्रवाद को निवापांजली नहीं दी, अपितु उन्होंने इसी प्रकार का आक्रोश भारतीयों पर भी किया है। इस श्राद्ध तर्पण में उन्होंने सारी की सारी स्वधा भारतीय वातावरण से उपलब्ध की है।

७. अपना उद्धार स्वयं करना हैः—

सन् १९०५ में जापान ने रूस को पराजित कर संसार को चकित कर दिया था। जापान की जीत एशिया के लिए आशा का अंकुर लिए हुई थी। उस समय कितने ही भारतीय जापान का आश्रय-लेकर भारत की स्वाधीनता के स्वप्न देखने में आतुर थे। परन्तु गुप्त जी को जापान से भी भारत का कोई राजनैतिक लाभ होता दिखाई नहीं पड़ता था।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

अतः उन्होंने भारतवासियों को ऐसे किसी मोह में न फंस कर स्वयं निर्माता होने का संदेश निम्न प्रकार दिया :—

"कोई पराधीन जाति अपनी चेष्टा बिना, खाला दूसरे की मदद से कभी स्वाधीन नहीं हो सकती। जापान बृटिश गवर्नमेंट का मित्र है। सो जो लोग भारत का जापान के हाथ में चले जाने का स्वप्न देख रहे हैं, उन्हें निश्चिन्त हो जाना चाहिए। हाँ जापानियों से भारतवासियों को शिल्प ग्रादि की शिक्षा ग्रपेक्षाकृत सहज में मिल सकती है ग्रौर शिल्प ग्रादि सीखकर भारतवासी ग्रपनी ग्रार्थिक दशा सुधार सकते हैं, इतना ही कल्याण उनका जापान से हो सकता है"।

कहने की ग्रावश्यकता नहीं कि गुप्त जी का हृदय सच्चे राष्ट्रवाद का उपासक था। वे ग्रपने देश की स्वतन्त्रता के प्रबल ग्राकांक्षी थे। ग्रपने राष्ट्रवाद के फक्कड़पन में गुप्त जी ने शासकों की कृपा कोर के ग्रभिलाषी, सामाजिक सुधार का स्वांग भरने वाले, शिक्षित देशवासियों को अपना निशाना बनाते हुए कहा था :—

"हमारे कितने ही पढ़े लिखे भाई, जिनकी पीठ पर गोरे अखबारों ने हाथ फेर दिया है, चिल्लाते हैं कि हमें राजनीतिक ग्रान्दोलन न करके समाज-सुधार का काम करना चाहिये। खूब ! इनसे कोई पूछे, संसार में कोई ऐसा देश है, जहां के निवासी बिना देश के ग्रन्दर स्वतन्त्रता प्राप्त किये मर्दाने, श्रेष्ठ और उद्यमी हुये हों"।

८. भगवद् स्तुति ग्रौर राष्ट्रवाद :—

गुप्त जी ने लक्ष्मी तथा राम स्तुति परक कुछ कविताएँ लिखी हैं। इन स्तुति परक कविताग्रों में भी गुप्त जी भारतीयों की क्षुधा का रोना भगवान के ग्रागे रोते हैं :—

गज, रथ, तुरंग विहीन भये ताको डर नाहीं,
चंवर, छत्र को चाव नाहिं हमरे उर माहीं।
सिंहासन ग्ररु राज पाट को नहीं उरहनो,
ना हम चाहत ग्रस्त्र वस्त्र सुन्दर पट गहनो।
पैं हाथ जोरि हम ग्राज यह रोय-रोय विनती करें,
या भूखे पापी पेट कहँ मात, कहो कैसे भरें।

रामस्तोत्र में भी गुप्त जी अपने देश की दरिद्रता एवं निर्बलता का राग ग्रालापते दिखाई पड़ते हैं :—

जपबल, तपबल बाहुबल चौथो बल है दाम,
हमरे बल एकौ नहीं, पाहि पाहि श्री राम।
ग्रपने बल हम हाथ की रोटी सकत न राख,
नाथ बहुरि कैसे भरैं मिथ्या बल करि साख।।

६. प्रगतिशील राष्ट्रवाद :—

गुप्त जी राजनैतिक एवं साहित्यक दृष्टिकोण से सच्चे ग्रर्थों में प्रगतिशील लेखक थे। भारतेन्दु की प्रगतिवादी विचारधारा के सच्चे ग्रर्थों में भागीरथ बालमुकुन्द जी ही थे।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

उनके पद्यों में सौंदर्य की सृष्टि अत्यल्प और समय के चित्रण का प्रयास अनुपात से कहीं अधिक है। गुप्त जी की राजनैतिक प्रगतिशीलता का परिचय उनकी निम्न कविता से मिलता है। नीचे लिखी यह कविता उस समय लिखी गई थी जब लाला लाजपत राय और सरदार अजीतसिंह आदि पकड़े गए थे और पंजाब के प्रमुख लोग अपनी राजभक्ति का परिचय देने के लिए गौरांग महाप्रभुओं की प्रशंसा कर रहे थे :—

सबके सब पंजाबी अब हैं लायल्टी में चकनाचूर,
सारा ही पंजाब देश बन जाने को है लायलपूर।
लायल हैं सब सिख अरोड़े खत्री भी सब लायल हैं,
मेढ़ रहतिये बनिये धुनिये लायलटी के कायल हैं।

× × ×

लायल सब वकील बारिस्टर जमींदार और लाला हैं,
म्युनिसिपालटी वाले तो लायलटी का परनाला हैं।
खान बहादुर, राय बहादुर कितने ही सरदार नवाब,
सब मिल जुलकर लूट रहे हैं लायलटी का खूब शबाब।
ऐरा गैरा नत्थू खैरा सब पर इसकी मस्ती है,
लायलटी लाहौर में अब भूसे से भी कुछ सस्ती है।
केवल दो डिसलायल थे वो एक लाजपत एक अजीत,
दोनों गये निकाले उनसे नहीं किसी को है कुछ प्रीत।

प्रेमचन्द से बहुत पूर्व गुप्त जी हिन्दी साहित्य में प्रगतिशील काव्य की स्थापना कर चुके थे। गोदान के होरी लाला पटेसरीशाह आदि का पूर्व रुप मानो गुप्त जी ने "सैयद का बुढ़ापा" नामक कविता में सुरक्षित कर दिया था। आश्चर्य है कि आज साहित्यकार प्रगतिवादी सिद्ध करने के लिए जिन तत्वों का समावेश काव्य में आवश्यक मानते हैं, उन सब तत्वों का "प्रगति विग्रह" गुप्त जी की कविता में इस प्रकार मिलता है :—

"हे धनियो ! क्या दीन जनों की नहिं सुनते हो हाहाकार,
जिसका मरे पड़ोसी भूखा, उसके भोजन को धिक्कार।
भूखों की सुधि उनके मन में कहिये किस पथ से आवे,
जिसका पेट मिष्ट भोजन से ठीक नाक तक भर जावे।"

× × ×

फिर भी क्या नंगे-भूखों पर दृष्टि नहीं पड़ती होगी ?,
सड़क कूटने वालों से तो आँख कभी लड़ती होगी।
कभी ध्यान में उन दुखियों की दीन-दशा भी लाते हो,
जिनको पहरों गाड़ी घोड़ों के पीछे दौड़ाते हो।
लू के मारे पंखे वाले की गति वह क्योंकर जाने,
शीतल खस की टट्टी में जो लेटा हो चादर ताने।

× × ×

जिनके कारण सब सुख पाये जिनका बोया सब जन खाये,
हाय हाय नित उनके बालक भूखों के मारे चिल्लाए।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

हाय जो सबको गेहूँ दें वे ज्वार बाजरा खाते हैं,
वह भी जब नहीं मिलता तब वृक्षों की छाल चबाते हैं।

१०. पाश्चात्य सभ्यता के अशिव तत्त्वों के पारखी

गुप्त जी की पैनी दृष्टि से सामाजिक कुरीतियाँ कैसे बच सकती थीं। क्योंकि तत्कालीन सामाजिक क्रान्ति और पाश्चात्य सभ्यता के अन्तर्मुखी अशिवकारी तत्त्वों के वे पारखी थे। उन्हें पाश्चात्य आचार के अन्धानुकरण से अरुचि थी। इसी अरुचि का दिग्दर्शन गुप्त जी ने "सभ्य बीबी की चिट्ठी" नामक कविता में किया है। इसमें पाश्चात्य सभ्यता में पली, पाश्चात्य संस्कृति में सनी, पाश्चात्य शिक्षा में पगी एक महिला द्वारा जिसका विवाह देशी व्यक्ति से हो गया है, कहलाया है :—

बताओ आके मेरे पास, किस तरह पूरी होगी आस ?
हंसी आती है सुन सुनकर, बताता नहीं कहाँ है घर।
चमन फूला है किस जाँ पर, कहां हैं बेलों का बावर ?
कहाँ है टेनिस घर दिखलाव, कहाँ मछली का बना तालाब ?
बात वह अगली सब सटकी, वह जब थी मैं घूंघट की।
मजा अब सुख का पाया है, स्वाद शिक्षा का आया है।
खुले जब नैन नींद गई टूट, बुद्धि के पर आये हैं फूट।
घुटावे क्यों पिजड़े में दम, नहीं कुछ अंधी चिड़िया हम।
पढ़े हम सुख से लिटरेचर, सैकड़ों कविता शेक्सपियर।
पढ़े हैं कितने ही दर्शन, लाक, मिल, बैंथम, हैमिल्टन।
सुने सीखे कितने ही लेक्चर, लिबर्टी लाजिक और कल्चर ।।
फराडे, हर्शल का विज्ञान, हैक्सले, हिंडल का कर ध्यान।
सभी को कर डाला है पार, पढ़े हैं नाविल कई हज़ार।
लिखे मैंने डांसिग के ढंग, और सिंगिंग है उसमें संग।
बस अब देखूं दिखलाऊंगी, और सिखूं सिखलाऊंगी।
सदा सुन्दर तितली बनकर, उड़ूंगी फूलों फूलों पर।
सुना भी लाला मौघूदास ! किस तरह होगी पूरी आस ।।

उपरोक्त कविता के तत्त्व इतने सशक्त हैं कि वे आज के भारतीय नारी जीवन पर भी उतने ही फबते हैं, जितने कि आजसे सत्तर वर्ष पूर्व फबते थे। आज के शहरों में पली, पाश्चात्य सभ्यता की अधकचरी उपासिका नारी का मानों उपरोक्त कविता में चित्रण किया गया हो।

नारी ही नहीं, अपितु गुप्त जी को भारत के गांवों में भी पाश्चात्य सभ्यता के प्रभावकारी चिन्ह दृष्टिगोचर होने लगे थे। इसीलिए तो उन्होंने लिखा :—

कहाँ गये वह गाँव मनोहर परम सुहाने,
सबके प्यारे परम शान्तिदायक मन माने।
कपट क्रूरता द्वेष पाप औ मद से निर्मल,
सीधे सादे लोग बसें जिनमें नहिं छलबल ।।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

११. स्वाभिमानी गुप्त जी

गुप्त जी का राष्ट्रवाद केवल बातों की करामात में नहीं है। उनकी कथनी और करनी में असमानता का आविल पय पीने को नहीं मिलता है। वे पूर्णरूप से भारतीय हैं। अपने जीवन में देश के गौरव और सम्मान का उन्हें सदा ध्यान रहा। मृत्यु ये कुछ समय पूर्व कहे उनके ये वाक्य उनके स्वाभिमान और राष्ट्रवाद की कसौटी हैं :—

> "अब इस स्वाभिमान के अतिरिक्त हमारे पास और क्या रह गया है? इस दरिद्रावस्था मेंभी पूर्वजों की बड़ाई का विचार हमें मस्त किए रहता है, तुम इस खुशी को भी छीन लेना चाहते हो।"

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

शिवप्रसाद गोयल

खण्डकाव्य का स्वरूप एवं वर्गीकरण

खण्डकाव्य हिन्दी का अत्यन्त महत्त्वपूर्ण काव्यरूप है। महाकाव्य के बाद सर्वाधिक महत्ता इसी काव्यरूप को मिली है। वास्तव में उच्चकोटि के खण्डकाव्य की रचना महाकाव्य से भी कठिन होती है। यद्यपि खण्डकाव्य का कलेवर महाकाव्य की अपेक्षा बहुत छोटा होता है, किन्तु कथा-कसाव और उसमें वर्णित मुख्य घटना की सम्पूर्ण बारीकियों पर कवि-दृष्टि का जितना 'फोकस' खण्डकाव्य में होता है, उतना महाकाव्य में नहीं होता। खण्डकाव्य के लघु परिसर में पूर्ण रसात्मकता और मार्मिकता लाना एक कठिन कार्य है। इतनी महत्त्वपूर्ण काव्य-विधा होते हुए भी इस काव्यरूप के अध्ययन की जितनी उपेक्षा हुई है, उतनी किसी अन्य काव्यरूप की नहीं हुई।

संस्कृत साहित्यशास्त्र में महाकाव्य का विवेचन तो काव्यशास्त्र–परम्परा के प्रारम्भ से ही मिलता है, किन्तु चौदहवीं शताब्दी तक खण्डकाव्य जैसी महत्त्वपूर्ण काव्य-विधा के विवेचन और स्वरूप-निर्धारण का कोई प्रयत्न नहीं किया गया। यद्यपि खण्डकाव्य के स्वरूप की अस्पष्ट कल्पना सर्वप्रथम आचार्य रुद्रट के मन में आयी जब उन्होंने प्रबन्धकाव्य के महत् और लघु दो रूप निश्चित किये,[1] किन्तु रुद्रट के विवेचन से लघुकाव्य का कोई स्पष्ट रूप प्रकट नहीं होता। लघुकाव्य का स्वरूप-निर्धारण करते समय उन्होंने बताया कि इसमें चतुर्वर्ग-फल में से कोई एक तथा अनेक रस असमग्र रूप में या एक रस समग्र रूप में होता है।[2] महाकाव्य का लक्ष्य चतुर्वर्ग फल-प्राप्ति होता है। लघुकाव्य में इनमें से किसी एक की प्राप्ति की बात कह कर रुद्रट ने इसमें महाकाव्य की अपेक्षा वस्तु-संकोच की सूचना तो दी है, किन्तु इससे उसका निश्चित आधार-फलक ज्ञात नहीं होता। चतुर्वर्ग-फल में से किसी एक की प्राप्ति के प्रयास में ही किसी सामान्य मानव का समग्र जीवन बीत सकता है, उसे सफलता मिलना या न मिलना तो अलग बात है। यदि ऐसे व्यक्ति को नायक बना कर काव्य-रचना की जाय तो उसमें चतुर्वर्ग में से एक फल की प्राप्ति के यत्न के साथ नायक का समग्र जीवन आ जाएगा तथा रुद्रट की परिभाषा के अनुसार वह तब भी लघु-काव्य ही कहलायेगा। इस प्रकार रुद्रट की लघु काव्य की परिकल्पना खंडकाव्य की परिपक्व कल्पना नहीं है। इसमें आचार्य विश्वनाथ के बाद के विवेच्य काव्यरूपों—काव्य और खण्डकाव्य-की एकत्र कल्पना है। लघुकाव्य में अनेक रसों की असमग्र अथवा एक रस की समग्र रूप में योजना की बात कह कर भी उन्होंने यही निरूपित किया है कि लघुकाव्य का कथाधार महत् काव्य की अपेक्षा आकार में सीमित या लघु होता है क्योंकि सभी रसों के पूर्ण परिपाक के लिए वस्तु-विस्तार अपेक्षित है। इस प्रकार रुद्रट की लघुकाव्य की कल्पना कुछ अधिक

---

१. सन्ति द्विधा प्रबन्धाः काव्यकथाख्यायिकादयः काव्ये।
उत्पाद्यानुत्पाद्या महल्लघुत्वेन भूयोऽपि॥
—काव्यालंकार, रुद्रट, १६।२

२. ते लाघवो विज्ञेया येष्वन्यतमो भवेच्चतुर्वर्गात्।
असमग्रानेकरसा ये च समग्रैकरसयुक्ताः॥
—वही, [illegible]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

व्यापक है और उसमें आचार्य विश्वनाथ के काव्य और खण्डकाव्य दोनों समा जाते हैं।

आचार्य विश्वनाथ ने रुद्रट से आगे बढ़ कर प्रबन्धकाव्य के महत् और लघु के स्थान पर महाकाव्य, काव्य और खण्डकाव्य—ये तीन भेद किये। इस प्रकार आचार्य विश्वनाथ ने ईसा की चौदहवीं शताब्दी में सर्वप्रथम खण्डकाव्य जैसी काव्य-विधा की खोज की। इससे पूर्व संस्कृत साहित्यशास्त्र में खण्डकाव्य का कहीं नाम तक नहीं आया। खण्डकाव्य का उन्होंने स्वतंत्र लक्षण-निर्देश न कर उसे 'काव्य' के लक्षणों पर आधारित किया। खण्डकाव्य के सम्बन्ध में यद्यपि सर्वत्र उन्हीं का सूत्र दुहराया जाता है, किन्तु उन्होंने भाषा या विभाषा में रचित सर्गबद्ध समस्त संधियों से रहित एक कथा के निरूपक पद्यकाव्य को 'काव्य' की संज्ञा दी तथा उसके एक देश का अनुसरण करने वाले काव्य को खण्डकाव्य निरूपित किया।[1] कुछ प्रतियों में 'सर्ग समुज्झितम्' पाठ भी मिलता है, जिसके अनुसार 'काव्य' सर्गविहीन होता है। सम्भवतः इसी आधार पर डा० भोलाशंकर व्यास ने कहा है कि संस्कृत के आलंकारिकों ने बताया है कि खण्डकाव्य प्रायः सर्गों में विभक्त नहीं होते।[2] किन्तु हिन्दी साहित्य में सर्गबद्ध और सर्गहीन दोनों प्रकार के खण्डकाव्य मिलते हैं।

अस्तु, आचार्य विश्वनाथ के मतानुसार खण्डकाव्य इसी 'काव्य' का एक देशानुसारी हैं। 'काव्य' एकार्थप्रवण होता है, अर्थात् उसमें पूर्ण जीवन का एक विशिष्ट पक्ष ही चित्रित होता है। जीवन के उस विशेष पक्ष का एक अंश—कोई घटना—ही खण्डकाव्य की कथावस्तु का आधार होती है। कुछ विद्वान् आचार्य विश्वनाथ के खण्डकाव्य सम्बन्धी प्रसिद्ध सूत्र को लेकर उसका अर्थ करते हैं कि खण्डकाव्य में जीवन के किसी एक पक्ष की अभिव्यक्ति होती है।[3] मेरी सम्मति में यह अर्थ-ग्रहण भ्रांतिपूर्ण है। जीवन के किसी एक पक्ष को वस्तुरूप में ग्रहण करने वाले सभी काव्य खण्डकाव्य नहीं हो सकते। किसी व्यक्ति-विशेष के जीवन के एक पक्ष से भी अनेक घटनाएँ सम्बद्ध होती हैं। उन सब घटनाओं की एकत्र योजना खण्डकाव्य का विषय नहीं होती। खण्डकाव्य में नायक के जीवन की किसी एक प्रमुख घटना को लिया जाता है जो उसके जीवन के किसी एक पक्ष की झलक प्रस्तुत करती है। वास्तव में खण्डकाव्य का 'खण्ड' शब्द कुछ भ्रम में डालने वाला है। एक तो इससे यह ध्वनि निकलती है कि किसी भी काव्य-कृति का एक खंड पृथक् रूप से खंडकाव्य होगा; दूसरे, हिन्दी के आचार्य भ्रमवश खण्डकाव्य को महाकाव्य का एक खंड समझने लगे।[4] सम्भवतः इसी भ्राँति में पद्माकरकृत 'हिम्मतबहादुर-बिरदावली' जैसे काव्य को

१. भाषाविभाषानियमात्काव्यं सर्ग समुत्थितम्।
एकार्थप्रवणैः पद्यैः सन्धिसामग्र्यवर्जितम्॥
खण्डकाव्यं भवेत्काव्यस्यैकदेशानुसारि च।
—साहित्यदर्पण, विश्वनाथ, ६।३२८, ३२९

२. हिन्दी साहित्य का वृहत् इतिहास, प्रथम भाग, सं० डॉ० राजबली पांडेय, खण्ड २, अध्याय १, पृष्ठ २१९।

३. (क) वाङ्मय विमर्श, विश्वनाथप्रसाद मिश्र, पृष्ठ ३९।
(ख) हिन्दी काव्यशास्त्र का इतिहास, डॉ० भगीरथ मिश्र, पृष्ठ ४१८।
(ग) काव्यरूपों के मूलस्रोत और उनका विकास, डॉ० शकुन्तला दूबे, पृष्ठ १४३–१४७।

४. ....अर्थात् महाकाव्य के एक देश या अंश का अनुसरण करने वाला काव्य खण्डकाव्य कहलाता है।
—काव्यरूपों के मूल स्रोत और उनका विकास, डॉ० शकुन्तला दूबे, पृष्ठ १४५।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

कुछ विद्वान् खण्डकाव्य की कोटि में घसीट ले जाते हैं[1]। जैसा नाम से ही स्पष्ट है, उक्त ग्रन्थ में हिम्मतबहादुर की विरुदावली गाई गयी है जिसमें हिम्मतबहादुर द्वारा किये गये तीन वीरतापूर्ण युद्धों का वर्णन है[2]। इस ग्रन्थ से इसके चरितनायक के जीवन के एक पक्ष की अभिव्यक्ति होती है, किन्तु एकाधिक घटनाओं की योजना के कारण यह खण्डकाव्य नहीं है। इसे हम 'काव्य' या 'एकार्थकाव्य' कह सकते हैं। खण्डकाव्य से उस काव्यरूप का बोध नहीं होता जो गुणों से महाकाव्य के समान होते हुए भी आकार में उससे छोटा होता है। विश्वनाथ को दो कारणों से खण्डकाव्य नाम रखना पड़ा। एक तो उन्होंने महाकाव्य और खण्डकाव्य के बीच की एक काव्य-विधा की कल्पना की जिसे उन्होंने 'काव्य' नाम दिया। दूसरे, उन्होंने खण्डकाव्य का स्वतंत्र लक्षण-निरूपण नहीं किया वरन् 'काव्य' के आधार पर किया है।

आचार्य विश्वनाथ के उपरान्त किसी आचार्य ने खण्डकाव्य का कोई विवेचन-विश्लेषण नहीं किया—न साहित्यशास्त्र में और न संस्कृत साहित्य के इतिहास में। आचार्य विश्वनाथ ने जिस 'मेघदूत' को खण्डकाव्य का उदाहरण माना था, उनके परवर्ती आचार्य उसे साहित्य के इतिहास में गीति-काव्य ही बताते रहे। इस प्रकार आचार्य विश्वनाथ से पूर्व कोई आचार्य खण्डकाव्य जैसी काव्य-विधा से परिचित न था और उनके बाद भी किसी ने खण्डकाव्य की कल्पना को आगे बढ़ाने का कोई प्रयास नहीं किया। इसी से संस्कृत साहित्यशास्त्र-परम्परा में खण्डकाव्यों की धारणा कुछ स्पष्ट दिखाई नहीं पड़ती[3]।

हिन्दी में भी खण्डकाव्य नामक काव्य-विधा का कोई स्वतंत्र विवेचन-विश्लेषण नहीं मिलता। जितनी भी परिभाषाएँ मिलती हैं, वे सब आचार्य विश्वनाथ के खण्डकाव्य-सम्बन्धी सूत्र की व्याख्या-स्वरूप ही हैं, उनमें कोई मौलिक चिन्तन नहीं दीख पड़ता[4]।

उपर्युक्त विवेचन से यह स्पष्ट है कि संस्कृत साहित्यशास्त्र में आचार्य विश्वनाथ से पूर्व खण्डकाव्य का कोई विवेचन नहीं हुआ। संभवतः खण्डकाव्य जैसी काव्य-विधा की

---

१. ऐसे खण्डकाव्य भी मिलते हैं जिनमें कोरी प्रशंसा तथा नामावली की आवृत्ति के कारण कथानक का प्रवाह नष्ट और ग्रन्थ नीरस हो गया है। 'जंगनामा' और 'हिम्मतबहादुर बिरदावली' इसके उदाहरण हैं।

—हिन्दी साहित्य (द्वितीय खंड), सं० डॉ० धीरेन्द्र वर्मा तथा ब्रजेश्वर वर्मा, वीर काव्य, डॉ० टीकमसिंह तोमर, पृष्ठ १४६।

२. (क) हिन्दी वीरकाव्य, डॉ० टीकमसिंह तोमर, पृष्ठ ३४२–४३।
(ख) वीरकाव्य, डॉ० उदय नारायण तिवारी, पृष्ठ ४६१।

३. हिन्दी साहित्य का बृहत् इतिहास, प्रथम भाग, सं० डॉ० राजबली पांडेय, खंड २, अध्याय १, पृष्ठ २१६।

४. देखिए—
(क) वाङ्मय विमर्श, विश्वनाथप्रसाद मिश्र, पृष्ठ ३६।
(ख) साहित्यालोचन, डॉ० श्यामसुन्दर दास, पृष्ठ ११५।
(ग) काव्य के रूप, गुलाबराय, पृष्ठ २३ तथा ११८।
(घ) हिन्दी साहित्य कोश सं० डॉ० धीरेन्द्र वर्मा, पृष्ठ २४८।
(ङ) हिन्दी साहित्य का बृहत् इतिहास, प्रथम भाग, सं० डॉ० राजबली पांडेय, खंड २, लेखक भोला शंकर व्यास, अध्याय १, पृष्ठ २१६।
(च) काव्यरूपों के मूल स्रोत और उनका विकास, डॉ० शकुन्तला दुबे, पृष्ठ १४३–१४७

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

कल्पना या धारणा कवियों के मन में बनने लगी हो तथा उक्त काव्य-विधा के कुछ प्रयोग काव्य में होने लगे हों, किन्तु उसका कोई स्वरूप तब तक स्थिर नहीं हो पाया। इसीलिए आचार्य विश्वनाथ ने भी एकार्थप्रवण 'काव्य' का एकदेशानुसारी मात्र कह कर खण्डकाव्य का विवेचन समाप्त कर दिया। आचार्य विश्वनाथ के बाद भी किसी आचार्य ने खण्डकाव्य-विवेचन का कोई प्रयास नहीं किया और इस प्रकार खण्डकाव्य के विवेचन में आचार्य विश्वनाथ का सूत्र प्रथम और अन्तिम वाक्य बन कर रह गया। हिन्दी में भी खंडकाव्य का जो विवेचन हुआ है, वह आचार्य विश्वनाथ के सूत्र की व्याख्या के रूप में ही है, अनुगम पद्धति पर उपलब्ध खण्डकाव्यों के अध्ययन का परिणाम नहीं।

आचार्य विश्वनाथ ने कालिदास के मेघदूत को संस्कृत में खण्डकाव्य का उदाहरण बताया है[1]। मेघदूत में गीतात्मक उद्रेक कथात्मक रूप में श्रृंखलाबद्ध होकर बहा है। डॉ० शकुन्तला दूबे इसी आधार पर उसे गीतिकाव्य ठहराती हैं और उसे आधार मानकर खण्डकाव्य की परिभाषा करना ठीक नहीं समझतीं[2]। मेरी सम्मति में, जब काव्य में वैयक्तिकता या आत्माभिव्यंजन सामूहिक भावनाओं को लेकर होता है, तब गीतिकाव्यात्मक उद्रेक भी विषयगत प्रबन्धकाव्य के ही अन्तर्गत आते हैं। मेघदूत में यक्ष की वियोग-दशा में सामान्य वियोगियों की मनोदशा अंकित की गयी है। यक्ष-यक्षिणी को साधन बनाकर कवि ने मेघदूत में मुख्य रूप से मानव-हृदय के विरह-दुःख को मुखरित किया है। निस्सन्देह, उसमें कल्पनाओं की रंगीनी और भावों की तरलता है। किन्तु ये प्रबन्धकाव्य का अंग होकर आये हैं। इनके आधार पर हिन्दी साहित्य के बृहद् इतिहास में मेघदूत को गीतिकाव्य कहना[3] केवल एक भ्रम है। मेघदूत का कथानक वस्तुपरक है। उसमें अलका का नगर-वर्णन, रामगिरि से अलका तक का प्रकृति-वर्णन, रेवा की धारा, आम्रकूट पर्वत आदि स्थलों का वर्णन हुआ है। कुछ विद्वानों का अनुमान है कि कालिदास की जन्म-भूमि काश्मीर थी और वे धाराधिप विक्रम के सभारत्न थे। अतः काश्मीर से धारा के मार्ग में जो नदियाँ, नगर, पर्वत आदि पड़ते हैं, उन्हीं स्थलों का कवि ने वर्णन किया है तथा इन वर्णनों में स्वानुभव को व्यक्त किया है[4]। वस्तुतः कवि जो कुछ भी वर्णन करता है, वह उसकी स्वानुभूति ही होती है—वह वास्तविक और कल्पनिक दोनों प्रकार की हो सकती है। प्रश्न यह है कि उसकी वर्णन-प्रणाली क्या है। यदि उसका स्वानुभव वस्तुपरक होकर विषय-निष्ठ रूप में व्यक्त होता है तो वह प्रबन्धकाव्य के ही अन्तर्गत होगा। यदि कवि की अभिव्यक्ति विषयनिष्ठता को त्याग कर आत्माभिव्यंजन करती चलती है, तब वह वर्णन

---

१. खण्डकाव्यं भवेत्काव्यस्यैकदेशानुसारी च।
यथा—मेघदूतादिः।

—साहित्य दर्पण, विश्वनाथ, ६/३२६॥

२. मेघदूत में गीतात्मक उद्रेक भले ही कथात्मक रूप में श्रृंखलाबद्ध होकर बह निकला है, तथापि उसका संकलित प्रभाव जिस रूप का निर्णय करता है, वह बिलकुल गीतिकाव्य का है। अस्तु हमारे खण्डकाव्य की परिभाषा भिन्न हो जाती है।

—काव्यरूपों के मूलस्रोत और उनका विकास, डॉ० शकुन्तला दूबे, पृष्ठ १४५।

३. कल्पनाओं की रंगीनी और भावों की तरलता जैसी मेघदूत के चित्रपट पर स्पष्ट दिखाई पड़ती है, वैसी कालीदास के प्रबन्ध-काव्यों में नहीं।..............मेघदूत संस्कृत गीतिकाव्यों का चूड़ामणि है।

—हिंदी साहित्य का बृहत् इतिहास, प्रथम भाग, खंड २, अध्याय १, पृष्ठ २१९-२२०।

४. वही,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

प्रणाली प्रबन्ध की कोटि के बाहर की होगी। मेघदूत की अभिव्यक्ति-प्रणाली प्रथम प्रकार की है और प्रबन्ध की ही कोटि में आती है। केवल इस आधार पर कि कवि काश्मीर-निवासी और धाराधिप विक्रम का सभारत्न था तथा जो वर्णन मेघदूत में आए हैं, वे धारा-नगरी और काश्मीर के मध्य के वन, नदी, पर्वत और नगरों के हैं; मेघदूत के कथानक को निजपरक कहना भूल है। कथानक की वस्तुनिष्ठता के कारण उसे गीतिकाव्य कहते नहीं बनता। गीति काव्य मुक्तक या प्रकीर्णक की कोटि में आता है, प्रबन्धकाव्य की नहीं। प्रबन्ध और मुक्तक काव्य का भेदक लक्षण काव्य में 'बंध' तत्त्व की उपस्थिति—अनुपस्थिति है। यह 'बंध' कथा का बंधन है, जिससे रचना में सानुबंधत्व आता है—घटनाओं में अनुज्झितार्थ सम्बन्ध स्थापित होता है। मुक्तक काव्य में कोई क्रमबद्ध कथा नहीं होती—उसमें कथा-बंध नहीं होता। मुक्तक का लक्षण केवल यह नहीं है कि उसका प्रत्येक पद अर्थ की दृष्टि से स्वतंत्र हो, प्रत्युत उससे यह भी अभिप्राय है कि वह विस्तृत कथा-शृंखला से मुक्त हो। इस प्रकार प्रबन्धत्व का आधार बंध या कथा-सूत्र है, छंद-योजना नहीं। आचार्य वामन ने प्रबन्ध और मुक्तक में जो सम्बन्ध स्थिर किया है, उससे तो इस विषय में कोई शंका ही नहीं रह जाती। काव्य को निबद्ध और अनिबद्ध बता कर उन्होंने दोनों को पृथक्-पृथक् नहीं छोड़ दिया अपितु संपृक्त कर दिया है। दोनों की सिद्धि को उन्होंने क्रमिक सिद्धि कहा है, अर्थात् पहले अनिबद्ध (मुक्तक) की सिद्धि हो लेती है, तब उसी के आधार पर निबद्ध की सिद्धि होती है। यह प्रक्रिया उसी प्रकार होती है जैसे फूल से माला बन चुकती है और तब उसी माला से मौर बनता है।[1] अभिप्रायः यह है कि मुक्तक की शैली को अपनाते हुए भी प्रबन्धकाव्य की सफल रचना कर सकना पर्याप्त साधना का फल और कवि-सिद्धि पर आश्रित है।

मेघदूत हमारे सामने खण्डकाव्य का प्रथम आदर्श है। आचार्य विश्वनाथ ने सर्वप्रथम खण्डकाव्य के लक्षण के उदाहरणस्वरूप मेघदूत का उल्लेख किया है। उसके आधार पर आगे चलकर अद्यावधि न जाने कितने खण्डकाव्यों की रचना हुई होगी। समय की गति के साथ-साथ खण्डकाव्य के स्वरूप में विकास अवश्य हुआ किन्तु खण्डकाव्य का मूलाधार और मूलस्रोत मेघदूत ही रहा। अतः मेघदूत की भाँति कथासूत्र खण्डकाव्य में आवश्यक है, उसका विकास चाहे धीमी गति से हो या द्रुत गति से। वस्तुनिष्ठ होते हुए कोई काव्य गीतात्मकता या भावात्मकता मात्र के कारण गीतिकाव्य नहीं हो जाता। हिन्दी में मेघदूत जैसे काव्यों को गीतिकाव्य मानने की प्रवृत्ति पाश्चात्य साहित्य-शास्त्र से आई प्रतीत होती है, क्योंकि पश्चिम में हमारे समान प्रबन्ध और मुक्तक का सा स्पष्ट काव्य-भेद नहीं है। कीथ साहब ने मेघदूत को 'एलिजी' के निकट की रचना ठहराया है[2]। एलिजी पश्चिम में शोक-गीत को कहते हैं। इसी आधार पर, पश्चिम के अनुकरण पर

---

१. क्रमसिद्धिस्तयोः स्रगुत्तंसवत्।
तयोरित्यनिवद्धं निवद्धंच परामृश्यते। क्रमेणसिद्धिः क्रमसिद्धिः। अनिवद्धसिद्धि निवद्धसिद्धिः। यथा स्रजि मालायां सिद्धायां, उत्तंसः शेखरः सिद्ध्यतीति॥

—काव्यालंकारसूत्र, वामन, १। ३। २८॥

2. The Meghdoot has, with reason, been ascribed the merit of approaching more closely than any other Indian poem to the rank of an elegy.

—A History of Sanskrit Literature, A.B. Keith, page 87.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

कुछ विद्वान् मेघदूत को गीतिकाव्य घोषित कर देते हैं। उनका ध्यान ऐसे काव्यों के प्रबन्ध-तत्त्व की ओर नहीं जाता जो उन्हें खण्डकाव्यों की श्रेणी में बैठाता है।

खण्डकाव्य प्रबन्धकाव्य का एक भेद है। खण्डकाव्य के 'खण्ड' शब्दांश का आशय यह नहीं है कि वह महाकाव्य का एक खण्ड अथवा जीवन की विविध वृत्तियों का खंडित या बिखरा हुआ रूप है। 'खंड' शब्दांश से, प्रस्तुत प्रसंग में अभिप्राय आत्मपर्यवसित जीवनखण्ड की किसी महत्त्वपूर्ण घटना की पूर्ण अनुभूति से है। यह अनुभूति अपने आप में पूर्ण होती है तथा अभिव्यक्त होकर जीवन के सम्बन्धित पक्ष की झलक भर प्रस्तुत कर देती है। जिस प्रकार चावल के एक दाने से यह पता चल जाता है कि पात्र के सारे चावल पक गए हैं या नहीं, उसी प्रकार खण्डकाव्य में वर्णित एक घटना जीवन के सम्बन्धित पक्ष को उभार कर चमका देती है।

खण्डकाव्य यद्यपि आकार में प्रायः लघु होता है, तथापि उसकी कथावस्तु को कितना ही विस्तार क्यों न दिया जाय, सीमित सामग्री प्रस्तुत करने की क्षमता के कारण उसका स्वरूप खण्डकाव्य का ही रहता है। जिस प्रकार किसी कहानी को आकार की दृष्टि से बड़ी कर देने पर वह उपन्यास नहीं बन जाती तथा उपन्यास को संक्षिप्त कर देने से वह कहानी नहीं बन जाता, उसी प्रकार खण्डकाव्य बड़ा होकर एकार्थ काव्य, या महाकाव्य का एक खण्ड अथवा सर्ग आकार में लघु होने से खण्डकाव्य का स्वरूप धारण नहीं कर लेता। महाकाव्य समग्र जीवन को आश्रय प्रदान करता है खण्डकाव्य जीवन के किसी पक्ष-विशेष की किसी महत्त्वपूर्ण घटना को। उसमें एक ही मुख्य घटना के प्रचुर विस्तार के लिए समस्त सामग्री संयोजी जाती है—मुख्य घटना की सहायक कुछ गौण घटनाएँ भी खंडकाव्य में हो सकती हैं जो मुख्य घटना को उत्कर्ष प्रदान करती हों, किन्तु उनका स्वतंत्र अस्तित्व खण्डकाव्य में नहीं होता। कहानी के समान खण्डकाव्य में एक ही मुख्य मार्मिक संवेदना होती है। खण्डकाव्य का वृत्त सुगठित, वस्तुपरक तथा प्रख्यात या काल्पनिक होता है। उसका कथानक सुस्पष्ट एवं अनुज्झितार्थ सम्बन्ध से युक्त होता है। कथाविन्यास में क्रम—आरम्भ, विकास, चरमसीमा—और कोई निश्चित उद्देश्य होता है। खण्डकाव्य की उपमा कुछ विद्वानों ने कहानी या एकांकी से दी है।[1] इस उपमा में यदि कुछ साम्य है तो केवल इतना कि ये सब विधाएँ जीवन की किसी महत्त्वपूर्ण घटना की पूर्ण अनुभूति को लेकर अपने-अपने ढंग पर विकसित करके जीवन के किसी पक्ष-विशेष की झलक भर प्रस्तुत कर देती हैं। इन सब में एक प्रमुख घटना का विस्तार होता है। कहानी में एक मुख्य संवेदना के कई आघात प्रस्तुत किये जाते हैं और अन्तिम आघात स्थायी, मार्मिक और अत्यन्त प्रभावशाली होता है। खण्डकाव्य में एक ही मुख्य संवेदना होती है और उसका एक ही प्रभावशाली आघात होता है। एकांकी में एक ही मुख्य आघात की योजना भी मिलती है और अनेक आघातों की भी। एक मुख्य मार्मिक संवेदना तीनों काव्य-विधाओं में होती है किन्तु खण्डकाव्य तथा कहानी-एकांकी में पर्याप्त शैली-भेद है। उनमें केवल पद्य और गद्य का ही अन्तर नहीं है, कहानी और एकांकी का शिल्प-विधान भी खण्डकाव्य से भिन्न होता है। गद्य की उपर्युक्त दोनों विधाओं में कथासूत्र का आरम्भ समस्त कथानक के अत्यन्त महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थल से नाटकीय ढंग पर होता है, जहाँ से आगे-पीछे के अंश जोड़े जा सकें। दोनों में कथा का क्रमिक विकास नहीं होता। नाटकीयता खण्डकाव्य में भी होती है, किन्तु उसमें कथा का क्रमिक विकास होता है। कहानी कथानक के किसी जिज्ञासापूर्ण एवं महत्वपूर्ण स्थल से

१. काव्य के रूप, बाबू गुलाबराय, पृ० ११८

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

आरम्भ होकर आगे-पीछे के अंश जोड़ती हुई तेजी से चरमावस्था की ओर बढ़ती है तथा चरमावस्था पर समाप्त हो जाती है। एकांकी का आरम्भ भी जिज्ञासापूर्ण स्थल से होता है, किन्तु विगत घटनाओं की व्यंजना करते हुए कौतूहल को जाग्रत कर वह कुछ काल तक बनाये रखता है। उसके घनीभूत घटनावरोह में चरम-सीमा विद्युत् की भाँति गतिशील होकर आलोक उत्पन्न करती है और एकाँकी समस्त वेग से बादल की भाँति गर्जन करता हुआ समाप्त हो जाता है।[1] खण्डकाव्य में वर्णनात्मक ढंग से धीरे-धीरे कथा का आरम्भ और विकास होता पाया जाता है। एक ही मुख्य घटना का नियोजन होने के कारण खंडकाव्य में केवल एक ही मुख्य कथा होती है। प्रासंगिक कथाओं का उसमें अभाव पाया जाता है। उसमें एक रस का पूर्ण परिपाक होना है अथवा अनेक रस अपूर्ण रूप में रहते हैं, अथवा कहीं-कहीं किसी एक भाव की पूर्णता भी मिलती है जो रस-दशा तक नहीं पहुँच पाती। खण्डकाव्य में महाकाव्य के गुण अल्पमात्रा में मिलते हैं। इसमें सभी संधियाँ नहीं होतीं। खण्डकाव्य में कथा-विन्यासवक्रता तथा प्रकृति एवं लोकरीति का आंशिक चित्रण होता है। उसमें वर्णनात्मकता और मनोवैज्ञानिकता होती है।

खण्डकाव्य का नायक देव, दनुज या मानव में से किसी एक वर्ग का होता है। वह प्रसिद्ध या काल्पनिक तथा उदात्त, शांत ललित और उद्धत में से किसी एक प्रकार का पाया जाता है। महाकाव्य के नायक के समान धीरता का गुण खण्डकाव्य के नायक में आवश्यक रूप से नहीं रहता। महाकाव्य के समान खण्डकाव्य में प्रतिनायक अनिवार्य नहीं है। कुछ खण्डकाव्य नायक-प्रधान न होकर नायिका-प्रधान भी मिलते हैं।

महाकाव्य की भाँति खंडकाव्य में युग अथवा जाति के लिए कोई महत् सन्देश नहीं पाया जाता प्रत्युत् व्यक्ति या समाज के लिए कोई सामयिक या चिरन्तन उपदेश निहित रहता है। चतुर्वर्ग फल में से प्राय: किसी एक की प्राप्ति खंडकाव्य के नायक को कराई जाती है।

सर्गबद्धता खण्डकाव्यों में अनिवार्य रूप से नहीं पाई जाती। सर्गबद्ध होने पर खण्डकाव्यों में सर्गों की कोई निश्चित संख्या नहीं मिलती। खण्डकाव्य की रचना साहित्यिक परिनिष्ठित भाषा में अनिवार्य रूप से नहीं पाई जाती—अवधी, व्रज, राजस्थानी आदि विभाषाओं में भी खण्डकाव्यों की रचना हुई है। खण्डकाव्य आद्यन्त एक ही छन्द में भी रचे गये हैं और विभिन्न छंदों में भी।

आरम्भ में, महाकाव्य के समान मंगलाचरण और अंत में फलश्रुति कुछ खण्डकाव्यों में तो मिलती है, किन्तु सब में नहीं। आदि अथवा अन्त में कवि का आत्म-परिचय, ग्रंथ-रचना का हेतु एवं रचनाकाल भी कुछ खण्डकाव्यों में मिलता है। कुछ खण्डकाव्यों में नायक के जन्म से लेकर उसमें वर्णित मुख्य घटना तक का संक्षिप्त परिचय भी भूमिका-रूप में दिया गया है।

इस प्रकार खण्डकाव्य ऐसी प्रबन्धकाव्यात्मक रचना है जिसमें नायक के जीवन की किसी प्रमुख घटना का, जो स्वत: पूर्ण हो, स्पष्ट कथा-सूत्र लेकर महाकाव्य की सुसम्बद्ध शैली में अवान्तर कथा-रहित, विस्तृत चारु चित्र प्रस्तुत किया गया हो जिससे नायक के जीवन की वर्णित घटना से सम्बन्धित पक्ष की एक झलक मिल जाय। उसकी वस्तु और

१. रेशमीटाई, डॉ० रामकुमार वर्मा, भूमिका, पृ० २३

CC-0.In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

पात्र प्रख्यात अथवा काल्पनिक होते हैं। खण्डकाव्य की रचना एक या अनेक छंदों में छन्दोबद्ध, गीतात्मक, मुक्त छन्दीय अथवा नाटकीय किसी एक प्रणाली में होती है।

वर्गीकरण

हिन्दी में खण्डकाव्यों के यद्यपि विविध रूप मिलते हैं, तथापि उनके वर्गीकरण का कोई प्रयास नहीं हुआ। हिन्दी खण्डकाव्यों के वर्गीकरण का एक मात्र प्रयास कुछ काल पूर्व डा० शकुन्तला दूबे ने किया है। उन्होंने खण्डकाव्यों को पहले दो प्रधान रूपों—(१) लोक से उद्‌भूत लोकरंजन के लिए निर्मित तथा (२) देशी या विदेशी काव्य-परम्परा से उद्‌भूत साहित्य-मर्मज्ञ सहृदय के लिए निर्मित—में विभाजित करके फिर उसके अनेक उपभेद किये है।[१] किन्तु उनका यह वर्गीकरण एकांगी है; उसमें वर्गीकरण के विविध आधारों पर दृष्टि नहीं रखी गयी। उदाहरण के लिए रामनरेश त्रिपाठी के 'स्वप्न', 'मिलन' आदि खण्डकाव्य न तो 'लोक से उद्‌भूत हैं और न 'देशी या विदेशी काव्य-परम्परा' से। उन्हें दूसरी कोटि की प्रभावात्मक शैली के अन्तर्गत रखना मेरी सम्मति में उचित नहीं है क्योंकि उक्त काव्य-परम्परा का कोई स्पष्ट निर्देश भी उक्त लेखिका के शोधग्रन्थ में नहीं मिलता। उनके इस वर्गीकरण के आधार पर अनेक खण्डकाव्य अविवेचित ही रह जायेंगे।

मेरी सम्मति में हिन्दी खण्डकाव्यों का वर्गीकरण—१. विकास, २. वर्ण्य, ३. कथा-स्रोत तथा ४. शैली—की दृष्टियों से करना उपयुक्त होगा।

१. विकास की दृष्टि से खण्डकाव्य का वर्गीकरण :—

विकास की दृष्टि से खण्डकाव्यों के दो वर्ग करने उपयुक्त होंगे— (क) संवर्धित खण्डकाव्य तथा (ख) कलाभिमुख खण्डकाव्य।

(क) **संवर्धित खण्डकाव्य**—संवर्धित खण्डकाव्य में कथानक एवं वर्णन-रूढियों की प्रचुरता होती है। इनमें कवि का व्यक्तित्व अप्रधान रहता है। अलंकृत शैली अविद्यमान रहती है। संगीत और नाटकीयता का अभिन्न योग रहता है। प्राय: आरम्भ में मंगलाचरण तथा अंत में फलश्रुति रहती है। इनमें या तो मुख्य घटना के पूर्व उस तक पहुंचने के लिए नायक के विगत जीवन की एक झलक दिखा दी जाती है या वर्ण्य-घटना के वर्णन-विस्तार के उपरांत उसके शेष जीवन का भी अति संक्षिप्त, कभी-कभी दो-चार पंक्तियों में ही वर्णन कर काव्य समाप्त कर दिया जाता है। कुछ खण्डकाव्यों में कवि का आत्म-परिचय भी आरम्भ या अन्त में रहता है। जाति या समुदाय-विशेष में प्रचार होने के कारण ऐसे खण्डकाव्यों की रचना में समुदाय (कम्यूनिटी) का भी योग रहता है। इस वर्ग के खण्डकाव्यों में से अधिकांश के कथानक मूलत: किसी विशिष्ट कवि की कृति होते हुए भी विभिन्न कालों और युगों में विभिन्न कवियों के हाथों में पड़ कर कुछ का कुछ रूप ग्रहण कर लेते हैं। इनके कवि काव्य-विधा को ध्यान में रखकर काव्य-रचना में प्रवृत्त नहीं होते।

(ख) **कलाभिमुख खण्डकाव्य**—कलाभिमुख खण्डकाव्य यत्नसाध्य कलापूर्ण शैली में लिखे गये मिलते हैं जिनमें रस, अलंकार, गुण आदि काव्य के आवश्यक उपादानों की सचेष्ट योजना होती है। उनमें शास्त्रीय ज्ञान और पांडित्य का प्रभाव रहता है। इस वर्ग के खण्डकाव्यों में कवि का व्यक्तित्व सजग होता है और कवि अपने युग की चेतना को व्यक्त

१. काव्यरूपों के मूल स्रोत और उनका विकास, डा० शकुन्तला दूबे, पृष्ठ १४८।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

करने का सचेष्ट प्रयास करता है। इनमें वर्णन-रूढ़ियाँ प्रायः नहीं होतीं। कथानक के चरमोत्कर्ष के दोनों ओर कथा-सूत्र का पूर्ण कसाव और कथानक संतुलित होता है।

२. वर्ण्य की दृष्टि से खण्डकाव्यों का विभाजन :—

हिन्दी खण्डकाव्यों के विभाजन का दूसरा आधार हो सकता है उनका वर्ण्य। इस दृष्टि से खण्डकाव्यों के निम्न भेद होंगे :—

(क) भाव (वीरता, प्रेम मैत्री आदि) मूलक
(ख) धर्म (भक्ति) मूलक
(ग) समस्यामूलक
(घ) चरितमूलक

३. कथा-स्रोत की दृष्टि से खण्डकाव्यों का विभाजन: —

खण्डकाव्यों को कथा-स्रोत के विचार से निम्नलिखित वर्गों में रखा जा सकता है :—

(क) ऐतिहासिक
(ख) पौराणिक
(ग) लोकवार्तिक
(घ) काल्पनिक
(ङ) अन्य साहित्याश्रित
(च) अनूदित

४. शैली की दृष्टि से खण्डकाव्यों का विभाजन :—

शैली के विचार से खण्डकाव्यों के विभाजन के तीन आधार हो सकते हैं :—

(क) वर्णन-विधा
(ख) सर्गबद्धता
(ग) अभिव्यंजना-प्रणाली

इनमें से प्रत्येक के आधार पर खण्डकाव्यों का निम्न प्रकार पुनर्विभाजन किया जा सकता है :—

(क) वर्णन-विधा के आधार पर :—
 (१) वर्णनात्मक
 (२) विचारात्मक
 (३) भावात्मक
 (४) आत्मविश्लेषणात्मक
 (५) प्रतीकात्मक

(ख) सर्गबद्धता के आधार पर :—
 (१) सर्गबद्ध
 (२) सर्गहीन

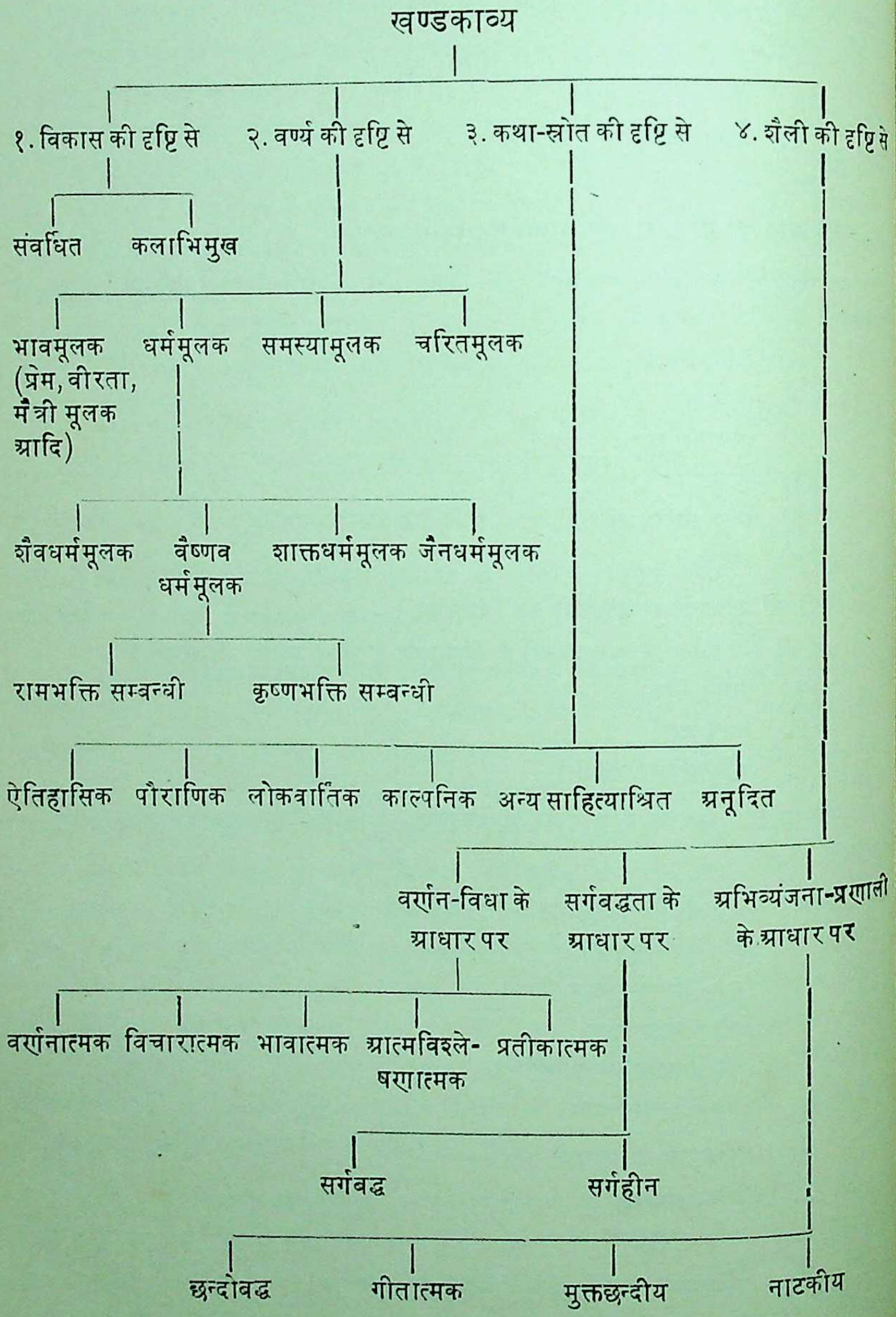
(ग) अभिव्यंजना-प्रणाली के आधार पर :—
 (१) छन्दोबद्ध
 (२) गीतात्मक

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(३) मुक्तछन्दीय
(४) नाटकीय

इस प्रकार संक्षेप में, हिन्दी खण्डकाव्यों के वर्गीकरण का चक्र निम्न प्रकार होगा :—



CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

HISTORY

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Bipin B. Sinha

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THF IDEA OF HARYANA PRANT

Prior to 1857 the region of Haryana under the administrative name of Delhi Division was a part of the North-West Provinces (modern U.P.). Its people and princes played a very significant role in the Uprising of 1857.[1] When the Uprising petered out, the region of Haryana was detached from the North-West Provinces and as a 'political punishment',[2] was tagged with Panjab.[3]

A perusal of the history of Haryana tract for a few decades after its annexation with this Panjab shows that the region on account of its people's vigorous participation in the Uprising of 1857 was held in great contempt by the Punjab authorities. All the benefits of British rule were denied to the people of this region. No educational facilities were given to them[4]; no means of irrigation were provided ; the doors of government services were closed upon them ; means of communication were neglected badly. Infact the people of Haryana were reduced to the hewers of wood and drawers of water.[5]

Birth of Political Consciousness among the Haryana Masses :

The second half of the 19th century witnessed the full flowering of nationalism and growth of political consciousness in India. Owing to the organised efforts of the Indian National Congress there was all round awakening among the Indian masses. The people of Haryana were no exceptions to it. They took part in their own humble way in the national programmes of the Congress and worked for the political emancipation of India from the British rule.

Genesis of the demand for a separate state :

This awakening capabilised the Haryana people to introspect their different aspects of life. They found out the reasons that made their life miserable, economically, socially, culturally and politically. They thought

1. For a detailed account of the uprising of the people of Haryana in 1857 see Dr. Kripal Chandra Yadav's paper in *Hariyana Research Journal*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 43-47 and Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 37-42.
2. See *file R/199* (Punjab State Archives, Patiala).
3. For a full account see *Settlement Report af the Delhi District*, 158.
4. It is very surprising that there was not even a single college in this region before 1928, and there were hardly any high schools.
5. For all round backwardness of this region see *The Report of the Haryana Development Committee*, Chandigarh, 1966.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of ways and means to effectuate improvement. But despite their best efforts nothing could be achieved. They came to know that their Panjabi bretheren who were far superior to them politically, economically, and educationally stood in their way. And this gave birth to the demand for the detachment from Panjab and formation of a separate state. This demand as the contemporary evidences show, had its birth in the early part of the twentieth century and not in the recent times after the advent of Independence as many people would make us believe.

A Misgiving :

It is a misgiving that the demand for the formation of Haryana was a recent outcome of Akali demand for a separate Punjabi Suba[6] and a part of the 'post-partition political developments'[7].To quote Mrs. Satya M. Rai, 'The demand for a separate Haryana province is essentially a part of the post-partition political developments in the state. There is no doubt that the people of this region were dissatisfied and had along standing grouse that the non-Haryana Punjabee was the dominant and exploiting element in the trade, commercial and administrative life of their region, but they felt it in a greater measure with the penetration of Punjabee displaced persons in every walk of life in this region. The movement for Haryana Prant was, thus, initiated by the educated and weal their section of the Haryana people who foresaw in this new development greater possibilities for themselves. To this end, they gave support to the demand of Punjabi Suba, and criticised the Maha Panjab Slogan, for the hope for a Haryana Prant lay only in the achievement of Punjabi Suba."[8]

But to say like that would be to go farther from historical truth. There had been a persistent demand for the formation of Haryana quite long before the advent of independence. In the early part of the 20th century late Lala Deshbandhu Gupta started the move for the formation of the Prant. He said, "Hindi speaking region had never been a part of Panjab. Ever since its inclusion in Panjab, this region had been suffering economically, politically and culturally. It was essential for the development of this region to separate it from Punjab proper and form a new State by uniting with it certain adjoining parts of Delhi, Rajasthan and the U.P."[9]

In 1926, Muslim League while suggesting changes in the then set up of the Delhi State declared that the Hindi speaking region (Ambala Division) should be detached from the Punjab and included in the Delhi

6. 'Haryana Prant—An Akali Stunt' *Organiser*, 9:8 (3rd Oct. 1955). Dewan Alakhdhari has alleged here that the Akalis wanted to advance their cause through the smoke screen of Hariyana Prant.
7. Satya M. Rai, *Partition of Punjab* (Asia Publishing House, 1965), pp. 234-5.
8. *Ibid.*
9. *The Hindustan Times*, 9 December, 1932.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

State[10]. Similarly, in 1928, 'All Political Parties Conference' at Delhi repeated this demand.[11] The same year in the commemoration volume presented to the Commissioner of Delhi, Sir J.P. Thompson, by the elites of Delhi expressed their wish to form a separate and bigger State by uniting with Delhi the Hindi speaking region of Punjab.[12] Even in the Second Round Table Conference this unity of Haryana region with the Punjab was criticised and the Government was requested to put an end to this artificial unity for betterment of both, the people of Ambala Division and Panjabis.[13]

Demand intensified after 1947 :

The Haryana people pressed hard for a separate State after India achieved independence. Representatives of people raised their voice both in the Parliament and the Punjab Vidhan Sabha and outside to bring to the notice of the Government of India the miserable conditions of Hindi Speaking people of Punjab. Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava speaking in the Indian Parliament gave figures from various departments, and as represented in ministries, Parliament and State Legislature to prove that Haryana had only 5½ percent representation. Their condition was no better in the field of education also. Out of 4,500 primary and middle schools, in the whole of the Punjab, only 1,400 were in Haryana. Out of 500 high schools, 170 were situated in this region and only 16 out of 42 Colleges fell to its share. Similar was the case in other walks of life. Out of 16 delegates to the A.I.C.C., only 4 were from Haryana.[14] Professor Sher Singh asserted that nearly ninety percent of the people of Haryana Prant were of the opinion that they should have no connection whatsoever with the Punjab and wanted that they should be given a separate State and the adjoining regions of Rajasthan, the U.P. and Delhi, the people of which had common tongue, customs, habits and culture, should be united with it.[15]

The State Reorganisation Commission (1956) was confronted with a flood of memorandums given by the Hindi Speaking people of Ambala Division. Not only that, even people outside the bounds of Punjab put up such a demand. One memorandum was given by Delhi administration also. The Chairman of the Committee which presented this demand was Shri Nuruddin Ahmed. The other members were Shri Gajraj Singh, M.L.A., Gurgaon; Sri Mir Mustaq Ahmed, M.L.A., Delhi; Sri Yudhvir Singh, M.L.A., Delhi; and Sri Daljit Singh, M.L.A., Delhi. This Memorandum made it clear that the Hindi Speaking areas of Punjab have got no similarities whatsoever with that State and differed in language and

10. Bhagvan Deva, *Vir Bhumi Haryana* (Jhajjar, 1965), pp. 102-5.
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. *Ibid.*
14. *Lok Sabha Debate* (Thakur Das Bhargava, Debate on the State Reorganisation), New Delhi--Lok Sabha Secretariat, Vol. I, Nov. 1955.
15. *Punjab Vidhan Sabha Debates*, Vol. II, Nov. 1956, Chandigarh, pp. 2, 6.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

culture. Hence a separate State should be formed by uniting it with the Delhi State and the adjoining parts of the U. P. and Rajasthan.[16]

But all these memorandums were thrown into waste paper basket. To the surprise of Haryana people, the Commission repudiated the allegations that the people from Haryana were given discriminative treatment by Panjabis. This added fuel to the fire.

Before the Das Commission which was appointed to find out the real grievances of the people of Punjab and Hariyana, a memorandum was placed by Professor Sher Singh who criticised the stand of Akali leaders and the Prime Minister Shri Nehru. The main target of attack was the exploitation of Hindi region for appeasing the Sikhs. According to professor Sher Singh, "the demand of Punjabi Suba was false. It was an attempt of the Punjabis to get more concessions at the cost of Haryana people. The more they demanded, the more the Government of India conceded in order to preserve the unity of the State. When Haryana people demanded their rights, they were branded as brothers of Akalis."[17]

The Punjab Government did a lot to appease the people of Punjab and Haryana. But northing could stop the people's two demands: formation of the Punjabi Suba and Haryana. The Union Government ultimately yielded and finally on September 23, 1965, the Minister of Home Affairs announced in both houses of Parliament the decision of the Government to set up a Parliamentary Committee of members of both the Houses of Parliament to examine the question of formation of Punjabi and Hindi Speaking States. The Parlimentary Committee under the chairmanship of Sardar Hukum Singh studied the whole problem seriously and presented their report to the Parliament on March 18, 1966.[18]

On March 21, 1966, the Minister for Home Affairs made another statement in the Parliament that the Government had carefully thought over the recommendations made by the Committee and had decided to accept in principle the reorganisation of the State of Punjab on linguistic and cultural basis. Accordingly on April 18, 1966, Government appointed a three-men Commission headed by Justice Shah to determine the boundaries of the new States. The Commission after taking into account every factor recommended that "Districts of Hissar, Mohindergarh, Gurgaon, Rohtak and Karnal and Tehsils Narwana and Jind (District Sangrur) and Tehsil Kharar (including Chandigarh Capital Project) Naraingarh, Ambala and Jagadhari should form the Hindi Speaking State".[19] On September

16. For details see the Delhi Government's Memorandum on the formation of 'Vishal Delhi' prant, presented to the S. R. Commission.
17. See *Sudharak* (Jhajjar) Vol. II, No. 6, Feb. 1962 Containing *'Haryana aur Hindi Kshetra Ka Paksha'* presented by Prof. Sher Singh before the Das Commission.
18. *Punjab Boundary Commission Report* (presented on 31st May, 1966), p. 1.
19. *Ibid*, Art. 135, Sub para 3, pp. 49.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

10, 1966, recommendations of the Shah Commission were accepted with minor changes here and there by the Indian Parliament. On November 1, the decision of the Parliament was implemented. The State of Haryana came into being, and the long-raised demand was fulfilled.

Thus there is no denying the fact that there was an independent, political demand for the formation of Haryana Prant and there is no grain of truth in saying that it was the by-product of the Akali demand for a Punjabi Suba.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Devendra Kaushik

RUSSIAN CONQUEST OF CENTRAL ASIA AND ANGLO-RUSSIAN RIVALRY

Russia's expansion into Asia began in the sixteenth century. The Muscovite Grand Duchy began its march on Asia as soon as it had thrown off the Mongolian yoke. In 1552 Ivan the Terrible occupied Kazan and in 1556, Astrakhan, in the Volga Delta. The Pacific was reached at the end of the seventeenth century. The Cossacks, who undertook this expansion, met little resistance from the primitive tribes. The latter were soon outnumbered by Russian settlers. The southward movement from Siberia began in the eighteenth century, first into the Steppe region and later into Turkestan. Russia's expansion into the Steppe region may be said to have begun in 1730 with the acceptance of Russian subjection by Abulkhair, the Khan of the Lesser Horde. The Russian advance towards the Khanates began in the first half of the nineteenth century only.

In 1824 a 'scientific' expedition was sent to conduct a barometric study between the Caspian and the Aral Sea supported by half a battalion of infantry of Cossacks and six cannon. In 1834 a military base was established at fort Novo Alexandrovsk on the north-eastern coast of the Caspian with the object of improving trade with Khiva. Then followed in 1839 the Khiva expedition under General Perovsky with 5,000 soldiers, 22 cannon, 10,000 camels and 2,000 Kirgiz porters and camel drivers. This expedition, like the previous ones under Bekovich and Muravyev, was unsuccessful. Only 1,000 soldiers could manage to return and the rest perished in an unusually severe winter. Preparations for a second expedition started immediately and the Khan of Khiva, on hearing of it, asked for peace. He released all Russians imprisoned in Khiva and promised to award death sentence to those of his subjects who attacked Russian merchants. A formal treaty, too, was signed with Khiva by which it undertook not to attack Russians and cease taking slaves. But Khiva still persisted in her hostile attitude towards Russia. The Khan openly sided with the Kazakh rebels and instigated them against Russia.

The Russian government now changed her method of dealing with the Central Asian Khanates. It decided to proceed slowly but methodically instead of sending a sweeping military expedition across the desert which was doomed to failure. In 1846 the Governor of Orenburg established a fort on the Syr-Daria near the Aral Sea where a flotilla of boats covered the advancing Russian columns. The Kazakh revolt under Kenissary had been suppressed by then. In 1853 General Perovsky captured Ak-Masjed,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

a fort belonging to Kokand. Here the Russian advance stopped for the time being due to the Crimean War.

The defeat of Tsarist Russia in the Crimean War resulted in the transfer of Russian interest from the Balkans and the Near East to the Far East and Central Asia. The path of the Russian Empire in Europe, as Marx wrote, was now barred. The instructions sent in 1858 by Gortchakov, Foreign Minister of the Russian Empire, to the Russian Ambassador in London, Brnnow, reflected this new shift that had come in the Russian policy after the Crimean War. The Foreign Minister of the Empire stressed the desire to obtain full freedom of action for Russia in the East. Britain was to be told quite firmly that she must give due consideration to Russia's interests in Asia if she wanted to live in peace with her. The instructions to the Russian Ambassador in Lodon laid down 'the strengthening of the influence of Russian industry, trade and culture in Asia' as the main object of Russian policy[1]. In January, 1856 General Blaramberg declared that the future of Russia does not lie in Europe and that she must turn her glance to Asia. In 1857 Iu. A. Gagemeister noted that the rate of growth for the Asian trade of Russia was much higher than her trade with Europe and that while the manufactured goods formed an insignificant portion of her exports to Europe, they constituted half of her exports to Asia. He recommended the annexation of Central Asia on economic grounds. The region was ideally suited to cultivation of cotton and the Syr-Daria was navigable up to the vicinity of Tashkent[2]. The economic prospects of the conquest of Central Asia by Russia was a theme quite popular with Russian statesmen, industrialists, generals and journalists. The works of A. Semenov about foreign trade and industry of the Russian Empire along with the works of such advisers to the Finance Minister as Gagemeister and Tyernyer, a famous industrialist and trader, A. Shipov, orientalists, I. Berezin, V. Grigoriev, traveller-publicist, M. Ivanin roused in Russia a great interest in Central Asia. Journals like *Russki Vestnik*, *Morskoi Sbornik*, and *Ekonomicheski Ukazatel* devoted a large number of their pages to the developments in Central Asia. A. Shipov, himself a big industrialist, emphasized the role of Central Asia as potential supplier of raw materials, especially cotton, to Russia[3].

This wide campaign for incorporation of Central Asia into the Russian Empire got a favourable response from the ruling circles closely connected with the bourgeoisie. In 1856 the Caucasian Commander A.I. Bariyatinski submitted to Tsar Alexander II a project for construction of railway from the Caspian to the Aral Sea to replace the old caravan

1. B. Nolde *Peterburgskaya Missiya Bismarka* 1859-1862, Prague 1925, pp. 64-65, N.A. Khalfin, *Prisoyedineniye Srednei Azii K Rossii*, Moscow, 1965, p. 83.
2. Iu. A. Gagemeister *Vzglyad Na Promyshlennost I Torgovliu Rossii*, "*Russki Vestnik*" 1857, No. 1, pp. 38-39.
3. A. Shipov, *Khlopchatobumazhnaya Promyshlennost I Vazhnost Yeyo Znacheniya Dilya Rossii*, Moscow 1857-58, p. 42.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

routes. Bariyatinski was concerned at the British activities in Iran and his proposal was meant to counter-act their effect. The project came up for discussion before an Extra-ordinary Committee which approved of it despite the opposition of Gortchakov, the Foreign Minister, and General Perovski. The Committee adopted the plan of establishing direct communication from Caspian to Aral Sea and further to Amu and Syr-Daria, but postponed its execution to a more suitable time.

Even before the Crimean War industrial firms, trade companies and transport organizations relating to Central Asia, had been coming up. The Government gave encouragement and support to Mercury Steamer Company (established in 1849) and the Trade Houses of Baranov and Elizarov. Kokorev, a leading Russian industrialist, and Khrulev, the hero of Sevastopole, submitted a note on the Caspian routes and pointed out their special importance for trade with the Central Asian Khanates. The Trans-Caspian Trading Society was organized with a capital of 2 million roubles. It had the backing of Baryatinski and the Grand Prince Constantine Nikolaevich. In 1858 Benardaki put forth the suggestion of establishing a fishing centre at Krasnovodsk. He also framed a plan for trade with Turkmen tribes which was approved by the Governor-General of Orenburg. This, however, could not be implemented then.

Gortchakov appointed Kovalevski as the Director of Asian Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Under his supervision a many-sided study of the neigobouring countries was made and the way prepared for the expansion of Tsarist Russia into Central Asia. Commerical, political and intelligence missions were sent in 1858 to Iran, Khanates of Central Asia and Kashgar. The three Russian missions (of N.V. Khanikov, N. P. Ignatiev and Ch. Ch. Valikhanov) though sent in different forms (Khanikov headed a 'scientific' expedition, Ignatiev an official diplomatic mission and Valikhanov went as a Muslim trader), had one common object of making an intensive study of political and economic conditions prevailing in neighbouring countries. These missions collected a valuable information about the people of Khorasan, East Iran, Central Asian Khanates and West China, and also about the British penetration of these regions. They also tried to increase Russian influence there. After the return of the Ignatiev mission from Khiva and Bukhara, the Tsarist Government began active preparations for direct expansion into Central Asia. The joining of the Orenburg line with that of West Siberia was favoured by Ignatiev and also by Katenin, the Governor-General of Orenburg. In 1860 the Tsarist Government sent intelligence mission to Issik-Kul and Pishpek area.[4] In 1861 Major-General Tsimmerman gave a report on the conditions in the Kokand Khanate. He recommended increased pressure on the Khanate to make way for Russian goods in the Central Asian market.

4. N.A. Khalfin, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-118.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Another powerful advocate of vigorous action against Kokand was Milyutin, the Minister for war, who acted on the advice of General Bezak, the Governor-General of Orenburg. Bezak visited the Syr-Daria line in 1861 and formed the opinion that Tashkent should be captured at the earliest. He thought that Russia would thus secure a convenient frontier with Kokand, while her control of Tashkent would considerably promote her trade. As trade routes from Bukhara, China and Russia passed through Tashkent, Russia's occupation of it was likely to increase trade with these countries, particularly with the Chinese Turkestan, and also strengthen her influence on Bukhara.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs feared that an over-active policy in Central Asia would antagonise Britain. Bezak, however, felt that British should not display any extra-ordinary sensitivity towards Russian expansion up to the Syr-Daria which she might, in case of an anvance up to the Amu-Daria. The Tsar approved Bezak's views, but another four years were to elapse before Tashkent was brought under Russian control. Tashkent was finally captured in 1865 by the prompt and largely unauthorized action of the local commander, General Chernyayev. In October 1864, the very month in which Chernyayev made his first unsuccessful assault on Tashkent, the expediency of such a step was categorically rejected on the ground that it would inevitably involve the Russian empire in all the Central Asian disputes. But there were many equivocal statements in the official Foreign Office memoranda disclaiming desire 'to extend the limits of Russian influence by conquest'. Thus, while the plan of operations in Central Asia approved by the Tsar in November 1864 emphasized the necessity of refraining from further advances in Central Asia, the statement about the 'inevitability' of capturing the whole of the Kokand Khanate made nonsense of the entire talk about the inexpediency of 'the further extension of the imperial domains'. When, in June 1865, Chernyayev captured Tashkent, he was, according to Khalfin, taking action 'which in fact fully corresponded with the ideas both of the Government and the military-feudal aristocracy of the Russian empire, and of commercial and industrial circles. He understood perfectly well that the repeated appeals by the diplomatic department for the cessation of further advance in Central Asia were a special kind of manoeuvre, a smoke screen, resulting from fears of protests by Britain. Chernyayev took advantage of the strong support of expansionist elements in the capital and among his own close associates. He knew that not only would he not be taken to task for his "independent" action, but that, on the contrary, he could count on receiving decorations and promotion'.[5] Tashkent was captured by Chernyayev with a total Russian loss of 25 killed and 89 wounded, resistance being very limited. At first, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs denied the intention of incorporating Tashkent into the Russian empire. It favoured to turn Tashkent and the territory around it into a separate

5. N.A. Khalfin, *Politika Rossii V Srednei Azii*, Moscow, 1960, pp. 178-79.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Khanate under complete control of Tsarism, playing the role of a buffer state between the Russian empire and Bukhara. This view was opposed by Chernyayev, but it was supported by Kryzhanovsky, the newly appointed Governor-General of Orenburg. The people of Tashkent, when called upon to elect their Khan, declared in an address presented to Chernyayev that they preferred the civil government of Tashkent to remain in the hands of Chernyayev, with the religious and judicial administration vested in the person of the *Kazi Kalan*, or supreme judge of the Canon Law, subject to confirmaiion by Chernyayev. In August 1866 Tashkent was declared part of Russia.

In 1867 the Governorate-General of Turkestan was established with its headquarters at Tashkent and General Kaufman as the first Governor-General. In march 1868 Amir Muzaffar-Eddin of Bukhara declared a holy war against the Imperial Russian house. General Kaufman stormed Samarkand in April 1868 and defeating the troops of Bukhara entered the city on May 2. Bukhara was humbled by the capture of Samarkand and the imposition of a treaty which reduced the Khanate to a state of vassalage. During 1864-68 the two most important Central Asian Khanates, Kokand and Bukhara, were completely defeated. But for diplomatic reasons it was not thought proper to annex them. Peace treaties were concluded in 1868 with Khan Khudayar Khan of Kokand and Amir Muzaffar-Eddin of Bukhara whereby they relinquished the lands actually conquered by Russia, recognized themselves as vassals of the latter and gave the Russians highly favourable terms of trade. TheKokand Treaty gave the Russian merchants right to visit all the towns of the Khanate, establish caravan *serais* there and appoint their commercial agents. There was to be no discrimination in the matter of import duties between Russian and Muslim merchants and Russian caravans on their way to the neighbouring states were to be allowed unrestricted passage. The Russians were to pay a duty of only 2½%, the same as was charged from the Muslims. The treaty gave them a preferential treatment over other foreigners. The Khanate lost almost half of its territory, while the remaining half became a protectorate of Russia. The treaty with Bukhara was signed by the Amir in June 1868. It provided for incorporation of Samarkand, Katta-Kurgan and the whole district of Zeravshan into the Russian Empire, besides payment of an indemnity of 500,000 roubles. It also contained clauses relating to commercial benefits. Bukhara like Kokand became a vassal of Russia.

Khiva's turn came five years later. In the spring of 1873 she was over run and forced to accept the terms dictated by Russia. A treaty of peace was signed in August 1873 between General Kaufman and Seid Mohammed Rahimkhan, the ruler of Khiva. By this treaty the Khan acknowledged himself to be 'the humble servant of the Emperor of all the Russias' and renounced 'all direct and friendly relations existing with neighbouring rulers and Khans'. The whole of the right bank of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Amu-Daria and the adjoining lands belonging to Khiva passed into the possession of Russia, which also obtained the right of free navigation on the Amu-Daria. The Russians got the right to construct ware houses and landing places on the left bank of the Amu-Daria and the right to establish factories. Russian merchants and carvans were granted freedom to travel throughout the whole Khanate, and the Khan undertook to impart special protection to them. They were exempted from payment of custom duties. The treaty also contained an article which granted extra-territorial rights to Russians in Khiva. There were also clauses relating to abolition of slavery in Khiva and payment of a war indemnity of 2,200,000 roubles to be paid in instalments until 1893. The treaty with Khiva was a typical colonial treaty resembling those imposed by the Western powers upon China. This treaty, as well as those with Kokand and Bukhara earlier, assured Russia an economic hold over these three Khanates and provided for extra-territorial rights.

Next came the turn of the Tekke Turkmens who inhabited the Attrek valley and the Sarakhs of the Merv Oasis. The reduction of Khiva marked a new era in the history of Russian advance. The tast semblance of organized opposition to the Russian onslaught disappeared and the Tsar found himself the unquestioned suzerain of the great Khanates. Westwards, his foot was planted securely on the Caspian port of Krasnovodsk, which was founded in 1869 by General Stolietov. The Amu-Daria marked the new limits in the west. But the tract between the Amu-Daria and the Caspian was still unsubdued. There was no organized state here and the region was the abode of the Turkmens, the story of whose subjection forms the final chapter in the history of the Russian conquest of Central Asia. But before Russia could march against the Turkmens, a hostile movement spread in Kokand. The rebellion headed by Nasiruddin, the son of Khan Khudayar Khan, was quelled and the Khanate of Kokand was absorbed into the Russian empire on March 2, 1876. It was renamed the province of Fergana.

The Trans-Caspian military disirict formed in 1874 was placed under the charge of Major-General Lomakin. In 1877 Lomakin made an attempt to occupy the Tekke fortress of Kizil Arvat, 200 miles east of Krasnovodsk. But he had to retreat in the face of stiff resistance. An attempt was made by him on Dangil Teppe in the district of Geok Teppe in the Akkal oasis, but the Turkmen warriors foiled it. To retrieve this loss of prestige, General Skobelev was sent to conquer the Turkmens. He had participated in campaigns against Khiva and Kokand and had captured Adrianopole and Plevna in the Russo-Turkish war. Lomakin had relied on camels which perished in thousands in a long march under difficult conditions. Skobelev, therefore, invoked the help of steam. A special railway battalion was formed and with the progress of the campaign proceeded the construction the Trans-Caspian railway. A distillery was established at Krasnovodsk for plentiful supply of drinking water. All preparations having

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

been made, an attack was delivered upon the Turkmens. The beleagured Turkmens fought gallantly and Geok Teppe was conquered after heavy fighting. With its fall the Akkal oasis fell into Russian hands. Now Merv alone remained to be annexed. The latter was added to the Russian Empire by skilful diplomacy, the agent being an astute Muslim of Caucasia, Alikhanov, who had an ally in Gul Jamal, the widow of the last great Turkmen chieftain Nur Verdi Khan. On January 31, 1884, the Turkmen tribal chiefs met at Ashkhabad and swore fidelity to the Tsar. Soon afterwards the Sarik tribe south of Merv yielded and the conquest of the whole region was by then complete.

The historical significance of the Russian conquest and annexation of Central Asia is a subject on which widely divergent opinions are expressed by Soviet and Western historians. The annexation by Tsarist Russia spread to Central Asia colonial oppression of Tsarism. But the incorporation of these peoples into the Russian empire had a different aspect, too. It joined their fate with the progressive forces of Russia, with the Russian revolutionary movement. Consequently, the merger of Central Asia into Russia had an *objectively* progressive character. This *objectively* progressive historical character of the Russian annexation is sometimes exaggerated by some Soviet writers, a few of whom have gone to the absurd length of describing the merger with Russia as an 'age-old dream' of the peoples of Central Asia. But Soviet historians have, by and large, taken a sensible approach towards this question. Thus we find A.M. Aminov, a Soviet Uzbek scholar, lashing out at the 'tendency to magnify the progressive significance' of the merger of Central Asia with Russia[6]. He writes :

> This should not lead to the suppression of the reactionary essence of imperialism, the nature and aims of the colonial policy of Tsarism striving to obtain the maximum profits by plundering the riches of Central Asia......[7].

On the territory of Central Asia, there was established under Tsarism a ruthless colonial regime whose interests were in conflict with the interests of both, the native masses and the Russian working class. More recently, the trend towords over-emphasis on the progressive character of annexation of Central Asia again came in for criticism by M.P. Kim, Associate Member of the Academy of Sciences USSR, in a discussion. Kim charged Soviet authors with a 'certain modernization' of approach on this matter. He was critical of the argument, often advanced in Soviet literature on the subject, that if the peoples of Central Asia had not merged with Russia, they would not be united in a brotherly union of Soviet peoples after the October Revolution. He said:

---

6. A.M. Aminov, *Ekonomicheskoe Razvitie SredneiAzii*, Tashkent, 1959, , p. 19.
7. *Ibid.* pp. 175-176.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

> Historical truth, like every other truth, is concrete. When we speak about the progressive results of the merger of peoples with Russia, we have in mind the porgressive changes in the socio-economic and cultural life of these peoples in *concrete historical conditions* of old feudal or bourgeois-landlord Russia. We speak about the progressive results together with a recognition of the harm caused to them by the loss of national independence.[8]

Adopting the utterance of Marx on the British rule in India, one may describe Tsarism as, 'the unconscious tool of history'[9] in respect of Central Asia. For Marx it was not the 'superiority' of the 'white race' or 'European Civilization', but the break-up of 'village communities', undignified, stagnatory and vegetative life' upon which he rejoiced. It was the question of 'a sociol revolution' in Asia. He was delighted 'in point of history', despite the 'bitterness the spectacle of the crumbling of an ancient world may have for our personal feelings'. And 'in point of history', we have better and greater reasons to 'rejoice' in the case of Russian annexation of Central Asia than of India by the British.

The Anglo-Russian Rivalry in Central Asia

Even in the first half of the 19th century, when the main Russian thrust against Central Asia was not yet begun, the British government had given its peculiar explanation of the Anglo-Russian relations. According to the British, Russia was continually advancing towards the approaches of India, annexing one region after the other. The object of the Russian advance was said to be India and Britain was shown to be acting in the interest of the defence of India and integrity of the Ottoman empire only, through which lay the bridge between Europe and India. This view was assiduously spread by publicists like Urquhart and later Rawlinson.

But this was a highly tendentious view. It was not as though Russia simply advanced and Britain was merely on the defensive. In fact, there converged upon central Asia two streams of expansion[10]. Both Britain and Russia followed an aggressive policy with regard to Central Asia, each putting the blame on the other.

The real causes of the rivalry between the two Powers lay in strategical considerations and trade interests and also in the desire to strengthen their control over the countries already conquered. The British colonialists in India feared that the approach of any foreign troops to her frontiers would inevitably lead to an outburst of popular anger against their rule. They were, therefore, also eager to spread their influence, and if possible, complete domination, over the adjacent countries—Persia, Afghanistan, Sinkiang and Burma. Conquests of both the Powers were usually motivated by the

8. *Istoriya I Sotsiologiya*, Moscow. 1964, pp. 127-128.
9, K. Marx and F. Engels, *On Colonialism* pp. 36-37.
10. *Istoriya Diplomatii*, T. II, Moscow, 1963, p. 60.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

need to obtain sources of raw materials and markets for the goods produced by their capitalist industries. The cotton of Central Asia acquired a great significance for the Russian industry.

The general course of policy in Central Asia was laid down by the British cabinet in London, its concrete implementation being left to the Viceroy in India. British agents went to Afghanistan, Turkmenia and Western China. Usually they were intelligence officers who also employed native agents. The agents of the Sultan of Turkey also actively helped the British. Espionage and subversive activity played in British policy in Central Asia a role no less important than official diplomacy. On the Russian side as well, the Governor-General of Turkestan exercised considerable measure of independence from the control of St. Petersburg and kept a network of intelligence among the local feudal rulers and tribal chiefs.

In Western China, the British colonial power supplied Yaqub Beg, an adventurer, who succeeded in the sixties in supplanting the Chinese rule in Kashgar, with arms from India and also aided him with money. British diplomacy and intelligence established contacts with Yaqub Beg. In this the British used the Sultan of Turkey also, who was then very friendly with them. The Sultan of Turkey conferred upon Yaqub Beg the title of Amir and instructed him in the spirit of unity of all Muslim rulers against Russia. The British counted upon using Yaqub Beg against both China and Russia. Yaqub Beg was not content with his possession of Kashgar and wanted to extend his dominion towards the north. The Russian government undertook measures to close the path of Yaub Beg. In 1870 it occupied the Muzart pass in the Tien-Shan, and in the summer of 1871, the town of Kuldja and the entire Ili valley. In the meantime Yaqub Beg died in 1877 and the Chinese government liquidated his state easily.

The main object of British expansion in Central Asia was, however, not Sinkiang, but Afghanistan. From there the British were preparing to penetrate into Turkmenia. The British waged the First Afghan War in the thirties of the 19th century when the expanding empire of Russia was yet far from the frontiers of India. This aggressive war was imposed upon a none unfriendly Afghanistan at a time when the siege of Herat by Persia had been abandoned and Vicovich, the Russian agent, had been recalled and repudiated. In 1869 ended the period of feudal struggles going on in Afghanistan for the last six years. Amir Sher Ali overcame his opponents and established a centralised state in Afghanistan under his control. Lord Mayo decided to win over the Amir and convert him into an instrument of British influence in Afghanistan. Sher Ali was invited by Lord Mayo to visit India and they met at Ambala towards the close of March 1869. The Amir insisted upon conclusion of a treaty of alliance and demanded recognition by the British of his younger son Abdullah Khan as his successor

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to the Afghan throne. But Lord Mayo did not agree to it. The British had no desire to bar their way to play one claimant of the throne against the other. He, however, assured the Amir of British friendship.

In the beginning of 1869 the Liberal Ministry of Britain headed by Gladstone proposed to the Tsarist Government the creation of a neutral zone in Central Asia between the possessions of Britain and Russia. This zone was to be respected by both the Powers and it was to prevent their territories from meeting each other. The Russian government agreed to creation of such an intermediate belt and suggested inclusion of Afghanistan in it which would prevent her from being annexed by Britain. The British government proposed a considerable extension of this zone towards the north. This led to a lengthy series of communication between the two governments which led to what is commonly called the "Clarendon-Gortchakov Agreement." The British government was of the view that Afghanistan would not fulfil the condition of a neutral territory as its frontiers were ill-defined. Duke of Argyll and his colleagues in India proposed that the Upper Oxus should be the limit which neither Power should permit its forces to cross. These negotiations concerning the neutral zone were again renewed when Forsyth, an officer of the Indian administration, visited St. Petersburg in November 1869. With him an agreement was reached which was later ratified by the Tsar and the British government. It was agreed that all those provinces which were in actual possession of Sher Ali should be recognized as the territory of Afghanistan. It was also agreed that Britain should exercise her influence over Afghan Amir to restrain him from starting hostilities against Bukhara and other Central Asian states. Similarly, Russia was to keep Bukhara in check and use all her influence in the interest of peace.

But the actual territorial extent of the possessions of Sheh Ali was a disputed matter and no body knew it, nor even the Amir himself. Hence it was agreed that both the sides should collect information about this. Such a proposal enabled both the parties to gain time and opened up a wide field for conflict and compromise. Soon there arose differences between the two Powers over the agreement reached in 1869. The British government affirmed that all those dominions which had once formed the possessions of Amir Dost Mohammed, the predecessor of Sher Ali, *ipso facto* belonged to the present incumbent of the Afghan throne. This view point of the Viceroy of India, Lord Mayo, as contained in a despatch to the Secretary of State for India, Duke of Argyll, was communicated to the Russian government through its ambassador in London. But the fact was that some of the Khanates over which Dost Mohammed had ruled were not in possession of Sher Ali. The Russian government was not inclined to recognize them as the possessions of the new Amir Sher Ali whom it considered to be a British agent. On October 17, 1872, Earl Granville wrote a lengthy note to Lord Loftus for attention of the Imperial Russian government in which he defined the limits of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Afghan territories under Sher Ali. It was suggested that Badakshan and Wakhan provinces form part of Afghanistan. The Russian government in its reply vide the despatch of December 7, 1872 recognized the frontier of Afghanistan on the Amu-Daria below the territory of Badakshan and Wakhan up to Khoja Saleh. But it declined to recognize these two provinces as part of Afghan territory. The Tsarist government, however, changed its stand later and agreed on January 31, 1873 to the line proposed by Britain as the northern frontier of Afghanistan.

Thus concluded the Anglo-Russian decussion and correspondence regarding Afghanistan which began in 1869. The agreement is known as the Agreement of 1873. It had the merit of having established the northern frontiers of Afghanistan. But still these were not laid down 'on the spot'. An advantage which Britain unilaterally procured from Russia by the agreement was a repeated and positive assurance to treat Afghanistan outside her sphere of influence. But so far as the question of establishing a 'neutral' or 'intermediate' zone between the possessions of the two Powers was concerned, the idea was definitely given up in 1873. The British, who had their aggressive designs on Afghanistan, were never really enthusiastic about such a proposal. Lord Mayo's government was reticent to endorse it from the very beginning. Lord Mayo had written to London :

The best thing to secure would be a pledge by both Russia and England of mutual non-interference with each other's interests, unratified by any definite treaty.[11]

In giving concession to the British over recognition of Badakshan and Wakhan as parts of Afghanistan, the Tsarist government had also an object in view. It wanted to soften British opposition to the conquest of Khiva. An extraordinary council which met under the chairman of Tsar Alexander II on December 4, 1872 had decided to organize an expedition against Khiva.[12]

Khiva was conquered by Russia without any serious international complications. Only there were some protests in the British press. After more than six months, British Foreign Secretary, Lord Granville sent a letter to the British ambassador in Petersburg with instructions to hand over a copy to the Tsarist government. The letter pointed out that in the event of further Russian advance towards Merv, the Turkmen tribes might take shelter in the Afghan territory which could result in clashes between Russian and Afghan troops. The British government expressed the hope that Russian government would respect the "independence" of Afghanistan as an important condition for the security of British India and tranquillity of Asia. But the British government did not protest against the subjection of Khiva by Russia. Grotchakov in his reply reassured Britain that Russia

11. Quoted by D. K. Ghose, *England and Afghanistan*, Calcutta, 1960, p. 165.
12. *Istoriya Diplomati*, T. II, p. 66.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

considered Afghanistan outside her sphere of action. He suggested that the Afghan Amir, if he was really eager to avoid trouble with Russia, should make it clear to the Turkmen chiefs that they could not count on his support.

In further negotiations with Britain, Gortchakov pointed out in his memorandum of April 29, 1875 that rivalry between the two Powers was prejudical to their mutual interests. It was desirable, in his opinion, to preserve between their possessions an "intermediary zone" to avoid this rivalry. Afghanistan was an ideal buffer state and only a recognition of its independence by both sides was needed.

The Conservative government of Disraeli which replaced the Liberal ministry of Gladstone in 1874 came into power under the banner of expanding the colonial empire of Britain. In the seventies there was a marked increase in the interest of the British bourgeoisie in colonial expansion. This attention to colonies grew with the intensification of competition in world markets, particularly from the side of Germany. This new phenomenon was related to the beginning of the transition of capitalism to imperialist stage. The Disraeli cabinet took the path of expansion and colonial annexation in the most different regions of the world—South Africa, Egypt, Turkey and the Middle East. The British government intensified the activities of its agents in Persia and Turkmenia, carrying out military and political intelligence there. It strove to create against Russia a united front of Muslim rulers of this region—Yaqub Beg, Turkmen feudal chiefs and the Shah of Persia. The government of Disraeli was also making preparations to enslave Afghanistan.

The two Powers could have negotiated a settlement for division of Central Asia in this period. For some time relations between them appeared to improve in May 1875 when they joined hands against Germany. Lord Derby declared before the Russian ambassador in London that nothing could prevent Russia and England from coming to an agreement in Asia as there was place enough for both of them.[13] But the British government rejected the idea of a buffer state as the basis of negotiations with Russia. It did not agree to the Russian proposal for joint confirmation of the independence of Afghanistan. In October 1875 the British cabinet declared that it reserved with regard to Afghanistan full liberty of action. To this Gortchakov replied in February 1876. While re-affirming the old Russian stand which regarded Afghanistan outside her sphere of action, Gortchakov declared that the Russian government considered negotiations about the intermediary zone as over. Both Powers, while fully preserving their freedom of action in respect of countries of this region, were, however, to give due regard to each other's interests and keep away from direct contact between their territorties.

13. *Istoriya Diplomatii*, T. II, p. 68.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Russia immediately made use of this "freedom of action" proclaimed first by Britain. On February 17, 1876 Tsarist government issued an order incorporating the Khanate of Kokand into the Russian empire. The Viceroy of India Lord Mayo and his successor, Northbrook, were opponents of an immediate conquest of Afghanistan. They advocated a policy of "patience" and "waiting". This policy came under attack from the proponents of the "forward policy" advocated by Rawlinson. Disraeli came to power to implement this policy. The Government of India was instructed to demand from the Amir of Afghanistan permission to maintain British residents in Herat and Kandhar. Lord Northbrook, who opposed this new policy, was made to resign his post. In April, 1876 Loid Lytton became the Viceroy in his place. In May, 1876 Lytton demanded that Sher Ali received a British mission at Kabul. A study of the Viceroy's correspondence on the subject reveals an impatience of mind and intransigence in action. The story of the thirties was once more repeated in the Second Afghan War, and again in the name of security of the Indian empire from the aggressive designs of Russia. It is worthwhile to note in this connection that the Viceroy who was so anxious for the security of India was completely indifferent to the ravages of the great famine which took a toll of five millon lives. For the glory of the British Crown he could hold a magnificent *Durbar* at Delhi at a time when millions of Indians were dying like rats in every town and village of the country stricken by plague and hunger.

In Turkmenia British agents instigated local chieftains against Russia. Tsarist Russia was conscious of the British menace to Turkmenia from Iran and Afghanistan where British influence was increasing. During the seventies and eighties of 19th century Khorasan became a base for the military expansion of Britain in Central Asia. In 1873 Col. Baker, Capt. Clayton and Lt. Gill were sent to study the basin of river Atrek. Baker submitted a report to the British government in which he praised the fighting qualities of the Turkmens. In his opinion, 120 thousand excellent horsemen of Turkmenia could guard a large territory if headed by European officers[14]. Baker also published in London articles on military geography of this region. In 1874 Napier was sent there to study the possibilities of using the Turkmen tribes as "cannon fodder" in Britain's struggle against Russia. He met pro-British Khans and supplied them with arms. He prepared road maps and gathered information about navigation on the Caspian Sea. On his return, he urged the government to interfere more actively in the events taking place on the Iran-Turkmenia frontier. In 1875 Col. Mac Gregor set out for Merv from Meshed. He bribed Turkmen feudals to help him in reaching Merv. He could not accomplish his journey to Merv as the British government forbade him to contiune his trek, fearing portest from the Russian government. He,

14. V. Baker, *Clouds in the East, Travels and Adventures on the Perso-Turkman Frontier*, London, 1876, pp. 341-42

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

however, travelled 20 kilometers towards Merv across the river Tedjen. After him Capt. Burnaby was assigned the task of reaching Merv from Khiva. But he, too, could not fulfil it. He was prevented by Russian authorities from going to Merv and forced to leave Central Asia. Towards the close of 1876 Napier once again appeared in Meshed to carry out his subversive activities among the Turkmens. In 1877 Capt. Butler, who had participated in the suppression of the Taiping rebellion in China, surveyed the basin of the river Atrek. He was personally directed by the Viceroy of India, Lord Lytton, to organize the Turkmens in the Akkal and Merv oases against the Russians. But the Russian authorities learnt about his mission and he had to be recalled on their protest. Later, when Lord Lytton declined to pay him the expenses he had incurred in Turkmenia, he wrote about his mission in the press exposing Lord Lytton as organizer of subversive activities. In his article published in *Globe* of January 25, 1881 he described how he took part in reconstructing the fortifications of Geok-Tepe according to the latest European techniques. He also helped i. establishment of two other fortifications east of Geok-Tepe. British journalist, Charles Marvin, openly acknowledges that if Baker, Mac Gregor, Napier and Butler had not appeared on the north-east frontier of Persia, Russia would have been saved a number of campaigns.[15] Beginning from 1873 upto 1881, hardly any year passed when a British agent was not sent to foment troubles among Turkmens. Lord Lytton had a plan to annex Merv. As early as 1878, when the British were preparing to enter Afghanistan, Lord Lytton had written to the Secretary of State for India about his proposal to create a separate West Afghan Kingdom consisting of Merv, Maimena, Balkh, Kandhar and Herat under a ruler of British choice and dependent on British support for its existence.[16] This then was the real reason of the "Mervousness" which seized the Government of India when Russia annexed Merv.

The Tsarist government hastened to annex Turkmenia in order to prevent the British from going north beyond Afghanistan. The British government took up the question of demarcation of the frontier of Afghanistan with Russia on the basis of the 1880 treaty with Afghanistan. A joint-commission was formed to delimit the boundary. The British officers in this commission incited Amir Abdur Rahman to a conflict with Russia. The British government did not desire establishment of good-neighbourly relations of friendship between Russia and Afghanistan. In 1884, fomented by the British, the Afghans sent their forces into the oasis of Penjdeh which was inhabited by Turkmens of the Sarakh tribes. This resulted in a bloody clash with the Russians in which the Afghans were badly beaten back. The British had behind this clash is clearly proved by the statement of the *Naib Salar* who commanded the Afghans. He said :

15. C. Marvin, *Reconnoitring Central Asia*, London, 1886, pp. 246-49, N. A. Khalphin, *op. cit.*, pp. 338-39.
16. B. Balfour, *The History of Lord Lytton's Indian Adminsitration*, 1899, p. 247.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

I am glad that we fought the Russians at Penjdeh, for now we know who are our friends and who are our foes. Those at least who bade us fight and left us to be annihilated...are not our real friends.[17]

Russia was little to blame for this clash. She wanted demarcation of the frontier in harmony with geographical and ethnographical conditions of the border region. Britain outright rejected the enthnographical basis advocated by Russia.

But despite British provocations, the Afghan Amir took a moderate stand in the forntier dispute. He did not want to be embroiled in a war with Russia. The British recognized the Penjdeh oasis as Russian possession. In return, Russia agreed to hand over to Afghanistan the Zulfiqar region. The agreement was given effect by a protocol signed in London on September 10, 1885. During 1886-88 the boundary in this region was demarcated on the spot by an Anglo-Russian Commission and not by a Russo-Afghan Commission.

The Pamir question was the last complicated problem of the Anglo-Russian relations in the 19th century. The centre of Anglo-Russian rivalry shifted to the "roof of the world" towards the end of the eighties and beginning of the nineties.

The Tsarist government claimed rights over the Eastern Pamirs as a successor to the Kokand Khanate. So far as the bekdoms in Western Pamirs were concerned, the 1873 agreement with Britain had left them to the Russian sphere of influence, lying as they were to the north of the Amu-Daria. The region became a hot bed of British intrigues as Tsarist Russia remained pre-occupied with the Turkmen affairs. Russia could have easily annexed the Pamirs after her conquest of Kokand, but this povertry-stricken, thinly-populated region then appeared to her of no economic importance. Yet she never abjured her rights over the Pamirs. The 1876 Alai expedition was the earliest manifestation of her desire to assert her authority over the Pamirs.

The Russian Geographical Society was displaying interest in scientific study of the Pamirs, where it sent A. Regel in 1882. The Shugnan ruler, Yusuf Ali, received him with honour. Regel also wanted to go to Badakshan, but he was not given permission by the Afghan authorities. In 1883 Amir Abdur Rahman of Afghanistan moved his troops to occupy Shugnan and Rushan. In the beginning, the Russian authorities did not react to it strongly. But when the Russian press took up this matter, a note was despatched in December 1883 to the British government. The Afgan occupation was described by it as a clear violation of the 1873 agreement. The British kept silent for five months and when a reminder was sent, they replied that Afghanistan considered Shugnan and Rushan as part of Badakshan given to it by 1873 agreement. The Russian government could

17. Quoted by D. K. Ghosh: *India and Afghanistan*, pp. 196-97.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

not further pursue this matter as it was heavily engaged in Turkmenia. Meanwhile, unrest among the people of Shugnan continued to rise. Taking advantage of internal troubles in Afghanistan in 1888, the people of Shugnan invited the descendant of their ex-ruler to return from Bukhara. They also sought help from Tsarist Russia. But the uprising in Shugnan was soon ruthlessly suppressed by Abdur Rahman.

The British intensified their activities in the Pamir region. In 1886 Col. Lockart studied the passes leading to the Pamirs through the Hindukush. A. Durand from Gilgit continued this intelligence work in 1888-89. Major Cumberland and Lt. Bower visited Tagdumbash Pamir in 1889. Under the pretext of hunting, Littledale also followed them, In 1890, a special expedition set out for the Pamirs under Captain Francis Younghusband. The Russian Consul at Kashgar Petrovsky, wrote to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the British wanted to give half of the Pamirs to Afghanistan and that they were secretly trying to come to an agreement with China also.[18] The Younghusband expedition activised the Tsarist government which had been for some time in the past following a policy of "inaction" towards the Pamirs. It resulted in the visit of Vrevsky to the Alai valley. M. Yanov was sent to the Pamirs at the head of a Cossack battalion. Capt. Younghusband was expelled from the valley of Bozai Gumbaz by Col. Yanov. This signified a shift in the policy of Tsarist Russia from diplomatic correspondence to decisive action. It should, however, be noted that despite this new vigorous policy on the Pamirs, Tsarist Russia harboured no designs over the small states like Hunza and Nagar on the southern slopes of the Hindukush. The rulers of these states sent several missions to seek Russian help against the British. But the Tsarist government persistently refused to interfere in the affairs of British India.[19]

The British annexation of the Kanjut territory in 1891 aroused a feeling of alarm in Petersburg. An extraordinary meeting of the Imperial Council held on January 12, 1892 decided to send an intelligence expedition to the Pamirs. It also suggested recourse to negotiations with Britain and China for demarcalion of frontiers over the Pamirs. In another meeting held in April 1892 to discuss the Pamir problem the War Minister took an extremist view. But the Foreign Ministry officials pleaded for a cautious policy. Any movement to Hindukush Passes was to be avoided and negotiations were to be conducted for demarcation on the basis of 1873 agreement.[20]

In April 1894 Russia and China agreed to preserve the existing order on the Pamirs and respect the position held there by each other. The Russian government then approached the British. On March 11, 1895 notes

18. N. A. Khalfin, *op. cit.*, p. 390.
19. *Ibid.* p. 393.
20. *Ibid.* p. 396.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

exchanged between Earl of Kimberley, British Foreign Secretary, and M. de Staal, the Russian Ambassador in London, resulted in an agreement. Shugnan and Rushan were ceded by Afghanistan to Russia. They were later given away to Bukhara by Russia. Bukhara surrendred a part of Darwaz on the left bank of the Amu-Daria to Afghanistan. The spheres of influence of Britain and Russia to the east of Lake Victoria were to be divided by a line which, starting from a point on that lake near its eastern extremity, should follow a mountainous course to the Chinese frontier. The line was to be marked out and its precise configuration settled by a joint-commission of a purely technical character. Both Britain and Russia engaged to abstain from exercising any political influence or control, the former to the north, the latter to the south of the above line of demarcation. The British government undertook that the territory lying within the British sphere of influence and between the Hindukush and the line running from the east end of Lake Victoria to the Chinese frontier shall form part of the territory of the Amir of Afghanistan and that it shall not be annexed to Britain. The British government also gave an undertaking against construction of any military posts or forts in this territory.

The actual demarcation over the Pamirs was smoothly carried out by a joint-commission. It created an eight mile wide 'long attenuated arm of Afghanistan reaching out to touch China with the tips of its fingers' as the buffer between India and Russia. The Pamirs Agreement of 1895 was a 'link in an important chain of events'. Another amicable agreement had been reached with Russia during a decade's time in spite of many suspicious and sceptical minds working against it. Events in Central Asia were paving the way for an eventual entente with Russia which came about in 1907.

The years following the Pamirs Agreement witnessed a gradual relaxation of the Anglo-Russian tension. There was little room for further disputes concerning the Afghan boundaries after 1885-95 settlements. For some time at the turn of the century, relations between the two Powers again got a set back. Lord Curzon revived the "forward policy" again. Rivalry with Russia spread from Manchuria to Persia and even the lofty plateau of Tibet was not immune from it. Frictions in Persia, Tibet and Afghanistan were increasing during the time of Curzon and the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war opened a further period of stress and strain for the Anglo-Russian relations. The seizure by Russian navy of the British Ship *Malacca* in the Red Sea and the Dogger Bank clash with fishing trowlers roused old animosities.

But the Russo-Japanese War proved to be a turning point for Anglo-Russian relations. It revealed to Britain the hollowness of the Russian empire. The attention of Britain was now focussed on a new and greater danger from a more powerful and virile Imperial Germany gradually emerging as a potent rival of Britain with her *Flottenpolitik*, *Weltpolitik* and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Drang nach Osten. Her attitude had grown menacing in the Boer War and her plans for Berlin-Baghdad Railway endangered British supremacy in the East. Edward Grey believed that an understanding with Russia was absolutely necessary. Russia was an ally of France with whom Britain had patched up all her colonial feuds. The Moroccan crisis resulting in the Alegeciras Conference helped to promote it. In February, 1907 Nicolson handed over to Isvolsky an outline of the view of the British government. After an exchange of several drafts a Convention was signed between the two Powers on August 31, 1907 at St. Petersburg. It was known as "Convention Relating to Persia, Afghanistan and Tibet". The Pact of 1907 cleaned off 'the slate the causes of antagonism between the two historic rivals'.

The first of the three agreements constituting the Convention of 1907 concerned Persia, The preamble talked about the agreement between the two Powers 'to respect the integrity and independence of Persia', 'preservation of order' and 'equal opportunities for trade of all other nations'. In spite of these high-sounding principles, Britain and Russia agreed upon a division of Persia into three zones, the northern and southern to be reserved respectively for exclusive Russian and British spheres of influence, and the middle zone to remain neutral. The second agreement related to Afghanistan. The Russian government declared Afghanistan outside the sphere of Russian influence and agreed to conduct all political relations with that country through the intermediary of the British government. The British government, in its turn, declared that it had no intention of changing the political status of Afghanistan or interfering in its internal government. The British and Russian governments affirmed their adherence to the principle of equality of commercial opportunity in Afghanistan. The third agreement was about Tibet. Both, Britain and Russia, recognized the suzerain rights of China in Tibet and engaged to respect its territorial integrity. They also agreed to abstain from all interference in its internal adminis tration. They were not to enter into negotiations with Tibet except through the intermediary of the Chinese government.

The 1907 Convention inaugurated an era of good relations between two imperialist powers. But it was deeply resented by the Persians and Afghans whose national sovereignty was curbed and limited by these arrangements. In Tibet, the people living under black superstition and ignorance imposed on them by the Lama rule had no consciousness of their own to raise their voice against it, and the Lamas, who had a little before been chastised by the British, were only too happy to obtain an affirmation of the Chinese suzerainty over Tibet by two great European Powers. They were, however, to lament it when the Chinese tightened their grip over them, and at present they are denouncing this agreement as imperialistic from their exile in the Indian Himalayas. In Afghanistan, Amir Habibullah never recognized the 1907 Convention. He demanded from the Peace Conference after the First World War a recognition of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

independence of his kingdom. His successor Amanullah rose against the British. In his struggle for new treaty relations with England based on genuine equality, he was encouraged by the policy of the new Soviet regime in Russia. On March 27, 1919, the Soviet government recognised the full independence of Afghanistan and established diplomatic relations with her. In June 1919 the British also reluctantly gave recognition to Afghan independence.

The Anglo-Russian rivalry was used by leaders of the Indian National Congress to strengthen their demand for greater Indian participation in the defence forces of the country, modification of arms acts, improvement in the mercenary status of the Indian army and higher grades for Indians in service, etc.[21] The Congress opposed the increase in military expenditure to meet the threat of 'Russian invasion'. The Eighth Congress Session in 1892 adopted a new approach to the question of increased military expenditure. It declared that this increase had been caused principally by the military activity going on beyond the natural lines of the defence of the country, in pursuance of the imperial policy of Britain in its relation with some of the Great Powers in Europe, and urged Britain that she should bear an equitable portion of this military expenditure.

The National Congress moved to oppose the "forward policy" on the north-west frontier of India. At the Seventh Congress Session in 1891, Dinshaw Wacha refuted the government's assertion that the "forward policy" followed from the advance of Russia in Central Asia. Wacha accused the Government of India of having 'initiated aggression under one pretext or another'. He declared : "Russia only responds to the British move. Outpost answers outpost and gun answers gun." He called for a complete reversal of the "forward policy" which he described as "an unwise and aggressive policy which, under the hollow pretext of defending the Empire, secretly aims at extending its frontiers'.[22] S. N. Benerjea in his presidential address to the Eleventh Congress in 1895 severely criticised the annexation of Chitral. He did not believe that Russia would actually invade India. Similarly, the annual Congress session of 1897 expressed its deep and earnest conviction that the frontier policy of the Government injured the best interests of the country and urged its abandonment.[23] Opposition to the "forward policy" was also voiced at the 1898, 1903 and 1904 sessions of the Congress.

The British in India continued to harp on the bogey of Russian advance even after the 1907 Anglo-Russian Convention. Writing in 1928, Pt. Nehru posed a question before his countrymen :

> The old political rivalry between England and Russia continues whoever may occupy the seats of power in White Hall or in Mescow or Petrograd. How far must India inherit this rivalry or be made to suffer from it ?[24]

---

21. Bimla Prasad, *The Origins of Indian Foreign Policy*, Calcutta, 1960, pp. 37-39.
22. *Report of the Seventh Indian National Congress*, pp. 28-36.
23. Bimla Prasad, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44.
24. J. Nehru, *Soviet Russia*, 1928, p. 6.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

And further :

> We have grown up in the tradition, carefully nurtured by England, of hostility to Russia. For long years past the bogey of a Russian invasion has been made the excuse of vast expehditure on our armaments. In the days of the Tsars we were told that the imperialism of Russia was for ever driving south, coveting an outlet to the sea, or may be India itself. The Tsar has gone but the rivalry between England and Russia continues and we are now told that India is threatened by the Soviet Government.[25]

Free India has broken away with this 'tradition'.

25. *Ibid.* p. 191.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

D. Awasthi

RANA JANG BAHADUR AND THE REVOLT OF 1857-58

The study of the factors responsible for the failure of the Revolt of 1857-58 clearly reveals that the Rebellion, as a whole, was localised, restricted and poorly organised. The Bombay and the Madras armies remained loyal to the British. India, south of the Narmada, was very little disturbed. Sind and Rajasthan remained quiet and, above all, Nepal under the efficient leadership of Rana Jang Bahadur put its resources at the disposal of the British for the suppression of the Rebellion. Whether the Nepalese aid was substantial or not is not so important a question ; its real significance lay in the fact that the Gorkhas, forgetting their discomfiture in the war[1] of 1815-16, had reconciled themselves to the loss of their territories and rallied under the British flag. Had the mighty Gorkhas joined hands with the rebels, the British would have found themselves in a very precarious situation as is amply clear from the remarks of the Secretary of States : "We are unwilling to imagine the position without this aid and still less had the Maharaja (Jang Bahadur) taken the the advantage of our distress and employed the troops against."[2]

It would appear that the Rana's decision to stand beside the British was motivated by a number of factors. He felt that one of the handicaps of the previous Nepalese Ministers was their ignorance of the real bases of the seemingly unconquerable military power of the Company. They were men of the medieval world and their minds could not comprehend the new weapons of civilization and destruction. Jang Bahadur had some knowledge of the troops trained by the Company's officers and he had seen the artillery available to the Company's regiments, the drilling in the barracks and the discipline in the battle-field of the Company's soldiers. He was quick to realise that the real strength of the Company lay in its fire-arms. He attached the greatest importance to the art of making cannon and the use of grapeshot in dispersing a body of soldiers on a level plain. To him the use of mortars was the more effective weapon for the seige of a fortified or hilly place. With a view to acquiring the first-hand information about the finer points in the military organisation of the British, he paid a visit to England early in 1850.[3] What he saw and learnt there further convinced him of the

1. Tucci, G. 'Nepal', p. 87.
vide also : Encyclopaedia Brittanica, Vol. 16, p. 222.
2. Secret despatch from the Secretary of States—Foreign Secret Consutations—17th March 1858, No. 1933.
3. Cavenagh, 'Reminiscences', pp. 251-252.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

nearinvincibility of the British at the hands of the native princes. Moreover, the accuracy of his analysis and conclusions was testified by the recent defeat of the Sikhs who had been the acme of the Indian soldiery of those days. All this led Jang Bahadur to see the wisdom of befriending the English and winning their confidence.

Jang Bahadur, the great realist in military matters as he was, had realised from the very beginning the seriousness of the crisis of 1857-58, and he remained firm in his friendship with the British, because he had a correct estimate of their power and could foresee the failure of the revolt. Another probable factor which might have induced him to the side of the British was his ambition to assume the kingship of Nepal, or at least to secure a status equal to that of the king. In 1856 he had made unsuccessful attempts in this direction but instead of winning over the British support for his designs, he had rather alienated it. The revolt of 1857 afforded him an opportunity of doing something concrete and effective by way of ensuring his loyality for the British. What he told the Resident on 10th December, 1857, clearly supports the assumption that he was interested in his friendship with the British. He said, "If you or your Government had suspected me and had shown me that you did so, I would not have lent you a single reigment and could easily have told you that I distrusted my own *sipahees* and was afraid of their joining the mutineers ......but you have placed the most perfect confidence in my fidelity and I will now repay. I shall be indebted to yourself for my new character and for all the *Izzat* that I shall henceforth possess in world. People generally call me a tyrant and a murderer and your newspapers abuse me as such, but I am not what they represent me and the world wlll soon see and admit."[4] In this connection it is to be remembered that the Orderly Officer Karbeer Khattri too had disclosed to Ramsay that Jang Bahadur expected that either he ought to be recognised as an independent Prince in Nepal or be bestowed upon some territory as a reward for his services.[5] Lord Dhlhousie was also of opinion that in the course of time the Nepalese throne would be usurped by Jang Bahadur. He had remarked on 15th April, 1858, that, "Latterly the Government have accepted the aid of the Gorkhas, and in the extremity in which they were, the Government were quite right to do so. But the measure is not without its inconveniences. In first place, if the Government suppose that Jang Bahadur is doing all that he is doing "for love" they are mightily mistaken. Jang is drawing a bill upon them at long date, perhaps—but one which they will be called upon to pay in return for value received, some day or other, as sure as fate. The Jang has long been obviously working his way to the *musnud* of Nepal. One Rajah—the father—has already bren deposed; another—the son—has long been a phantom. Jang Bahadur was the ruler himself. He has married his son to Rajah's daughter. He has thus

4. Foreign Secret Consultations, 29th January 1858, No. 1377.
5. Foreign Secret Consultations, 27th November 1857, No. 423.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

worked himself, in a way, into the precincts of the Royal family; and when the time and the opportunity come, the Rajah will have an accident or some kind. Jang will appear as Rajah, and the British Government will be expected to show its gratitude for aid in Oudh by recognising, if not by aiding in turn, the new dynasty in Nepal. If this were all, I should think but little of it."[6]

Jang Bahadur's designs were betrayed in his own speech which he delivered before leaving Kathmandu on 10th Decmber, 1857. He declared: "I have three motives for acting as I am now doing. 1st to show that Gorkhas possess fidelity and will pour out their blood in defence of those who treat them with honour and response confidence in them. 2nd that I knew the power of Britsh Government and were I to take part against, although I might have temporary success for a time, my country would afterward have been ruined and Gorkha dynasty annihilated ; 3rd that I knew that upon the success of British power in India, its Government will be stronger than ever and that I and my brother and my country will all then benefit by our alliance with you as your remembrance of our past sacrifices will render our present friendship lasting and prevent your ever molesting us."[7]

Under these circumstances, as reported by the Resident on 29th July, 1857, the Nepalese Darbar had approved of Jang Bahadur's policy[8]. But several chiefs, most conspicuous among them being the Raj Guru, were certainly not so favourably disposed towards them. They believed that the British rule would shortly end. "One of his (Jang Bahadur's) brothers told me", wrote Col. Ramsay, "that every attempt was being made by influential men to induce him (Jang Bahadur) to join them (the rebles) in driving us out of the country, but that no persuasion would induce him to commit such an act of suicidal folly."[9] Genenal Dhir Shamsher also expressed similar views to Resident Henry in 1877 saying that, "In Mutiny whole of the Darbar, except Jang Bahadur, was in favour of aid (to the rebels) ; all wanted to pay off the old scores, the national feeling was adverse to you."[10] This view is also upheld by Pudma Jang who writes that in a council held to decide the issue of aid many "spoke in favour of the proposal ; many murmured dissent ; many again advocated a policy of strict neutrality."[11]

Apart from these misgivings towards Jang Bahadur's policy of friendship with the British, the rebel leaders like the Crown Prince Mirza Birjis Qadar of Awadh, his mother Begam Hazrat Mahal, Nana Sahib *etc.* also

6. Baird, A. C., Private Letters of the Marquess of Dalhousie, pp. 414-15.
7. Foreign Secret Consultations, 29th January 1858, No. 377.
8. Foreign Secret Consultations, 27th November 1857, No. 424.
9. Williamigby, '1857-A Friend in Nepal and 1887-Frindship Forgotten', n. 2, p. 41.
10. Foreign Sectret Consulation, December 1877, No. 117.
11. Life of Maharaja Jang Bahadur of Nepal, Allahabad (1909), pp. 198-99.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

wrote a number of letters to Rana Jang Bahadur to take up their cause against the aliens. The perusal of some of the letters written by the leading revolutionries of those time will throw a flood of light on the various attempts made to dissociate the Rana from identifying himself with the British cause. First to quote the letter dated the 7th Jeth, Samvat 1915 (9th May 1858) from Mirza Birjis Qadar to Rana Jang Bahadur:

"It is known to every one that my ancestors brought the British into Hindostan ; but Bulvant Singh, the Rajah of Benares, was a cause of much annoyance to them, and therefore the province of Benares was given to them. A treaty was then signed by the British, in which they wrote that they would never act treacherously as long as the sun and moon should exist. But they have borken that treaty, and, dethroning my father, Wajid Ali Shah, have sequestered his state, palaces, and everything he had. Every one is acquainted with this event, as it took place only in Sumvut 1912.

"After taking Lucknow they intended to make war with you, for which purpose, they collected a large force and magazine at Colonelgunge, which is situated below the hills ; perhaps you are aware of this event.

"In former years great intimacy existed between our houses, insomuch, that your forefathers built a bungalow for my ancestors, for shooting and hunting purposes in Bhootwal.

"The British, some time ago, attempted to interfere with the faith of brother Hidoos and Mohammedans, by preparing cartridges with cow's grease for the Hindoos, and that of pigs for the Mohammedans, and ordering them to bite them with their teeth. The sepoys refused, and were ordered by the British to be blown away from guns on the parade ground. This is the cause of the war breaking out and probably you are acquaint- with it.

"But I am ignorant as to how they managed to get your troops, which they brought here; and began to commit every sort of violence, and to pull down temples, mosques, *Imaumbarras*, and the sacred places".

"You are well aware of the treachery of the British, and it is proper you should preserve the standard of religion, and make the tree of friendship between you and me fresh.

"Therefore, it is proper we should join in killing the British which is the only way to save the religions of both the Hindoos and Mohammendans.

"I have written briefly, but you can comprehend it largely. It is right that you should send me a reply quickly."[12]

12. Foreign Sacret Consulations, 27th Aug. 1858, Nos. 97-108.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In his second letter of 11th May 1858, Mirza Birjis Qadar again writes to His Excellency Rana Jang Bahadur :—

"I am well convinced that you pay great attention to religion and faith and it is very likely that you have been informed that temples and *Imaumbarras* have been broken down.

"You are also aware that the British do not care either for the religion or life of the Hindoos or Mohammedans; and their cunningness, and treachery, as well as their forgetfulness of favours, is not unknown to you.

"You are also aware that my forefathers showed favours to the British, such as no one else would do, and they have, without any offence on my part, depreived me of every things."

"Let bygones be bygones. I now write to you that it is proper for us to band together in the cause of religion, and act with reflection."

"To you, both parties are the same. What shall I write more ? My brief writing comprehends a great deal. Let me inform you that the Moulvie Sahib is proceeding towards you on my part".[13]

Similarly Nana Sahib in his letter to Rana Jang Bahadur dated 2nd February, 1859 wrote :—

"......I have no hope from anyone in the world but from you; in all respects you are master of my acts; do what you think best for me. With such hopes I have determined to come, with a view to gain the object of my desire. The violation of promises, and breach of treaties on the part of the British Government towards the Chiefs of Hindoostan, are so well known that any description is superfluous. Moreover the British have attempted to destroy the faith and religion of the people of India, which attempt has caused this great outbreak and mutiny......".[14]

It has also been found in the records that even some of the rebel leaders had "offered to make him (Jang Bahadur) King of Lucknow if he would join their cause and turn upon the British Army".[15]

But all these attempts bore no fruit since Jang Bahadur was very firm in his decision when he said :

"No, if the British are driven out of India, if all who are here are exterminated, their Government can send sufficient troops and guns from

13. Foreign Secret Consultations, 27th August 1858, Nos. 97-108.
Vide also : Moulvi Mohammad Sarfaraz Ali's (The Ambassador of the King of Awadh) letter to Rana Jang Bahadur (without date) received on June 9, 1858.
Vide also : Ali Mohammad Khan's (The Victory of Lucknow) letter to Rana Jang Bahadur dated the 5th Shawwal 1274 A.H. (19th May 1858)
Foreign Secret Consultations, 27th August, 1858, Nos. 97-108.
14. Foreign Political Consultations, 30th December, 1859, No. 542.
15. Memorandum of Political Relations 1858, part 4th.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

England in the course of six months to retake the country, and sweep the whole of the Native powers into the sea. We may enrich ourselves for the time being. We may prosper for two or three years, but our time would infallibly come, and we shall then loose our country".[16]

Similar views have also found expression in his reply to the letters of Mirza Birjis Qadar and his mother Begam Hazrat Mahal. The following letter of the Rana to Mirza, dated 22nd Asadh (17th July 1858) will make an interesting reading :

"Your letter of the 7th Jeth Soode (Wednesday, corresponding to the 19th of May, 1858), to the address of His Highness the Maharajah of Nepaul, and that of 13th Jeth Budi of the present year (Tuesday, corresponding to the 11th of May 1858), to my address, have reached their respective destinations, and their contents are fully understood. In it is written that the British are bent on the destruction of the society, religion, and faith, of both Hindoos and Mohammedans.

"Be it known that for upwards of a century, the British have reigned in Hindostan, but up to the present moment, neither the Hindoos nor the Mohammedans have ever complained that their religion has been interfered with.

"*As the Hindoos and Mohammedans have been guilty of ingratitude and perfidy, neither the Nepoul government nor I can side with them.*

"Since the stars of faith and integrity, sincerity in words as well as in acts, and the wisdom and comprehension of the British, are shining as brightly as the sun in every quarter of the globe, be assured that my government will never disunite itself from the friendship of the exalted British government, or be instigated to join with any monarch against it, be he as high as heaven. What grounds can we have for connecting ourselves with the Hindoos and Mohammedans, of Hindostan ?

"Now, as you have sent me a frindly letter, let me persuade you, that if any person, Hindoo or Mohammedan, who has not murdered a British lady, or child, goes immediately to Mr. Montgomery, the Chief Commissioner of Lucknow, and surrenders his arms and makes submission, he will be permitted to retain his honour, and his crimes will be pardoned.

"If you still be inclined to make war on the British, no *rajah* or king in the world will give you an asylum, and death will be the end of it.

"I have written whatever has come into my plain mind and it will be proper and better for you to act in accordance with what I have said".[17]

16. Memorandum of Political Relations 1857, para 26.
17. Foreign Secret Consulations, 27th August 1858, Nos. 97-108.
Vide also : Letter from Rana Jang Bahadur to the Begam of Lucknow, her officers and followers, dated Pus Sudi 11th (Saturday), samvat 1915 (15th January 1859).
Foreign Political Consultations, 15th July, 1859, No. 4131.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Another letter which Jang Bahadur wrote to Birjis Qadar, to the Begam Hazrat Mahal, and to the Nawabs, Amirs, Rajahs, and soldiery, dated 6th Phagun (Wednesday) Samvat 1915 (23rd February 1859) runs as follows :

"Be it known, that in the Treaty, between the British Government and the State of Nepal it is written, that murderers, belonging to either Government, are to be mutually surrendered to the other State, therefore those amongst you who have committed murders must be surrendered to the Government, agreeable to the Treaty, and according to their request. If you continue in my territory, in accordance with the Treaty, we shall be obliged to make war upon you, and compel you to leave, for which reason this letter is written to you, that you must quit this country within ten days from its receipt. If you do not, after the expiration of this term, the British, and the Nepalese troops will combine and drive you out. Even if you do not throw down your arms, you will not obtain any asylum from the Nepal Govt.; and if you offer 20 crores of rupees, even then you will receive no assistance from me, nor from pity, you will get any help. So be assured, that within ten day you must leave this country, and beware that you do not come armed to the eastward of Jewani. If you do, you will not be able to say that the Goorkhas have murdered you, for if any of you attempts to come to the East of Jewani, during the term of ten days, you will not get the benefit of the truce. Those amongst you who have not murdered British ladies, children, officers, and subjects, throw down your arms at Jewani, and come to Hetounda, where an Escort of my troops will convey you to Segowlie; and there British officer will give you *purwanahs*, and send you to your homes. Thoses, who have not shed blood may be assured of their safety. You may believe every word that is here written. For which reason, when you thoroughly understand this letter, act upon it. The gallant Colonel Bulbudra Singh has been sent to convey this letter; and explain its contents".[18]

Thus all these letters and documents bring out in high relief the firm deremination of Rana Jang Bahadur to side with the Britishers and to scoff at all gestures of friendship shown by the revolutionaries. Similarly it cannot be denied that the presence of the Gorkhas in the British army had a moral-boosting effect on the British, as it helped in breaking the morale of the rebels.[19] As for the Nepalese, it afforded an opportunity

18. Foreign Political Consultations, 30th December 1859, Supp., Nos. 556-57.
19. Memorandum of Political Relations, op. cit., para 39.
Vide: "Jang Bahadur was knighted and decorated for his services and his troops received pay and handsome donations if wounded. Quantities of arms were presented to the Nepalese government and some territory was restored. This ground contains valuable *sal* and *sisu* forests and yields yearly a revenue of serveral lakhs of rupees."
Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol. 16, p. 222.
Vide also: 'Knight Grand Cross of the Bath' was given to the Rana by the British Govt. 'The Times', London, July 7th 1858.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

for a large mass of the soldiers to witness the British strength and their scientific methods of fighting, as a result of which the British prestige was greatly enhanced throughout Nepal and the Gorkhas came to have a much higher appreciation of the British power than they ever had before. The British were now convinced of the fidelity of Jang Bahadur and the Gorkhas, and thus the foundation of Anglo-Nepalese friendship, which was to last for nearly a century, was laid down. In future whenever an occasion arose the Nepalese Government promptly came out to offer its help to the British. During the First and the Second World Wars the Gorkhas army rendered valuable service to the Allies. In turn the British also supported the Ranas and helped in preserving their rule in Nepal for a century.

However, from the military point of view the Nepalese aid was not so substantial as is generally assumed, or as was expected from the Gorkhas. Padma Jung writies about Rana Jang Bahadur's military aid as though the Indian Revolt could not have been quelled without it. He remarks, "In a short space of hundred days he had achieved the stupendous task of quelling rebellion that shook the British Indian Empire to its very foundation."[20] But, in reality only the three regiments under Colonel Pahalwan Singh rendered some useful service, otherwise Jang Bahadur's force[21] of more than nine-thousand strong did comparatively little. Rana himself did not fight any major battle, and, being very touchy and vain, he was not prepared to suffer the slightest degree of interference with or check upon his army[22]. The tendency of the Gorkhas to fall out among themselves or with the Britishers at the slightest provocation would reveal that the discipline of Jang Bahadur's force was at its worst and his actual power depended on humouring the army which had a natural soft corner for rebels, if not for their cause. On the 29th January, 1857, Resident Ramsay had also warned the British officers attached to the Nepalese force that there was an erroneous belief that Jang Bahadur's power was well-established and he could do anything. Although Jang Bahadur also encouraged this belief, yet "his real position rested solely on the goodwill of army and he made it the chief business of his life to humour and conciliate the Army."[23]

The role of Daman Khan, a dacoit leader, whom Jang Bahadur had employed as spy against the rebels, was equally important for infusing disbelief among the Nepalese soldiers about the British success.[24] Thus all these factors had at considerable effect on the Gorkha army, which could not do as much, or as well, as was expected of it.

20 Pudma Jung, No. 5, p. 215.
21. *Ibid*., pp. 201-205,
22. Memorandum of Political Relations, op. cit., para 39.
23. Foreign Secret Consultations, 26th March 1858, No. 120.
24. Foreign Secret Consultations, 25th February 1859, No. 11.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Yet it has to be borne in mind that though Jang Bahadur had extended his utmost cooperation to the British, he was suspicious[25] of their character and could not be sure of their intentions in future in the face of recent annexations of the Punjab, Awadh, Jhansi and Nagpur. The causes leading to their annexation were different; but they were viewed by the Nepal Darbar as a natural corollary to the British policy of expansion and aggrandizement. Sanwal has rightly remarked that, "To avert a similar fate for Nepal was the greatest preoccupation of Jang Bahadur. He refused to improve the road leading to Kathmandu because he did not want to make it easy for the Company's troops to march into his country with ease and confidence".[26] This view is also supported by the Secret Consultation records of that time wherein it is written that though Rana Jang Bahadur had given every sort of help to the Britishers in men, money and material, yet he seriously objected to their coming over to Kathmandu or entering the inner range of the hills.[27] This policy of Rana Jang Bahadur goes to prove him a great diplomat because he had a firm belief that Nana Sahib and Hakim Azimulla Khan could not cut much ice against the Britishers. So neutrality on his part, he thought, might be construed as concealed hostility by the Company and ultimately he would have to reckon with a strong and triumphant Company's Government after the rebels had been crushed. Consequently the Rana thought it prudent to offer his troops to the Company and put them under some obligation towards Nepal. Thus in the end it can easily be said that Jang Bahadur's policy was to be friendly with the British through the minimum of diplomatic intercommunication between the two states.

25. "He wanted to have the most amicable relation with the British but only from a distance. Throughout his life he could never abandon his suspicions of the Company's might and of the military plans that might be breeding at the Army Headquarters at Calcutta. He would never allow the resident to have any correspondence or talks with people in Nepal except through the Prime Minister. For the company's resident at Kathmandu, Nepal was synonymous with its Prime Minister. No Nepalese was allowed to enter the residency without the knowledge and permission of the Prime Minister and the resident was expected not to talk or show undue friendliness towards any of the nobles at the Durbar."
Sanwal, B. D., Nepal and the East India Company (1965), p. 296.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 295.
27. Foreign Secret Consultations, 25th September 1857, No. 477.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Kripal Chandra Yādava

GENERAL ABDUS SAMAD KHAN —A FORGOTTEN HERO OF 1857

Perhaps there is no other event in the Indian history on which we possess so voluminous literature as on the Uprising of 1857. But all the contemporary or semi-contemporary authors of the Uprising, who are mostly British, have written from the viewpoint of a foreigner and give the minutest details of the achievements, trials and tribulations of their countrymen only who came here to carve out an empire for their mother country.[1] The Indian writers were few and far between. They were all supporters of the British and wrote with the object to praise their masters. Consequently the brave spirit of revolt displayed by many Indian heroes against foreign imperialism have been buried into oblivion by the cruel hand of time. One such person is General Samad Khan who forms the subject of this paper.

Abdus Samad Khan was born at Sanaur in the state of Patiala into a Bharaich Afghan family. When he grew young he took to the profession of arms and joined the cavalry of Nawab Faiz Muhammad Khan (1814-40) of the Jhajjar state in Haryana. In a short time Nawab Faiz Muhammad recognized the exceptionally high soldierly ability of the young Samad Khan and promoted him to the rank of a general in his army and entrusted all the military affairs of the state to his care.[2]

The next Nawab Abdur Rehman Khan still added to his honour and standing by taking the hand of his daughter, Kafia Begum Anwar Mahal in marriage.[3] But this marriage did not prove successful and the Nawab divorced Anwar Mahal a couple of years afterwards. It was an intolerable insult to Samad Khan, who had by then become all in all in the state. He started opposing the Nawab. Consequently Abdur Rehman Khan retired him from service, although he did not stop his remunerations in any way. It was like adding insult to injury for Samad Khan and he approached the British Agent at Delhi and the Lieutenant Governor at Agra. Although both the British officers recommended the reinstatement of Samad Khan, the Nawab in a very convincing way expressed his inability to comply with their orders. He told them that it was a life and death question for him.[4]

1. *Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh*, I, vii.
2. Ghulam Nabi, *Tarikh-i-Jhajjar*, 291.
3. *Ibid.*, 251.
4. *Ibid.*, 237. Ghulam Nabi says: "The case was put before the high British officials. The Lieutenant Governor of Agra and the Agent at Delhi recommended his (Samad Khan's) case to be reconsidered favourably."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

There came deterioration, not only in the military affairs but in all the affairs of the state, with the dismissal of Samad Khan. The indolent, and pleasure loving Nawab could not check it, and under the obligation of the circumstances he effected re-conciliation with the old General.

On the outbreak of the Mutiny in May 1857, Nawab Abdur Rehman Khan immediately contacted Colvin, the Lt. Governor of the N.W. Provinces at Agra. The Lt. Governor sent express instruction to him to help Harvey, his agent at Delhi[5]. Meanwhile Emperor Bahadur Shah also sent a *farman* to the Nawab to proceed to Delhi with men, money and material.[6] This placed the Nawab literally on the horns of dilemma. After much thinking he decided to play a double game to "keep both, the rebels and the British Government pleased".[7]

In the last days of May, Nawab's officials and many influential persons joined with general Abdus Samad Khan with a view to requesting the Nawab to come in open support of emperor Bahadur Shah and the rebels. They asked the Nawab to proceed to Delhi with his forces, treasures and magazine. The Nawab declined to accept such a proposal. When pressed hard by Samad Khan, he agreed to send a part of his forces (some 300 sowers) with him and his grand father Ibrahim Ali Khan on May 21.[8]

Samad Khan rendered meritorious services at Delhi. He showed conspicuous gallantry in the battles of the Badli-ki-serai and the Ridge. His most valiant action was on the 10th June. Emperor Bahadur Shah "ordered his appointment as Commander-in-Chief with the presentation of the usual khillat". A proclamation was issued to the army "to muster and advance under the generalship of Samad Khan and victory would be their reward."[9]

At about 10 O'clock a force of 1,800 sepoys and 12 horse guns marched out of the Lahori and the Kashmiri gates, under General Samad Khan. On reaching near the English positions Samad Khan, in order to take the enemies by surprise, played a trick. He sent a message to the English that he did not come to fight them but "he had been sent by the Nawab of Jhajjar to join the English forces".[10] "This point", says Jiwan Lal, "did not succeed"; and he was attacked by the English.[11]

A ferocious fight took place. At the very outset Samad Khan's forces killed about 100 Englishmen[12]. But the very next moment their task was

5. *Ibid.*, 264.
6. Metcalfe, *Two Native Narratives of the Mutiny at Delhi*, 850.
7. Ghulam Nabi, 267.
8. *Foreign Political Consultations*, Nos. 176-89, July 9, 1858; Metcalfe, 101.
9. Metcalfe, 118-119.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. *Ibid.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

made difficult when the English pushed forward their artillery. A heavy bombardment on the Indians checked their advance; and not only that, they were even obliged to stage a retrat after a short while. The whole force, marking their time till evening, returned to the city through the Kashmiri gate. Abdus Samad Khan got a hair breadth escape from death when an artillery shell fell near him at the Kashmiri gate. There was a lot of confusion and the rumour spread far and wide that the General was dead. The retreating Indian forces cut off the heads of all the Europeans killed by them in the battle and paraded them through the city[13].

After this Samad Khan worked in various capacities at the Court of Emperor Bahadur Shah. For quite a long time he remained the commander of the Emperor's Bodyguards.[14] When Delhi fell, Samad Khan left the city. A Muslim noble, resembling Samad Khan was caught at Kashmiri gate and shot dead. The rumour reached far and wide that the General had been executed. Even Muinuddin wrote down in his diary: "Shah Samad Khan, the commander of the King's Bodyguard was caught leaving the city by the Kashmiri gate. He was identified as general of the raja of Jhajjar's forces, and was summarily shot."[15]

Having fled from Delhi Samad Khan accompanied by several thousand fugitives, entered into the northern Rajasthan. Here in Shekhawati he met the Jodhpur Legion and the forces of Tula Ram.[16] They moved to Narnaul and occupied the town on November 8, 1857.[17] When the Britishers heard of this they sent a strong force under Col. Gerrard to destroy them. On November 16 a feocious battle was fought at Narnaul. The Indian forces lost the day[18].

Although the British intelligence submitted a report to the effect that Samad Khan and his son were killed in the action, and the authorities believed it for some time, Samad Khan effected his escape and entered the Ganga Doab quietly. He reached Lucknow safely. We do not precisely know what part did he play in the struggle at Lucknow, but it is certain that he was there. When Lucknow fell to the British, he effected his escape and moved down towards his native country Jhajjar[19]. He was tightly pursued by the victorious British forces. At Biswas, 50 miles northwest of Lucknow, he gave a battle to the pursuing column, but he

13. *Ibid.*
14. *Ibid.*, 71.
15. *Ibid.*; *Khadāng-i-Ghadar*, 89, also gives the same information.
16. *Records of the Intelligence Department*, I, 261; *Further Papers presented to both houses of the Parliament*, IX, 651; Chick, *Annals of the Indian Rebellion*, 7-9.
17. Jawala Sahai, *The Loyal Rajputana*, 219.
18. For a detailed account of the battle see my article in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XLIII, Pt. II, August 1965, Serial No. 128.
19. *Ambala Division Records, General and Political* file No. 33 of 1858 (State Archives, Patiala).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

was badly defeated. He fled from there with 900 horse and 300 foot towards the Jhajjar territory.[20]

In March 1859 Samad Khan attacked and occupied Narnaul. He plundered the territory around Narnaul up to the town of Patan. The Deputy Commissioner of Jhajjar took immediate measures and sent a strong column from the fort of Kanond along with a force of the Raja of Patiala to destroy Samad Khan.[21]

But before this force could reach him, Samad Khan entered into Rajasthan. He relaxed for a few days in the Bikaner territory. It was here that the old rebel-leader knew limits of his work. He, therefore, surrendered to the Raja of Bikaner with two of his sons, and five sowars under the Queen's amnesty.[22]

Through the good offices of the Raja of Bikaner Samad Khan was pardoned on the condition that he would live at his paternal village Sanaur (Patiala). But he could not enjoy his stay for long as he died after a year and a half in 1863 at his village[23].

20. *Ibid.*
21. *Ibid.*
22. Ghulam Nabi, 291.
23. *Ibid.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

LINGUISTICS

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Baldeo Singh

A TYPOLOGICAL STUDY IN HINDI AND BHUDERI

Definitions:

Hindi—For the purpose of this study, the standard form of Hindi spoken around Delhi has been taken into consideration.

Bhuderi—This name has been given by the author to a dialect spoken in the area comprising parts of Ballabgarh and Palwal Tehsils of Gurgaon District by the Jats, a majority rural community of the area. Palwal, which is 36 miles south of Delhi, is a central place of this area. Ballabgarh is situated at the southern boundary and Hodal, a town 52 miles south of Delhi. is in northern end. The Jamuna flows in the east and the ranges of mountain Aravali are in the west. The national highway from Delhi to Mathura runs through the centre from south to north. The western part of this area is sandy which is called Bhuder in local dialect. Thus the terms Bhuderi denotes a dialect spoken in Bhuder.

The auther is a native speaker of Bhuderi and belongs to village Jajroo, 3 miles from Ballabgarh towards Palwal.

The Two Vowel-Systems and Some Vocalic Correspondences:

For a comparative study, we can arrange the vowels of Hindi and Bhuderi as follows :—

Hindi			*Bhuderi*		
i					
e		u	i		u
æ	ə	o	e	ə	o
	a	ɔ	ɛ		
			æ	a	ɔ

In Hindi and Bhuderi, both the front and back high vowels are long as as well short and have phonemic vowels are long as well as short and have phonemic value. Out of the rest, /ə/ is short and the remaining 5 vowels are only long. But in Bhuderi there is one more short vowel /ɛ/ which is not found in the standard Hindi. The result is that in Hindi there are only 3 vowels in front series, while in Bhuderi there are 4. For symmetry, the vowels of Bhuderi can be arranged in the following manner too:—

i	ə	u
e	ɛ	o
æ	a	ɔ

But my preference goes to the first classification, because phonetically that would be more correct. /ɛ/ is slightly centralized but it is definitely lower than /e/ and higher than /æ/.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

All the long vowels occur in all the three positions *i.e.* initial, middle and final. But short vowels never occur in final position. In standard Hindi all the borrowed words from Sanskrit ending in /ι/ and /ʋ/ have long /i/ and /u/ respectively. There is no difference in pronunciation of nədi "river" and "məti" (wisdom) in standard Hindi spoken around Delhi. But the speakers of standard Hindi in Braj and Awadh make distinction of short and long in /i/ and /u/ in final position too.

There are some correspondences in Bhuderi in relation to Hindi in certain conditions, which, for the convenience of presentation, will be treated as corresponding *changes* in the following discussion:

Vowel Changes:

We can divide these changes into two categories. In the first category, we will take only those changes which are one to one *i.e.* where one vowel of Hindi corresponds to another vowel in Bhuderi. In the second category, we will place those changes where one vowel of Hindi corresponds to two vowels or one consonant plus one vowel of Bhuderi.

First Category:

/ə/ changes into /ɛ/

/ə/ sound of all Hindi verbal forms indicating imperative second singular changes into /ɛ/ in Bhuderi:—

Hindi	*Bhuderi*	*Meaning*
kər	kɛr	do
mər	mɛr	die
cəl	cɛl	go, march
pəṛh	pɛṛh	read
cəmək	cɛmɛk	shine
pəkəṛ	pɛkɛr	catch, hold

/a/ changes into /ɔ/.

(a) In all the words where /a/ sound is followed or preceded by a nasal consonant or a nasalized vowel:—

man	mɔn	honour
kan	kɔn	ear
saman	sɔmɔn	luggage

Exception:—If a word begins with a nasal consonant and /a/ is not followed by a nasal sound or it is not nasalised then there is no change:—

mari	mari	beaten
nari	nari	woman

(b) In all the words ending with /a/

this change can be divided into two parts.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(i) *without exception*:—All the adjectives ending with /a/

ləmba	ləmbɔ	tall
chota	chotɔ	small
əcha	əchɔ	good

(ii) *with exception:*—All the words ending with /a/ (only masculine gender)

diya	diyɔ	lamp
tãga	tɔ̃gɔ	horse cart
ujala	ujarɔ	light
ɔ̃dhera	ɔ̃dherɔ	darkness

Exceptions:—There is no change in the words which make their feminine from with /i/ suffix.

ghoṛa	ghora	horse
bekra	bekra	he-goat
dada	dada	grandfather

There is no change in borrowed words too :—

loṭa	loṭa	mug
kəpṛa	kəpra	cloth

Second Category :

/a/ changes into /yɔ/

(a) In all the past participles, ending /a/ changes into /yɔ/:

məra	mɛryɔ	dead
cəla	cɛlyɔ	started
bhəra	bhɛryɔ	filled

(b) All the back vowels of Hindi verbal forms indicating imperative second singular, change into a cluster of vowels of Hindi plus /ɛ/ of Bhuderi :

/ɔ/ changes into /ɔɛ/

dɔṛ	dɔɛr	run

/o/ changes into /ɔɛ/

rok	roɛk	stop
mor	moɛr	twist

/ʋ/ changes into /ʋɛ/

ʋṭh	ʋɛṭh	stand up
ʋḍ	ʋɛḍ	fly

/u/ changes into /uɛ/

puch	puɛch	ask
bhul	bhuɛl	forget

/a/ changes into /aɛ/

mar	maɛr	kill
kat	kaɛt	cut

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The two Consonant Systems and Some Consonantal Correspondences:

There are following consonants in Hindi and Bhuderi :

Hindi

	Bilab-ial	Dental	Alveo-lar	Palltal	Retro-flex	Velar	Glottal
Plosive unaspd.	p b	t d			ṭ ḍ	k g	
	ph bh	th dh			ṭh ḍh	kh gh	
Affricate unaspd.				c j			
aspd.				ch jh			
Nasal unaspd.	m		n		ṇ		
flapped							
Lateral unaspd.			l				
Rolled unaspd.			r				
Flapped unaspd.					ṛ		
aspd.					ṛh		
Fricative aspd.			s	ś			h
Semivowels unaspd.	w			y			

Bhuderi

	Bilab-ial	Dental	Alveo-lar	Palltal	Retro-flex	Velar	Glottal
Plosive unaspd.	p b	t d			ṭ ḍ	k g	
aspd.	ph bh	th dh			ṭh ḍh	kh gh	
Africate unaspd.				c j			
aspd.				ch jh			
Nasal unaspd.	m	n					
aspd.	mh	nh					
Lateral unaspd.			l				
aspd.			lh				
Rolled unaspd.			r				
aspd.			rh				
Fricative aspd.			s				h
Semivowels unaspd.	w			y			

From these charts we can easily conclude that, though the number of consonants in Hindi and Bhuderi is 32, yet in Bhuderi there is complete absence of flapped retroflex and flapped nasal retroflex sounds *i.e.* /ṛ/ /ṛh/ and /ṇ/. The fricative palatal /ś/ is also not available in Bhuderi. But it has nasal bilabial aspirated /mh/, nasal alveolar aspirated /nh/, lateral alveolar aspirated /lh/ and rolled alveolar aspirated /rh/. The examples of these 4 consonants are as following :—

/mh/	bɔmhən	brahmin
/nh/	nhɔn	bath
/lh/	məlh	wrestler
	lhas	deadbody
/rh/	ərrhəi	a call to attract a bull.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

There are following corresponding changes of consonants :

(a) /ś/ changes into /s/

/śərbət	sərbət	syrup
śanti	sɔnti	peace
śəhær	səhær	city

(b) /ṛ/ changes into /r/

ghoṛi	ghori	mare
ghəṛi	ghəri	time-piece
kəpṛa	kəpra	cloth

(c) /ṛh/ changes into /ḍh/

pəṛhai	pəḍhai	study
cəṛhai	cəḍhai	attach

(d) /ṇ/ chhnges into /n/

rəṇ	rən	war, battle
riṇ	rin	loan
praṇ	prɔn	soul, breath

(e) /l/ changes into /r/

If /l/ occurs in final syllable or a word then it changes into /r/ :

tala	tarɔ	lock
gali	gari	rebuke, abuse
nali	nari	drain

Exception : If there is already a similar word having /r/ sound in Bhuderi, then the above mentioned change does not take place :

jəl	jəl	water
bəl	bəl	strength

There are /jər/ and /bər/ words in Bhuderi with different meaning. Similarly words like phəl, cəl, chəl, kal, gal, khal, lal etc., remain as they are because in Bhuderi there are already words like phər, cər, chər, kar, gar, khar, lar etc. with /r/ sound having different meaning.

But there are few words which are not covered with this exception too; 'mala', 'thæla' remain as they are and there are no words like 'mara' and 'thæra' in Bhuderi. The only explanation which can be offered here is that these are borrowed words, with the result that there is no corresponding change.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PHILOSOPHY AND PSYCHOLOGY

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

C. L. Jain

SCIENCE, THEORY AND PHILOSOPHY

Arnold Brecht writes that "the twentieth century use of the terms 'Philosophy', 'Science' and 'theory' is not definitely settled. It can not be, precisely, because the inter-relation between philosophy, Science and 'theory' is one of the fundamental problems in the present crisis of Scientific thinking[1]." A little further, in the same context, he expresses the view, "There is finally, agreement that philosophy in so far as it tries to explain phenomena, is theory, and in so far as it applies scientific methods is science. The trouble begins when it is asked whether everything that philosophy does is science, and everything it produces is scientific theory. Originally the three terms were used inter-changeably. To-day they are no longer, at least, not by the majority of the twentieth century scholars[2]". Brecht's concern over the obscurity in regard to the use and inter-relationship between science, theory and philosophy undoubtedly calls for their consideration, but it is doubtful whether the alluded agreement, is there among the scholars, An attempt, that would reveal itself in this paper, is the result of the critical analysis of the use of these long-standing terms and their inter-relationship in the context of present day epistemological situation.

(1)

Eversince, man, the homo sapien, became aware of the hazardous conditions essential for his continued existence, he has striven hard to understand and control his environments, with the expticit motive to combat the hostile forces of nature. How far man has succeeded in taming nature for his own welfare and security, can be well judged by the assessment of the cultural harvest that he has reaped, in his effort to ensure his continued survival. This harvest contains science as one of the richest and most fruitful ingredients. Science is the outcome of an adventure undertaken by man, unconsciously in its initial stages, the roots of which could be traced back to the stone age. Man being a rational animal when his desire—to—know got domination over his desire—to—be, he set himself out one to the unending intellectual path. Scientific knowledge is chiefly the result of two of man's complimentary but dominant motives. First one to act as an incentive was the practical need that gave impetus to man for ensuring protection against the threatened extinction by nature. Second, and the subsquent, motive was to unravel the mysteries of nature, which aroused his intellectual curosity. In the complex frame-work of its socio-cultural development, the human race

1. Brencht, Arnold (Political Theory)—pp .14
2. *Ibid*—pp. 16

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

carried on the process of its intellectual activity, side by side of technological skill, and produced such wondeful creations as science, art and literature and so on. But, "compared with science, capitalism, the nation-state, art and literature, christianity and Democracy seem idiosyncrasies, whose past is full of vicissitudes and whose future is full of uncertainty[3]."

The term 'science', like the other two, namely, 'theory' and 'philosophy' is exteremely ambiguous and vague. And, though it might defy ali attempts at precision for what it stands, nevertheless, some light can be thrown on its essential characteristics in the context of its historical development. The evolution of scientific throught did not occur in isolation of the other activities of mankind, and even after the birth of human civilization, perhaps, the process of human knowledge was unitary in its essentials, thereby making no distinctions between what we to-day call as science and philosophy and so on. As civilization progressed, human knowledge piled up ; and apparently, it became inevitable to introduce some kind of compartmentalization in it. This led, inter-alia, to the distinction between science and philosophy, which was not important for Thales, the father of science and philosophy. Before the beginning of human history, the important basis of human knowledge was myth and magic, but soon after the birth of civilization, the rational and speculative elements with the possible inclusion of rudimentary observation and measurements, began to replace myth and magic. But the entire approach was perhaps irrational motivated by the impulse to survive. In the next transition stage magic and superstition was gradually replaced by rational speculation, based on the attitude of the individuals to the environments. Speculations of the scientists-cum-philosophers of the earliest periods of human history was the result of peculiar combinations of their mystic experiences and subtlties of logic. But the germs of scientific development were found only here. As the intellectual curosity to know gripped the minds of men, they moved towards the next stage of scientific knowledge, in which the explicit aim was the eradication of the irrational elements from it. What we claim as modern science is the fruit of the efforts of some exceptionally brilliant men of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the chief amongst whom was Galileo. Modern Science is the conscious, systematic investigation of the phenomena revealed in the human environment, and in man himself objectively considered. It need hardly be pointed out that the modern science discarded wild, and even rational, speculation which did not have its roots in empirical experiences of man. "Modern Science demands rigorous standards in observing and experimenting. By insisting that it deals only with material entities in nature, it excludes spirit and accult powers from its province. It distinguishes firmly between theories confir-

3. Hall, A.R. (The Scientific Revolution-Beacon Press-1960)—pp. 364
4. *Ibid.*—Introduction

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

med by multiple evidence, tentative hypothesis and unsupported speculations. It presents not a possible or even a plausible piture of nature, but one in which all available facts are given their logical, orderly places[1]." The scientific activity of man throughout the course of its history has proceeded on the belief that nature is rational in character. There have, even, been exrteme forms of this belief that nature is amenable to mathematical laws and that God is a mathematician and has decreed all laws of nature as mathematical. Belief in some kind of the rationality of nature is still the bedrock of science, and to that extent it is impossible to eliminate the irrational elements from scientific knowledge, but the ideal of modern science is the achievement of rational unity and system in human knowledge.

During the centuries, when scientific knowledge was piling up and science had acquired an important position among the disciplines of human understanding, speculation still attracted some of the best of intellectuals like Spinoza, Liebeniz, Kant etc. A.N. Whitehead, a great logician and mathematician of the twentieth century was no exception to it. Speculation in the form of metaphysics, the task of which is expected to provide a comprehensive world-view, is still considered part of human knowledge. I maintain. that science is independent of metaphysics, in the sense that it has no metaphysical assumptions, it follows a method which its own logic has dictated in the course of its evolution. Whether science has any implications or consequences for metaphysics is a question open to the metaphysicians; the scientist has nothing to do with that.

As mentioned earlier, science is a vague word, with which is associated some kind of historical notoriety. The term 'science' has stood for a dynamic concept, whose signification changed from age to age. In the contemporary period, it may stand for many branches of human knowledge, but for our purposes two of the senses in which 'science' is used are sufficient and may be considered here. In its widest sense, science may be understood for human knowledge, which is coherently ordered or consistently, systematized and is the result of a rational, consscious activity. In this sense, science will include all branches of human knowledge which involve systematization. In the narrower sense, science is synonymous with 'natural sciences', thereby restricting its scope to those of man's experiences. which emanate as a result of the contanct of human senses with nature. I would, thus; include physical sciences, biological sciences and the aspects of psychology and social sciences (like sociology, political science and economics), which have empirical subject-matter. Science in the sense of 'natural science' would be limited to nature only, provided man is also included in nature. It seems that this narrowing down of the concept can be continued indefinitely, but the widest sense of the term, which would include natural sciences' as well as 'pure sciences' of mathematics, logic and linguistics (semantics and syntactics) as species in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

it, is quite relevant for our purpose, as representing the ordered elements of human knowledge.

The concept of 'order' and 'system' is basic to science. A collection of ordered things, facts or entities would constitute a system. The earliest type of order in science is classification, when things, facts or entities are brought under class-names on grounds of resemblance. The next is the stage of empirical generalization, in which order is conceived through a relation that may hold between one set of properties. things, facts etc. and another set of properties, things, facts etc. But this is still lower kind of systematization. In the most important sense of the word as used in science, 'system' stands for a hierarchy of statements of two distinct categories, one called axioms or postulates, which are taken as undefined, and the other theorems, which are inferred from the axioms by the rules of inference. The important feature of systematization in science is the nature of the relationship between the set of axioms (initial statements) and theorems (inferred statements). If the relationship is that of deducibility, in as much as that the inferred statements are formally implied by the initial propositions by logical manipulation, then the system is termed as a 'formal or deductive system'. If the relationship is non deductive in as much as that the conclusions are inferred from premises on a non-deductive basis, then it is a non-formal system. One of the important types of non deductive relationship is the probabilistic-statistical type. Most of the systems of science are of non-deductive type, except in the fields of pure mathematics, logic semantics, which have more are less been deductively formalized. Among the 'natural sciences', perhaps physics is is the only science that can be said to have acquired the status of a deductive system.

The ideal of Science, than, is the construction of a system of statements that would be representative of an imposing an order on, if not discovering in, nature. For many fields of Science the ideal is unrealised; but for the advanced branches of physical sciences, almost all other fields are still at non-formalized stage. Ordering began with the introduction of classification. 'At the next level, commonly known as the 'natural history stage', 'description' by means of empirical generalizations was introduced. At the still higher level, stage of 'theory construction' 'explanation' is introduced by way of subsuming empirical generalizations under theoretical laws of wider generalities. Theory construction is the stage of axiomatization, when from a set of axioms or postulates, certain consequences are deduced by logical manipulation, called theorems, such an abstract system (caluculus) is attched to nature via the rules of corresponpence. If the deductive consequences are falsifiable easily, they enable the accedtance of the theoretical law till such time, it is actually falsified and replaced by a better one of a wider generaiity. Scientific methodology, it appears, is a pragamatic combination of intuitive ideas, heuristic logic and stubborn facts.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In the fields of science, two types of workers have to be distinguished, the dato collectors by observation and experiments and the theoreticians whose task it is to co-ordinate the data, provided by the data-collectors, within the frame-work of a comprehensive theory, subject to validation by means of the appropriate method of the relevant field of science. The validation of theories is again the task of experimentors and observers. It is, however, not possible to draw a rigid line as to where the experimentor's job ends and that of the theoretician's begins. In fact in many cases, the same individual acts both as experimentor/observer and as theoretician. The history of science is full of examples of both kinds. Copernicks, Kepler, Galileo, Darwin and Newton were both keen observers and outstanding theoreticians; whereas Maxwell and Einstien were more famous as theoretical physicists than otherwise and Michelson and Morely became historic because of their experiment, the null result of which baffled them a lot, since it went contrary to the predictions of the theoreticians. In addition to above, a scientist some-times assumes the role of a critic of his field of science as well. His task as critic "may be broadly defined to be to map out the possibilities and the limitations of mind in dealing with the problems presented to it"[5].

(2)

The term 'theory' is even more vague than 'science'. By for the most important meaning of the term, comes up to consideration, in relation to science, in which a theory stands as a 'theoricical law' in contra-distinction to an 'experimental law'[6]. Experimental law in empirical science is a validated generalization based on some kind of co-relation between things or properties of things things, that may be claimed as observables. Not all laws in empirical science are about matters directly observables. In theoretical laws or theories in science some constructs are posited (like electrons, genes etc.) and such constructs are validated or otherwise, via the rules of correspondence on the basis of observable evidence. This observable evidence necessary for a theory to be a law in science. In other words, a theory to be law in science should be true in the semantic sense of the word truth. Experimental laws of lower generality may be subsumed under 'theoretical laws' of higher generality and such laws themselves may be subsumed under a theory of a still higher generality, till a comprehensive deductive system is achieved. Comprehensive theory-construction in science is carried out by the process of axiomatization. It is in this sense that we can talk of a theory or a system of theoretical laws in science.

In another sense, there may be a theory about science itself, which may be formulated for consideration of problems relating to the branch of science, taken itself as the object of investigation. In this context the field of science under study is co-extensive with theory, such that both could be

5. Bridgeman, P.W. (The nature of Physical Theory)—pp. 2
6. Nagel, Earnest (The structure of Science) 1961—pp. 80

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

used inter-changeably. The theory which becomes the object of study is known as the object-theory and the one invoked for its study is called a meta-theory. A meta-theory would generally investigate the characteristic method of the branch of science and the cognitive status of theories in it. A meta-theoritician would proceed by formalizing the theory under investigation, such that it is reduced to its form and rules of formation, with a view to ensure that the method of theory formation does not lead to contradiction[7]. The meta-theory of science is also known as the 'methodology' of science. But the matter does not end here. We can proceed to formalize metatheory to ensure that its methodology for investigation of the methods of the object-theory under consideration, does not lead to contradictory results. This will necessitate the formation of a meta-meta-theory. Logically speaking, there is no reason, why we should not have a hierarchy of theories, starting with the object-theory, then meta-theory and so on. Such a theory will always be capable of having a higher theory, but it cannot have the highest. Whether or not, it is necessary to go beyond the meta-theory level, depends upon the nature of scientific field and the problems of the method involved; only the theoretician-expert in the field can decided it.

An illustration on the point will facilitate its understanding. A representative of the, Formalist School of Mathematics holds that "mathematics as a theory can be made an object of study with regard to its methodology, and other allied issues by first formalizing it such that the development of theory is reduced to form and rule a formal system.... There is no longer any ambiguity as to what constitutes a statement of the theory. The question, whether, the methods which have been formalized in it lead to cotradiction, and other questions about the effect of those methods, are to be investigated in the meta-theory, by methods not subject to the same doubts as the methods of the original (object) theory. ....The meta-theory belongs to the intuitive and informal mathematics (unless the meta-theory is Itself formalized from meta-meta theory[8]."

It is, however, essential that to be a sound and competent theoretician, the individual must be fully equipped with the facts of the field and trained in its techniques, so that he has the necessary material and the tools for theorizing. In the absence of necessary equipment and training, any attempt to lay hands on to the problems of a science, is doomed to be a failure. All this is so obvious that it is hardly necessary to point it out. Yet there have been men, who quite often took upon themselves the task to grapple with the problems in the fields of science, without having much background of the fields concerned, by way of training and equipment. These intellectuals were none other than the philosophers, whom Plato, before he became Immortal, had crowned as spectators of all time and existence. Unfortunately, the philosophers, in so far as they

7. Kleene, S.C. (Introduction to metamathematics) —pp. 62-63
8. *Ibid*, pp. 62-63

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

are not competent experts in the fields of science, are in no way better than the man in the street, to throw light with regard to the solution of of the problem in and relating to the foundational, methodological or consequential aspects of science. A. d' Abro's remark is quite instructive on this issue. He says that 'it may be realized that a discussion of the philosophical significance of the discoveries of physical and mathematical science must be left to the theoretical physicists and to the mathematicians. They alone, in view of their sound knowledge of facts and their mastery of the rigorous mathematical mode of thinking, are in a position to co-ordinate the apparently disconnected results furnished by experience and reason[9]." One important reason why philosophy has fallen into disrepute is that it has abandoned its legitimate task and lent its services to a role, which has only historical significance. It seems both illogical and unnecessary for a philosopher to analyse the results of science with a view to reconstruct a world-view over and above what the scientist has succeeded in doing. This does not mean that philosopher has no sphere of activity. Perhaps, philosophizing is the only intellectual activity of man, that can lay claim to universality.

(3)

This brings us to the consideration of the term 'philosophy'. How is it that the philosophers of not a very remote past have erred so much as to intrude into the fields of science and attempt to impose their own opinions upon the minds of the scientists-theoreticians ? This is of historical origin. In the earlier stages of human civilization, no distinction was perhaps made between science and philosophy. At that stage of human progress, when the wealth of genuine knowledge was rather meagre and much of what passed for knowledge was myth, magic and superstition, both science and philosophy had concerned themselves with the accumulation of knowledge. It if the legacy of this historical association of philosophy with science, that it is regarded in one of its functions, to be accumulative. That this is not the business of philosophy to-day has been amply demonstrated in the beginning of the current century by philosophers like G. E. Mwore and Wittgenstein. It is not necessary to add anything more with the regard to this pseudo-function of philosophy.

Another function of philosophy, which occupied the minds of the majority of philosophers down the ages, and in our own time advocated, among others, by no less a person than C. D. Broad, is that philosophy has to undertake speculation[10]. In this respect, philosophy is identified with metaphysics. It is alleged that the business of the philosopher is to speculate either on the assumptions of science or on the implications of it. Further, taking up the beliefs of common sense and adding to them the insights of our moral, aesthetic and religious experiences, the philosopher

9. d'Abro, A. (The evolution of Scientific thought)-Dover Second Edition—pp. 354
10. Broad, C.D. (Scientific Thought) 1923—Ch. 1

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

or the metaphysician is to investigate into the first principal(s) and provide a comprehensive picture of the Reality as a whole. Metaphysicians in their moments of delight, have advanced theories that either condemned the world of normal human experiences or have transcended the boundries of the world of commonsense and science. Unfortunately, in their over-enthusiasm to solve the riddles of the universe by speculations, the metaphysicians enterained problems that defied solution, adopted a methodology that lacked scientific spirit and based their theories on principals that no longer belong to metaphysics, since it has none. Inspired by the ideals of system-building on *a-priori* basis, the metaphysicians proceeded to errect the structures of metaphysics on the methodology of mathematics and the principales of logic. Such attempts have hindesed the emergence of true philosophic spirt. Metaphysical way of thinking is, quite primitive and belongs to that stages of human culture, when man looked upon the super-natural forces as the master of human destiny. Speculations. it seems to me, does not constitute the proper fuction of philosophy, though it has a contextual role in almost all disciplines of the human understanding for gathering and co-oridinating knowledge. Nevertheless, metaphysical way of thinking is useful, in so far as it paves way for philosophic maturity.

Closely akin to the speculative function of philosophy is yet another function, known as the synthetic or synoptic function of philosophy. By virtue of this, it is enjoined upon a philosopher to inter-relate, connect and synthesize the provinces of knowledge-science, arts, religion *etc.* and produce somekind of a synthesis, which will give a world-view. Such an attempt is a peculiar combination of science and speculation and brings forth 'synthetic metaphysics'. The contenders of this view maintain that philosophy to be philosophy must be universal; it must include everything relating to man's experiences and exclude nothing. Synthetic metaphysics is in no way better than speculative metaphysics, since it suffers from all the defects of its speculative counterpart. Moreover, scientific constructs and statements, at the hands of such philosophers sometimes loose their proper significance and the entire effort of the scientist-theoretician is made to look like a fantastic nonsense. A synthetic metaphysician puts a certain amount of obscurity around the constructs of science, when he makes use of them as the basis of his system-building programme. After such a hard labour, the synthetic metaphysician succeeds in producing a hybrid, which possesses the character neither of a scientific theory nor of pure speculation and renders the whole approach for building a world-view futile. Abro qouting Einstien on this point is very emphatic. He qoutes Einstien, "I am convinced that the philosophers have had a harmful effect upon the progress of scientific thinking in removing certain fundamental concepts from the domain of empiricism, where they are under our control, to the intangible heights of *a-priori*. This is particularly true of our concepts of time and space, which physicists

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

have been obliged by the facts to bring down from the Olympus of the *a-priori* in order to adjust them and put them in a serviceable condition.'[11] It, therefore, seems that the so-called synoptic function of philosophy is *in no way* different from the speculative one and does not represent the proper business of the philosopher.

What then is the job of the philosopher, if he has not to resort to metaphysical reverie ? And, if science is independent of metaphysics, what is its relation, if any, to philosophy ? Again, what would be the relation of theory to philosophy ? It is to such questions that we may now devote our attention.

Philosophy is neither a set of doctrines nor a theory; it does not aim at building up any system about the universe, but is a technique of analysis of philosophical issues. The term philosophical issue should not be misunderstood. By it I mean certain genuine difficulties, which hinder the understanding and development of theoretical knowledge in any field of sciences and arts. The job of the philosophers is to provide logical analysis of the difficulty and to ensure that the problem is genuinely there, and present it to the theoreticians for finding out a possible solution. Philosophy is not a discipline which aims at accumulating knowledge; it is an intellectual activity which is universally carried out for clarificatory and elucidatory purposes. Thus, philosophising is a necessary accompaniments of all epistemological disciplines. I agree with Wittgenstein when he says, "Philosophy is not one of the natural sciences.........The object of philosophy is the logical clarification of thoughts. Philosophy is not a theory but activity.........The result of philosophy is not a number of 'philosophical propositions' but to make propositions clear. Philosophy should make clear and delimit sharply, the thoughts which otherwise are, as it were, opaque and blurred[12]."

As philosophy is not a discipline in the sense in which sciences, arts *etc.*, are, there can be no problems in philosophy; though there can be problems of philosophical importance in sciences, arts *etc.* Philosophy is not a vision or 'darshana' into the fundamental principles of existence or an insight into the ultimate truths. Philosophy is essentially a reflective activity which is hand in glove with theoretical activities that aim at accumulating knowledge. Whenever in these epistemological fields certain crisis occurs and the progress of human knowledge is hindered as a result of such a crisis, this is revealed because of philosophical reflection. The expert in the field is compelled to undertake the scrutiny of the basic pre-suppositions. Such a scrutiny may change the course of the entire discipline, so as to overcome the crisis. A turning point of this kind is a landmark for the philosopher. F. Waismann has aptly remarked,

11. d' Abro, A. Evolution of Scientific thought)—pp. 361
12. Wittgenstein, Ludwlg (Tractatus, Logicophilosophicus)—4.111-4.112, New translation 1961.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

"whenever science has come to a crisis, a turning point, where it ceased to go in the old direction and where the way out could be found by an examination of the fundemental concepts, this was immediately felt to be philosophical achievement[13]."

In the preceeding sections, clarifications with regard to 'science', 'theory' and 'philosophy' has been attempted; we may now consider views on their inter-relationship. One of the common place and primitive kinds of belief is that science has its subject matter, the particular aspects of phenomena of nature and philosophy deals with the most general principles relating to existence and reality. The aim of science is specialization of the sensory experiences of man; philosophy, on the other hand, it is maintained, is concerned with the general or first principles of reality as a whole and aims at rationalization of all kinds of experiences of man, including moral, aesthetic, religious *etc.* Science provides only partial knowledge, whereas complete knowledge or comprehensive world-view can be furnished only by philosophy. This kind of view on the inter-relationship between science and philosophy is based on the legacy of metaphysical approach to philosophy. Although this view raises many difficulties, the main objection to it is that it presupposes that philosophy furnishes knowledge, as the science do. In a modified form, such a view advocates that philosophy is the 'science of science'. What this expres-stion stands for is rather difficult to understand, but if by philosophy is meant somekind of a super science over and above sciences, then I maintain, it would be nothing less than metaphysics, which would be based on the presuppositions of science, or on the methodology of science or on the consequences of science. According to the thesis that has been developed in this paper, philosophy is different and distinct both from science and metaphysics. It has also been maintained that science is independent of metaphysics. The view that philosophy is somekind of a superscience is misconceived, because the advocates of this view has failed to distinguish between the nature of a scientific proposition and philosophical judgement.

The other view, for which Brecht has claimed agreement among scholars is equally ill-founded. He holds, as already pointed out, that philosophy is theory, in so far as it attempts to explain phenomena and is science, in so far as it applies scientific methods. If what Bretch says is accepted, then the distinctions made among 'science', 'theory' and 'philosophy' is reduced to a farce. Theory, as already pointed out, in one of its meanings, is a proposition or a set of propositions designed to explain phenomena, hence, on Brecht's view, all theory is philosophy and, therefore, the distinction becomes meaningless. Again, science, when co-extensive with theory, is a system of propositions arrived at by means of certain methods appropriately designed for that science. And according

13. Waismann, F. (The principles of linguistic Philosophy) 1965—pp. 14

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to Brecht, science when applies scientific methods, is philosophy; hence the distinction between philosophy and science also becomes meaningless. It follows, then, that everything which comes within the purview of science and theory is philosophy. This is absurd. To confuse philosophy with science is to confuse speculative beliefs with genuine knowledge, which the human understanding is capable of acquiring. The mere fact that scientific knowledge is based on empirical evidence is sufficient to warrant its distinction from speculative beliefs, which is more or less the result of conjectures. The cause of this confusion is again the identification of philosophy with metaphysics. When philosophy is conceived as providing knowledge in the sense, in which sciences *etc.* do, such an error is bound to arise.

Philosophy is a universally accepted reflective activity, the main function of which, in relation to science, is the critical analysis and elucidation of scientific concepts, laws and theories, in the context of their fields. But this function of philosophising in science is difficult to seperate from the critical, coordinative and constructive activities of the theoretician. Criticism and theory-construction are the functions of the theoretician, since he alone is in a position to discuss about the limits of the particular science, the nature of law and theory of the system, the nature of 'explanation' in the particular science, the linguistic structure and the logic of the concept formation in the system and their inter-relationship. The critic's role of the theoretician is very much like that of the so-called philosopher of the field. It would be much in the interest of the scientific field and its advancement, if the critical or the philosophical role of the field is also assumed by the theoretician, since the philosopher as such is prone to take the constructs of science to metaphysical heights. But theorizing is distinct from criticism or philosophising; whereas theorizing produces a theory, philosophising does not produce any kind of philosophy in the sense of knowledge providing theory. A 'philosophical theory' is mere combination of a high sounding words; if philosophy is distinct from metaphysical speculation, philosophising might help in the dismissal of a theory but philosophising as such does enable the construction of a theory. Philosophising is essentially a critical or reflective activity for clarificatory and elucidatory purposes, by way of explicatory analysis suggested by Moore, Wittgenstein and Carnap, in so far as the function of philosophy in relation to science is concerned. Such kind of analysis may enable the theoretician-philosopher to suspect a problem, where he could not see any, or, it may help him indissolving a problem by such analysis, which might have puzzled the theoretician-scientist.

To sum up, theory, when it is to be considered in relation to science may be treated as a 'theoretical law' in science; in this sense, theory is a kind of a sub-set within the set science. If the whole of science be treated co-extensive with theory, then science is an object of study for a higher

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

level theory, called the meta-theory, which deals with matters relating to the science concerned. It is, therefore, clear that 'theory' may be subordinate to science, co-extensive with science or superior to science, depending upon the context in which these terms are used. Philosophy in relation to science, is nothing more than reflective activity, which enables the theoretician-scientist to explicate the meanings of concepts, laws and theories in the fields of science, arrived at by means of the procedures of theory-construction.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

L. K. Mishra

LANGUAGE AND MEANING

A

Language is a tool of communicating our ideas to others. All human beings are invariably endeavouring to express their views and opinions to their fellow beings. The need for communication at this highly advanced stage of human civilization is itself a very complex subject to be dealt with; but the primitive need which gave rise to this complex human behaviour is to express one's desire for the satisfaction of some instinct; because the self-preservation in perfect isolation in the antediluvian age was impossible without co-operation despite the Darwinian formula of the survival of the fittest. On this need of co-operation is dependent the existence of society, wherein ultimately communication becomes the most stable condition of human-intercourse. Language is the most important factor of social unity, for it is only through this medium that human beings come near one another, share with the common cultural heritage of theirs.

But there, we are not concerned with the importance of language in human society, which is more or less universally accepted, rather, we are concerned with the analysis of language or the role of language in our understanding the world and this orginates from the function of language as communicating our ideas. 'Idea' is a vague term, and in no way we should mean by it anything completely mental. By this, we only want to point out that we state something or describe something and this 'something' which may be anything in the external world is always objective, for otherwise communication is entirely impossible. Because communication implies the objective state of affairs, which can be brought under other's notice. All these things donot happen mechnically but are in fact the result of thinking. This implies the relation of language with thinking. Thinking without language is almost impossible. This is why we cannot say that animals have either intelligence or thinking power. Making the statement about the external world is thus dependent upon our using certain language and since only a statement can be said to have a meaning, so meaning without language is inconceivable, because only statement has a meaning. We cannot say that the thing denoted by the word 'table' has a meaning in the sense in which, we generally use this term, but on the other hand, we can say that the word 'table' has a meaning. Therefore, it would not be incorrect to say that the language gives meaning to the world. This statement does not mean that the language creates reality, but simply it points out that we cannot know reality without language. Knowledge of reality or of the external world is possible only by

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

means of language and whether there is other means of knowing the external world, we do not know. But it may be said that even if an individual does not know language, he may be aware of the external world and in so far as he is aware of the external world, he may be said to have the knowledge of the external world. This is never possible, for without language an individual may have a mere sensation of the external world. But a mere sensation of the external world cannot be said to be the knowledge of the external world in any sense. In fact, if by chance, this is the case with any human being then he is nothing short of an animal. Having not recognized this fundamental relation between meaning and language, some thinkers contend that there is a pre-linguistic meaning. Thus, Urban contends that there is in some sense, a pre-linguistic meaning. He says, "......things that are not words also have meanings in a certain sense."[1] For pre-linguistic meaning, Urban considers the behaviour of animals. In the behaviour of animals, there is seen the fixed relation of certain stimulus and response so that in every behaviour of animals, the stimulus can be regarded as the meaning of the response. Bergson calls it the instinctive meaning of animals. But then, the consideration of meaning on the basis of certain fixed relationship between the stimulus and the response is to undermine the very problem of the meaning. In this problem, we are not concerned with the behaviour, but with the understanding of the statement, which is a linguistic problem and not a psychological problem. Similarly Lewis contends, "Presumably, the meanings to be expressed, must come before the linguistic expression of them, however much the development of language may operate retro-actively to modify the meanings entertained."[2]

But then, Lewis does not make it clear as to how there can be any sense in talking of meaning, which is exclusively a property of statement of things or of anything, which is not language. As we cannot talk of grammar without language, so we cannot talk of meaning without language. Perhaps, those thinkers who believe in the pre-linguistic meaning, think that if we do not assume some such thing, the world of reality would be affected by the analysis of language. But they do not understand that the fundamental aim of the analysis of linguistic meaning is to examine the various factors of the significance of the statement and as such it has nothing to do with the reality. By this, it is not meant that it dispenses with the reality, it only disregards the consideration of the reality. Even if the problem of meaning has to do with the problem of reality' we cannot prove the contention that there is the pre-linguistic meaning. This is clearly seen by the analysis of our knowledge. The fundamental characteristic of human knowledge is to universalize the known thing. We undoubtedly know a particular thing, but we know it under some universal, whether of quality or of substance. Thus when we say, "This is a table".

1. Language and Reality, p. 96.
2. An Analysis of Knowledge and Valuation, p. 72.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

we are knowing a particular table but at the same time, we are knowing it as a particular member of the class-'table', because in the strict sense, the knowledge of this particular table is dependent upon our knowing the similarity of the characteristics of this thing with the characteristics as defined by the concept 'table' and such concept formation is possible only in language. This is quite clear if we ask the question, "Why is it that we call this particular thing a table?" We cannot answer this question simply by saying that we can point out that the table is here and it is what in practice, we generally do. When asked as to how we come to know the external world, it is generally assumed that we know the external world by perception. But the true answer lies not in this statement, but in this, that we know the external world by knowing the use of language meaning thereby that general concept such as 'table', 'man' and 'animal' help us in knowing the particular thing which can be placed under any general concept and these general concepts are possible only through language.

The above consideration of the general concepts seem to have some similarity with the forms of Plato, but in fact, two are quite different. The Platonic Forms are ontological entities, whereas the general concepts explained above are the mere linguistic definitions, which have no ontological status. They are rather the linguistic devices which help us in making the descriptive statements about the external world. Though this is the difference between the Forms of Plato and the general concept explained above, yet to a great extent, they are the same. Plato made eternal entities of what we call general concepts and thus formulated a metaphysics. This shows two important points i) how language can deceive one in to believing a peculiar reality quite different from ours and ii) how ultimately all philosophers start from the analysis of language itself. The first point can be fairly illustrated by those concepts which though used with the idea of their denotations have, in reality no denotations at all, as for example, the concept 'god' or 'soul' is generally used in the language as having some denotations, but in fact they do not name any entity at all. This reveals a very important linguistic fact and that is that anything that can be talked of should not necessarily be thought of as existing in the world. This is implied by Russell's Theory of Descriptions. According to this theory, the significant description is possible without pre-supposing the existence of the thing described. Thus the descriptive statement, "The King of France is Wise" is quite significant and yet the grammatical subject of the statement viz. "The King of France" is not existent or real in any sense. But then from this we must not conclude that the phrase "The King of France" does not refer to anything whatsoever or in other words it is vacuous. In fact, it refers to the characteristics of the King of France defined by the linguistic usage. Fortunately, in this phrase all concepts are capable of being derived from experience on the basis of direct observation and an acquaintance, but there may be a concept which cannot be derived from experience directly and even whether it can be derived indirectly is a matter of psychological controversy. These concepts are such as 'golden-mountain',

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

'unicorn', 'god', 'soul' and similar other concepts. These are the concepts, which can be talked of and described perfectly well without any ambiguity except in the context, where such concepts are deliberately used with systematic ambiguity and vagueness. And why we can talk of these concepts is simply for the reason that these concepts are equivalent to certain characteristics by definitions and in so far as we can talk of them quite significantly and in so far as the mere verbal talk is concerned, there does not arise any problem, but the moment we try to search for the designata of these concepts we create a pseudo-problem which is due to our ignorance of the fact about the language, for if at all, these concepts designate any entity, that entity must be capable of being known either by direct observation or by experimentation. There is no other method of knowing that and since neither observation, nor experimentation have shown us anything of the type, we cannot say that these entities are real in any way. Thus religion, which is generally defined as a search for God or the almighty is equal to the search for' unicorn' or anything of the sort except the emotional context which is generally attached with the practice of any religion. Similarly any meta- physics, which gives ontological status to a certain universal concepts is quite meaningless.

Because of this, some modern philosophers have called such concepts as we have just considered pseudo-concepts. But this epithet trivializes the real point at issue. Because, if such concepts are regarded as Pseudo-concepts, then, it would naturally imply that only those concepts are real concepts which directly apply to the reality for the only difference between so called real concepts and pseudo-concepts is this that the real concepts apply to the reality, while the pseudo concepts do not apply to the external world or the reality. But this difference should not make us blind to the necessary simitarity between the class of real concepts and the class of pseudo-concepts in so far as their linguistic functions are concerned. All concepts point out certain characteristics and in this sense all concepts are of the same status. The difference is pointed out, when we find out that some concepts are applicable to reality; whereas some concepts are not applicable to reality. Consequently, we must separate two points of view from which we should analyse language, (i) syntactical point of view in which we explain only the formal syntax of language and (ii) the denotative point of view in which we analyse the language from the point of view of truth-value. It is only from the point of view of truth-value that we can comprehend the application of the concept to the reality. So, we cannot assert that some concepts are pseudo-concepts. In fact this assertion is not quite meaningful, because it arises out of our undermining the role of syntax in language and when we take into consideration this important point then such assertion would have no place at all. Thus syntactically such words as 'dog', 'god', 'table' and 'pen' are of the same type, because, all these words refer to some characteristics, but the difference occurs among these concepts as soon as we make any descriptive statement of the external world. Thus we can say that "There is a

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

pen there", because we can see the pen here, just now or in other words it can be put under our sensory experience. But we cannot say that "There is a God here", because the entity designated by the concept god is not capable of being put under our sensory experience or in other words, becausa it is not real. Hence the difference between the word 'pen' and the 'god'. This difference between these two words can be expressed by saying that the word 'pen' has a truth-value, whoreas the word 'god' has no truth-value at all. But for this reason, we cannot say that the word 'god' is a pseudo-concept or a meaning-less concept.

B

We have seen that in no way we can talk of meaning except in the context of linguistic behaviour which is nothing short of thinking which is again impossible without language. Now the important problem which emerges at this point is as to what is it that we call meaning of the statement. Somewhat vaguely, we can say that meaning is what we understand, because it is only the meaningful statement which is understood. To say that a certain statement is meaningless and to say that statement is capable of being understood is quite contradictory, for the moment, we say, that a certain statement is meaningless, it is implied, that the statement in question has no definite content which can be grasped or understood. In this context, we must differentiate between the understanding of a statement and the understanding about a statement. When we say that a certain statement such as "The cloth of this table is red" is capable of being understood, we mean that we have the understanding of the statement or in other words, we know the content of the 'statement'. But when we say that the statement "The number 2 is kind and gentle" is incapable of being unperstood, we mean that the statement is meaningless and the understanding of this meaninglessness is dependent upon our understanding about the statement, which is again due to our knowledge of the rules and regulations of language. It is on the basics of these specific rules and regulations of the language in question that we classify certain statements as meaningless. Whether these rules and regulations are conventional or not should not detain us here for we must take it for granted that these rules and regulation are the fundamental grounds for any statement to be meaningful. Now, the most important rules of language are those of grommar and logic. Grammatical rules are necessary in so far as the correct construction of the statement is concerned. Thus we can only write "He goes" and not "He go", because according to the rules of English grammar, the sentence "He go" is incorrect, while "He goes" is correct, but that which is grammatically incorrect need not be meaningless, for even if a statement is grammatically incorrect, it may be meaningful. As for example the statement "I are going to mine home" is full of grammatical mistakes and yet it is perfectly meaningful to those, who happen to know the English language. Similarly, a statement may be completely correct grammatically and yet, it may be completely meaningless

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

as for example the statement, "Truth is beautiful" is quite correct grammactically and yet, it is quite nonsensical and why it is non-sensical can be known not from the rules of grammar but from the rules of the form of language. This statement is meaningless, because the word beautiful, can be used only as the predicate of some sensible object or performatory action. Thus we can say, either that this pen is beautiful or his way of doing certain thing is beautiful but we cannot say that multiplicity is beautiful. This is called a category-mistake.

The function of the syntax is to determine the relationship between various concepts on the basis of their explicit definitons. Of course, these definitions are always empirical generalizations. As for example the concept man is defined as a rational being or featherless-bipped and these definitions of man are not arbitrarily constructed by human beings, but are the result of empirical generalization. But the problem of the origin of the concepts either historically or psychologically is quite irralevent to the task of the formal syntax of language. It seeks to explain and interpret the structure of languages as it is given or accepted by those who need some language for communication.

So, the understanding of a statement presupposes the knowledge of the rules of grammar and the rules of the syntax or in other words the meaningfulness of a statement is dependent upon the syntactical and grammatical rules.

Beside these two factors in understanding a statement, some thinkers have pointed out that intentionality is the fundamental factor in understanding a statement. The idea of intentionality as the condition of understanding has been greatly emphasized by Husserl, who contends that it is, in fact, the intention of the speaker that is grasped or understood by the hearer. Urban coetends similarly that unless and until there is some purpose and value behind the statement, it cannot be understood. But such assertion is quite confusing on the ground that we do not know clearly as to what is exactly implied by the word 'intention'. If by 'intention' is meant the desire of the speaker to speak, some sentence, then obviously his desire has nothing to be with the meaning of the uttered statement, because in the consideration of the meaning of a statment, we are not concerned with the mental condition of the speaker but with what has been asserted, whether that assertion has been expressed in the condition of happiness or misery or sadness, all these mental factors are completely irralevent to the meaning of the statement. Sometimes it is said that the meaning of the statement in aim which the speaker wants to fulfil by the uttered statement. But in reality, we never understand the aim of the speaker, but we understand the content of the utterance, for the meaning of the statement and the aim for which it has been uttered are quite two different things, as for example if a man utters the sentence "It is raining outside" the meaning of the statement is simply that it is raining, nothing

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

more, nothing less, but it may be possible that the speaker has a definite aim to fulfil by speaking that statement.

For elaborating this, let us imagine a room where two persons A and B are sitting. Now a wants to do something in the absence of B and A is also aware of the situation in which B would not go outside immediately. In this condition, A says that it is raining outside, when in fact the weather was quite clear just before B's entrance into the room, so that out of the wonder be comes out of the room to varify the uttered statement and thus A gets his trick completed. Now, here, we must differentiate between A's aim in uttering the particular statement, which is obviously to deceive B and the meaning of the statement, uttered by A. If, it was right that the meaning of the statement is the intention of the speaker, then B would have never been deceived by A, for B would have directly comprehended the aim of A. No doubt, it is true that a statement is always made by somebody and somebody makes a statement only when, he wants to do so, but this fact has nothing to do with the problem of meaning. It only points out the truism that the statement is always made by some body and in so far as it is a truism, no body can deny it.

According to the present analysis of intention, we come to the conclusion that the consideration of the problem of meaning has nothing to do with the mental condition of the speaker. By mental condition, we do not mean whether the speaker is normal or abnormal but the mental aspects in the utterance of the sentence. But contrary to this assertion, Gustav Bergmann attempts to give far more greater importance to the mind in the analysis of meaning, because to him the awarness of mind is pre-requisite in the analysis of meaning. In other words, we cannot understand the meaning of the statement unless and until, we know the way in which the mind functions, while stating any sentence. These mental functions are characterized by such terms as 'believing', 'thinking' and 'doubting'. Since, in the ordinary statements, such mental dispositions are not invariably present, therefore, to him, it is the function of ideal language to transcribe these statements in a way that they contain any one of these terms. An ideal language cannot be an adequate tool, unless and until it gives place to mind in its analysis. The ideal language bereft of the mind is inadequate for the analysis of language and meaning.

He says that if two statements about the same object are different in meaning, they are different, because they characterize two different mental characteristics or two different types of awarenesses. He regards awareness as an existent and seeks to explain the meaning in terms of the mental awarenesses. He says "In my world mental thinge are existents. Awarenesses are individuals. Awareness, I use generically. Just as a non-mental individual is a tone or a pain or a smell by exemplifying certain non-mental characters, so an awareness is a remembering or a doubting or

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

a believing and so on by exemplifying certain mental characters. Some of these characters are simple. Hence they are existents. There are still others among the mental furniture of my world. An awareness is always distinct from its content."[3]

Now, Bergmann is not right in regarding awareness as an existent, for awareness is a mere psychological act. Moreover, the psychological act of believing, doubting or thinking has nothing to do with the meaning of the statement expressed. He seems to be influenced by some such statements as "I think it is raining", "I doubt that it is raining". Now in order to understand or analyse these statements, there is no need of taking into consideration the mental awareness of the speaker for these statements are the partlcular ways of expressing the hypothetical assertions as for example, the statements written above can be translated into the following statements without any loss of original meaning.

"Either it is raining or it is not raining", and this has nothing to do with the speaker, although the statement undoubtedly indicates the speaker's ignorance of the fact as to whether it is actually raining or not, but in any way the speaker is not expressing his ignorance of the fact by stating this sentence, or even if, we regard such statements as the indication of the speaker's ignorance, it does not follow, that the meaning of such statements is dependent upon the mental act or psychological act.

In fact, the analysis of meaning is quite different from the analysis of act, awareness or mind and Bergmann endeavours to mix both these things without any clear result. In the problem of meaning, we are solely concerned with the rules and regulations of our language, which make a statement meaningful and there by understandable,. We are not concerned either with a particular language in which a statement is made or with the psychological condition of uttering a statement. Psychology is as irralevant to the problem of linguistic meaning as physiology or any other scienc concerned with the personality of human beings.

Ignorance of this thing has produced a very peculiar theory of meaning, which is generally called a causal theory of meaning or behaviouristic theory of meaning. Now we would discuss this theory of meaning.

Russell's view of meaning is to a great extent behaviouristic, although, it would be wrong to regard him as the exponent of this theory, for the simple reason that he is never consistent about his view and sometimes he expressed the view, which is radically different from the causal theory of meaning. However, here we are concerned only with the causal theory of meaning. Russell thinks that the meaning of the sentences consists in the desired effect on those who listen to those sentences. He says "We may say, generally, that speech consists, with some exceptions of noises

3. Meaning and Existence, p. 136.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

made by persons with a view to causing desired actions by other persons"[4]

To understand the full implication of the problem of meaning, he thinks that we should consider the function of language from behaviouristic point of view. Understanding language is more like understanding cricket: it is a matter of habits, acquired in oneself and rightly presumed in others. "To say that a word has a meaning is not to say that those who use the word correctly have ever thought out what the meaning is. The use of the word comes first, and the meaning is to be distilled out of it by observation and analysis. Moreover, the meaning of a word is never absolutely definite."[5]

The relation of a word to its meaning is of the nature of a causal law governing our use of the word and our actions we hear it used. Thus, meaning, according to this mode of analysis would be precisely the knowledge of possible causal relation of the words with various human actions, According to this contention, a man will be said to have understood the meaning of the word or sentence when he has acted properly as pointed out by the words or a sentence. Thus to quote the example given by Russell, suppose, a man is walking in London with an absent minded friend and while crossing a street, he says, "Look out, there is a motor coming." The absent—minded man will glance round and jump outside without the need of any mental intermediary. There need be no 'ideas' but only stiffening of the muscles followed quickly by action. He understands the words, because, he does the right thing. Thus understanding in this sense may be reduced to mere physiological causal law.

Moreover, he says, words cannot mean any thing except by their associations with the corresponding images. It is the possibility of a memory image in the child and an imagination image in the hearer that makes the essence of the "narrative" meaning of words. In so far as this is absent, the words are mere counters, capable of meaning, but not at the moment possessing it. Thus, the problem of the meaning of words is brought in to connection with the problem of the meaning of images.

When we understand a word, there is a reciprocal association between it and the images of what it means. Images may cause us to use words which mean them and these words heard or read, may, in turn cause the appropriate images. Thus speech is a means of producing in our hearers, the images which are in us. Images, as well as words may be said to have "meaning". Russell points out that the meaning of images seems more primitive than the meaning of words. What we call (say) an image of St. Paul's may be said to 'mean' St. Paul's. He says that it is not at all easy to say exactly what constitutes the meaning of an image. A memory image of a particular occurrence, when accompanied by a

4. An Enquiry into meaning and Truth, p. 27.
5. Analysis of Mind, p. 198.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

memory—belief, may be said to mean the occurrence of which, it is an image.

According to Russell, there is also another way of approaching the meaning of images, namely through their causal efficacy. What is called an image of some definite object, say, St. Pauls, has some of the effects, which the object would have. This applies especially to the effects that depend upon association: The meaning of the images is understood by the knowledge of the definite relation of images with their prototypes or a single prototype. Thus, if there is possibility of 'bare-imagination-images' then it cannot have any meaning at all. To arrive at the meaning of the image, we observe that there are certain respects notably associations, in which the effects of images resemble those of prototypes.

The meaning of an image, according to this analysis is constituted by a combination of likeness and associations. It is not a sharp or definite conception and in many cases, it will be impossible to decide with any certainty, what an image means. After this analysis of the meaning of a particular image he extends it to meaning in general. He says that in mnemic causation, an image or word, as stimulus, has the same effect as would belong to some object say, a certain dog. In that case, we say that the image or word means that object. In other cases the mnemic effects are not all those of one object, but only those shared by objects of a certain kind, by all dogs. In this case, the meaning of the image or word is general, it means the whole kind.

Now, Russell is wrong in thinking that only behaviouristic account of language can solve the problem of meaning. In fact, understanding a statement and behaving accordingly are quite different psychological phenomena. Of course, even the act of understanding is a psychological behaviour, but psychologists do not mean by 'behaviour' the act of understanding or thinking, but they mean by this individual's response to the external stimuli. According to this inter- pretation of behaviour, we donot know how Russell could think of relating this phenomenon with the problem of meanings, which is quite a different thing. He could not differentiate between the linguistic problem and a psychologicalproblem.

No doubt, it is true that after understanding a statement, a man may act accordingly, but to say that meaning follows the behaviour is to put the cart before the horse. When we say to a man who is walking on the middle of the road, "Look, there is the motor coming", that man jumps to the left side of the road, but this does not mean that he has jumped blindly; he has in fact first of all understood the meaning of the statement and then he behaved accordingly. Now, even if that man would have not behaved in the way in which he did, we could have not said that he did not understand the statement, for it is quite possible that a man understands a statement and still he does not act accordingly. Moreover, there is no primary relation between human behaviour and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

linguistic statement except in the case of command statements. When one says to some body, "Fetch a glass of water", then the understanding of this statement is followed by a bodily behaviour of walking to a certain place and fetching a glass of water, but even here the understanding of the statement is primary while the bodily action is secondary, for the man thus ordered may refuse to fetch the glass of water, but his refusal does not mean that he has not understood the statement, although sometime it may be the case that the defect in understanding the command sentence may cause one not to do the thing, which he has been ordered to do. Now, even if we assume that behaviour is the basis of understanding such statements, we cannot generalize from such type of statements that meaning of all statements consists in the corresponding humań action, The descriptive statements such as "Russell is a philospher. He is the author of the book, 'Inquiry into meaning and truth, and so on" donot contain meaning on account of some action on the part of reader or hearer. In fact, these statements are not intended for any action whatsoever, but simply for understanding certain facts about Russell. Therefore, Russell is not justified in thinking that the meaning of the statement consists in its impact on the behaviour of the hearer.

Concerning Russell's view about the image and the meaning word, we would say that although sometimes we get meaning of the word on the basis of the image, this cannot be generalized for all words, for it is true only in the case of the object-words, such as "table", "house". Even here, we cannot say that the meaning of these words is solely dependent upon their corresponding images, for if it is so then there would be no difference between man's understanding of these words and a dog's understanding of these words for the images of these words are the same, in both a man and a dog, though we have got no difinite ground for proving that the animals have got images, but even in the case of human beings we have got no conclusive evidence for the existence of images. Odgen and Richards point out, "There are good reasons why attempts to build a theory of interpretation upon images must be hazardous. One of these is the grave doubt, whether in some minds, they ever occur or ever have occurred. Another is that in very many interpretations, where words play no recognizable part introspection, unless excessively subtle and therefore, of doobtful value as evidence, fails to show that imagery is present. A third and stronger reason is that images seem to a great extent to be mental luxuries."[6]

Besides these criticisms of the causal theory of meaning, there is one fundamental objection to the attempt which tries to view the problem of meaning from psychological point of view, for in no way we are concerned with the psychology of meaning, though this is one of the important topics in psychology, rather, we are concerned with the logical problem of meaning. But G. Bergmann and Russell have overlooked this essential point in philosophical interpretation of meaning.

6. The Meaning of Meaning, p. 60.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Miss Raj Gupta

ON WORD MEANING

The utility of the study of language is unquestioned in almost every subject, but it has a special value for philosophy. Since philosophy is an abstract subject, it is unlike Mathematics in which the answer is either correct or incorrect, nor is it like the natural sciences, in which experiments can decide as to what is right and what is wrong. But since in philosophy we are inclined to use metaphorical and unclear expressions, it is very urgent that we should be very clear and precise about the meanings of the words we use.

In the contemporary period, philosophers are mostly engaged in the study of language. But the philosophical study of language is different from that of linguists, philologists, grammarians and lexicographers etc. They are interested in discovering facts about how our language is used, what meanings words have, how language begins changes and decays. A philosopher might be interested in these problems but only indirectly. His main motive in linguistic study is to settle the philosophical problems by a correct understanding of language. It would not be incorrect to say that his field can be called that of a metalanguage rather than language; whereas ordinary language speaks about things, metalanguage speaks about language itself. The study of metalanguage has led into a general theory of signs often called Semiotics, which in itself can be broadly subdivided into Pragmatics, Semantics and syntactics. Pragmatics is concerned with the origin and uses of symbols. Semantics is concerned with the study of relations between symbols and what they stand for. Whereas syntactics deals with the study of the formal relation among symbols.

The importance of symbols in human thought and action can hardly be over emphasized. There is hardly any human activity which does not involve symbols. Thinking, reading, writing, speaking and imagining, all do involve symbols of one kind or another. There are various types of symbols, for example, there may be social symbols, religious symbols and musical symbols etc. But the most complicated of all the systems of symbols is language. Words are symbols and every language is a system of symbols. Symbol is something which is made to stand for something else. Generally the relation between a linguistic symbol and for which it stands is determined by convention. Nothing functions as a symbol unless someone uses it as a symbol, and a symbol symbolizes just exactly what people use it to symbolize. "Between the symbol and the referent there is no relevant relation other than the indirect one, which consists in its being used by someone to stand for a referent".[1] The relation between the

1. C.K. Ogden and I.A. Richards, Meaning of Meaning, p. 11.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

symbol and the referent is not natural or direct but simply imputed. Unless symbols are made to stand for something, they are mere noises, not words. Hospers says "when they are thus given meaning, the noises become words, the noise is, as it were, baptized into a word".[2] In short, a word is just made to stand for a particular thing, quality, action, mental state function and relation. And the referent would still be the same, even if we use a different symbol for it. (A rose by any other name would smell as sweet). But if once a convention has been set to call a thing by a particular name, then it is convenient to call it by that name, otherwise the result would be an unnecessary confusion and inconvenience. But still if one finds that there is no word for what one wants to talk about, then perhaps, one can coin a new word. But these common usages of words determine only the *meaning* of words, not the truth of the statements in which they occur.

'Meaning' is not a thing like a book or a pen, but is a complex relation between certain kinds of things; and this relation requires at least three terms (1) symbol (2) subject and (3) the object symbolized. Now words have meaning in the sense of denotation or extension, in the sence of connotation or intension. Denotation is the relation between a word and the object or objects called by that word. Connotation is a relation between the word and the properties of the object called by that word. Again, there is another mode of meaning which can be called expressiveness. It is a meaning relation between a word and some quality of experience.

Denotation means a thing or a set of things to which a symbol can be correctly applied. The term 'denotatum' can be used for a single object denoted and the term 'denotata' for more than one objects denoted. A word functions as a proper name when it denotes only one particular thing and as a class word when it denotes a class of things. So a word is said to have a denotative meaning when it is used to refer to an object or a class of objects. And the fact that in some cases there are no such objects, does not violate any linguistic convention, and it does not mean that the word used is meaningless. It simply means that the word has zero denotative value *i.e.* the number of denotata is zero. "A term which names nothing actual has zero denotation".[3] This brings us to an impportant problem as to whether the words which do not refer to anything existing are meaningful or not. In the fifth century B.C. Parmenides said that every thought must have an object. To think about nothing is not to think. It follows that reference to non-existent things is meaningless. Yet we know that this is not the case. "The golden mountain exists" is as meaningful as 'the city of Paris exists'. The only difference is that the one is having the denotative value while the other has zero denotative value.

2. John Hospers, An Introduction to Philosophical Analysis, p. 3.
3. C.I. Lewis, The Modes of Meaning in 'Semantics and the Philosophy of Language' edited by Linsky, p. 52.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

There have been many efforts to resolve this problem, for example, Meinong agreed to some extent with Parmenides that all thoughts must have objects, but the objects need not exist. In the case of ficticious objects, for example the golden mountains the objects merely subsist. And quite contrary to the theory of Meinong, was Russell's theory of 'Description'. According to this the significant description is possible without presupposing the existence of the thing described. Statements about the golden mountains may be meaningful though such entities neither exsist, nor subsist, nor are, in fact, anything at all. According to Russell, "the golden mountain exists" means roughly "there is an object and is mountain".

Similarly the concepts 'God', 'Soul', Absolute' *etc.* can be used without any difficulty, but when we try to search for the designata of these concepts, there arises a difficulty. That is why these concepts are called pseudo-concepts by some contemporary philosophers, because according them, the real concepts are those which can be applied to the reality while pseudo-concepts cannot be so applied. But so far as the linguistic function is concerned, there is no difference between the real concepts and the so called pseudo-concepts. From the syntactical point of view they are alike, though they may be different from the denotative point of view. But this does not mean that the pseudo-concepts are meaningless. They have meaning though they might not be true in the sense that they do not refer to anything in the world.

There has been a tendency is some of the contemporary philosophers to assume that all words must mean in the same way as proper names. Since names refer to individual objects, it is easy to assume that a word is meaningless unless in some way it refers to an object. But this assumption is baseless. A word can have meaning without naming anything, for example, the ethical concepts. The moral concepts do not perform the logical function of description[4] but perform certain non-descriptive jobs in certain contexts. They are not used in such a way that it is meaningless to ask what they stand for or designate. Again they are not used in a way in which a subjective state word like 'enjoy' is used. Value words are neither objective nor subjective but have a meaning all of their own. And if a person says that they do not have meaning or they are reducible to another kind of word, he is simply talking nonsense.

Now, we come to another mode of meaning *i.e.*, connotation. Connotation is a meaning relation between words and the properties of the object they stand for. Broadly speaking, a property is anything which may be said to characterize an object. Traditionally, the term 'essence' is used to indicate the characteristics of the thing. Here it would be desirable to make a distinction between those characteristics of an object which are essential, and other characteristics which are not thus essential. Sometimes this essential character of the thing is referred to as the signification of the

4. Nowell Smith Ethics, pp. 61-62.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

term,[5] and sometimes these essential characteristics are called the defining characteristics of an object, while those characteristics of a thing without which the word still apply to it are its accompanying or accidental characteristics.

Now it is assumed that a single object has several properties and that the same property may characterize several objects. It implies that an interaction exists between the denotation and the connotation of a term. Traditionally it has been maintained that the denota tion and the connotation of a term very inversely. It means, if one increases, the other decreases and vice versa, C. I. Lewis does not admit this type of relation between denotation and connotation, though he does admit that this relation holds good between connotation and comprehension. "... . For any term, its connotation determines its comprehension ; and conversely, any determination of its comprehension would determine its connotation."[6] Again, discussing the relation between denotation and connotation C. I. Lewis says, "The connotation of a term and its denotation do not, however, mutually determine one another. The connotation being given, the denotation is thereby limited not fixed......Also the denotation of a term being determined, the connotation is thereby limited not fixed"[7] while Ogden and Richards accept the view that the connotation of word determines its denotation, which in turn determines its comprehension.[8]

The word connotation has been understood in three different senses : Objective, subjective and the logical. The objective connotation consists of all the attributes actually existing in the things denoted by that term, whether they are known or not. The subjective connotation consists of the attributes brought before the mind of a particular individual by the term. And the logical connotation consists of the attributes which scientific research has shown to be the essential attributes of the things denoted by that term. Logical connotation is fixed so far as the present state of scientific knowledge is concerned.

Another mode of meaning is *expressiveness.* Expressiveness has been defined as a meaning relation between a word and some quality of experience. For example, the word 'Oh' is used to express a feeling of pain. There are so many other words which are used to express a wide variety of feelings, attitudes and emotions. And the failure to note the difference between the experessive meaning of terms and their other mean ings may lead to confusion. The expressive meaning of any particular word

5. C.I. Lewis, The Modes of Meaning in 'Semantics and the Philosophy of Language' edited by Linsky, p. 51.
6. C.I. Lewis, The modes of Meaning In 'Semantics and the Philosophy of Language' edited by Linsky, p. 54.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
8. Ogden and Richards, The Meaning of Meaning, p. 188.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

for a given individual depends upon his past experience. Words associated with unpleasant things tend to become expressive of dislike while the words associated with pleasant things are expressive of liking. This association between words and their emotional states is well illustrated by the use of a lie detector. The words associated with crime are mentioned to a person who had committed the crime, he shows various tensions which are recorded by a lie detector.

In various types of discourses, there are differences in the relative importance of the several functions of language and the relative preponderance of the several types of words· For example, a newspaper trying to report the news in an objective manner should make use of words with zero-expressive meaning. Here the main emphasis would be on the informative function of language. Similarly in a highly specialized and scientific inquiry, the emphasis is on the informative, logical and practical functions of language. The technical vocabulary employed in any specific science will consist of words with zero expressive value. In contrast to this, there is a considerable emphasis on the expressive function of language in literature.

The Emotional appeals made by language with strong emotive force are not in themselves wrong, they involve no fallacy. But they do set up a kind of smoke screen before the person, and it can make it very difficult for him to get at the real substance of the discourse. That is how they help to disguise a fallacy. When one penetrates it, one may find important conclusions supported by reason or one way find nothing sensible at all.

Now there are certain criticisms against language. For example, ambiguity, equivocation, vagueness and inexactness of expression etc[9]. It is a well known fact that a simple word may have variety of meanings. There is usually no harm in this fact, because the context mostly determines which of the several meanings is intended. But there are cases in which a word is used in such a way that we cannot really say, which of its several meanings is intended. In such cases we say that the word is ambiguous, for the statement in which it occurs is open to two or more interpretations. To understand ambiguity we have to take into consideration the two aspects of a word. (1) We speak of a word as meaning something *i.e.* as having a reference to something beyond itself. This is the semantical aspect of the word. (2) We also speak of the syntax of the word, as when we say that it is a noun, verb, abjective *etc.* The syntax of the word determines the way in which the word can be correctly combined with other words in a language. So there are two kinds of ambiguity: semantical ambiguity and syntactical ambiguity. A term is semantically ambiguous in a certain context if it

9. Alice Ambrose, The Problem of Linguistic Indequacy in Philosophical Analysis edited by Max Black, p. 15.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

can have more than one meaning in that context. For example words like efficient and 'free' *etc.* can be highly misleading unless the purpose is indicated; 'free' is indefinite until we ask: free from what ? free for what?

Again, a word may be syntactically ambiguous *i.e.* the parts of the sentence may not be clearly and definitely fitted to-gether. There may be more than one possible way of interpreting the grammatical relationship within a sentence. For example, here there are misplaced modifiers "The house was built as a present for Mrs. 'A' who married Dr. 'B' in 1950, at a cost of Rs. 50000." Strictly speaking, an embiguous statement is not one statement but many......one for each of its possible meanings. That is the way ambiguous language paralyses our thinking, which needs a great amount of care in using a word.

Again, there is a fallacy of equivocation. When the same word is used in two different senses in the same argument and when the validity of the agrument depends upon that word maintaining a constant meaning throughout, it is called the fallacy of equivocation. For Example ;

Only man is rational
No woman is man
All women are irrational.

This argument can be valid if the word 'man' had the same meaning each time it occured. However, for the first premise to be true, 'man' must mean "human" which includes women as well, whereas for the second premise to be true 'man' must mean 'human male'. Thus, if the premises are to have any plausibility, the term 'man' must shift its meaning. We would be misconstruing the premises if we understand the term 'man' to mean the same in both the premises. The result is equivocation which destroys the validity of the argument. An equivocal argument has the general look of a good argument, because the use of the same word throughout helps to disguise the differences of meaning. But we can remove the disguise by taking into consideration the different meanings of the same word.

Vagueness is another trouble-some feature of words which is different from both ambiguity and equivocation. Those terms are vague for which there is no general rule in our language to tell us how much of a quality a thing must have in order for the term to be applied to it. Where is the line between fresh bread and stale bread ? Where does red leave off in the spectrum and orrange begins ? So a vague term refers, in a some what indefinite way, to a range of variations in the intensity of some quality. There will be a certain part of the scale to which the term definitely applies and there will be another part of the scale to which the word does not apply definitely. But in between there would be a doubtful area, where we have never decided finally whether to apply the word or not. Sometimes we do, sometimes we do not. For example the term 'middle aged' is vague. If a person is 55 years old, he is definitely middle aged; if he is 15 he is definitely not middle-aged, but what about 43 ? The larger the doubtful area

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the vaguer the term. Vague terms are not meanigless, they are useful. If we have not bothered to make them precise, it may be simply because we have not needed to do so. The area of doubt may be large or small–but that does not make the word dangerous to use, if it is remembered that that is an area of doubt and if we know roughly where the area lies. There is a suspecion that no matter how carefully a language is constructed, the problem of vagueness will inevitable crop up. This can be remedied through careful use of words. But if we believe with Whitehead that "One source of vagueness is deficiency of language,"[10] then, of course, this disease would turn into a chronic one.

A number of complaints are connected with the claim that our vocabulary is too limited to express what we want to express. "Language is incomplete and fragmentary, and merely registers a stage in the average advance beyond ape-mentality. But all men enjoy flashes of insight beyond meanings already stabilized in etymology and grammar."[11] The trouble is not that we do not find the right words, but that no word is right word. They do not exist. It is true that sometimes we are in want of a new word whenever a new phenomenon is discovered, and when this would be remedied by inventing a new word, then other gaps would be felt. So these gaps are inevitable in a language, howsoever developed it might be. Various cures have been suggested to remedy this trouble. The first is (which is followed by some logicians) to creat new symbols to reform the common syntax and second is (of which Moore is best exponent) to clarify the cocepts which would diminish vaqueness.

Again one of the most puzzling features of the meaning of the word is that the concept of meaning itself undergoes change with the passage of time. As Frege has remarked, "The same words on account of the variability of language with time, take on another sense, express another thought." So meaning is not a timeless property attached with a particular word, though this was the view held by many philosophers, Lexicographers and Grammarians, uptil the 18th century. The meaning of a word was thought to be an integral property of that word. It was great block in the historical study of semantic change. But now it is an accepted fact that a word may remain the same while changing its meaning. As L. Jonathan Cohen has very aptly remarked: "The Lexicographers' concept of meaning can safely be a temporal one. For him the meanings a word has at different times are as much historical phenomena as the various forms it takes. The thoughts it expresses are items in the flux of history, not eternities in a timeless realm of formal logic".[12]

But whatever be the troubling features of language, the fact is that we cannot do without it. We have to be extremely careful in the use of the words in our discourse: I think the most important thing to control the

10. Whitehead, Essays in Philosophy and Science, p. 127.
11. White head, Adventures of Ideas, p. 291.
12. L. Jonathan Cohen, The Diversity of Meaning, p. 14.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

meaning of a particular word is the context in which it occurs. Words are uttered in a context. Sometimes the whole of the meaning conveyed through the words is contained in the words, in the sense that a person who knows the conventional meaning of the words would understand the utterance without knowing anything about its context. Theoretical discourse aims at this. But more often it is not so; in order to understand what has been said or written one needs to know something about the circumstances under which the words were spoken. We find a word in a context—associated with the words which come before and after it in a particular discourse—We can often decide which of the many meanings of the word is relevant. As has been remarked by Nowell Smith, "What a man is doing with a particular word at a particular time can only be discovered by examining what he says in its context." (13) Of course, the 'context' itself is an indefinite word. It may be the rest of a sentence, a whole look, the actual situation *etc.* still its importance cannot be questioned. It can be a great source of misunderstanding if we quote only a part of what a person says out of its context. The words quoted might be kept just as they are spoken, but they might change their meaning, because the original meaning is determined by the rest of the discourse. One can make the Bible say. "There is no God", if in quotting you omit the first part of the sentence "the fool has said in his heart".

Again, I believe that every type of discourse has its own logic and the meaning of words within it would be determined by its logic. So we come to what Professor Wisdom has called 'Idiosyncrasy Platitude' *i.e.* every expression has its own peculiar logic. As Toulmin has put it, "We must expect that every mode of reasoning, every lype of sentence will have its own logical criteria to be discovered by examining its individual peculiar uses."[14] Every type of expression, whether it is mental behavious expression or material object expression, ethical expression, religious expression or metaphysical expression, would not be reducible or tranlatable into other types of expressions completely and without remainder. Every expression, so to say has it own inviolable logic. And it would be fallacious to reduce the one into another type of expression.[15] The immediate consequence of this view would be that the positivistic and reductionistic ghost which has haunted the philosophic world for such along time would be exercized, and we would be free to see things in a different light.

In short, the meaning of a word in a particular discourse would be determined by the logic of that system, and not by its referenee to the extra linguistic facts. We have to distinguish clearly between the syntactical meaning and the denotative meaning of the word. A word might be quite meaningful even if it has a zero denotative value, but if it is in accordance with the formal syntax of that language, and the particular system in which it occurs.

13. Nowell Smith, Ethics, p. 98.
14. Toulmin, An Examination of the Place of Reason in Ethics, p, 83.
15. Ryle, The concept of Mind. Ist chapter.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Shri Nivasa Shastri

THE CONCEPTION OF NIRVANA FROM THE VIEW POINT OF ANATMAVADA IN BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY

It is believed that the nature of deliverance or *mokṣa* can better be understood in terms of the concept of *Jīva* or *ātman*. But, according to Buddhism, there is nothing like an eternal *ātman* or self. How, then, can we determine the nature of *mokṣa* or *nirvāṇa* in Buddhist philosophy ? If there is no *ātman* or self, who will attain deliverance ?

Nirvāṇa or deliverance is, however, the central idea of the teaching of Buddha. He said to his followers—"As the vast ocean, O monks, is impregnated with one flavour, the flavour of salt, so also, O monks, this my law and discipline is impregnated with the flavour of deliverance."[1]

The four *āryasatyas*, noble truths, which constitute the essence of Buddhism, are such teachings which the seeker of *nirvāṇa* must follow. Since the life of man is inevitably a mass of suffering, it is natural for him to seek a way out of it. Consequently, Buddha explained not only *duḥkha* (suffering), *duḥkha-samudaya* (cause of suffering and *nirodha* (end of suffering), but also *duḥkha-nirodhopāya*, (way leading to the end of suffering), viz,, the noble eight-fold path *(ārya-aṣṭāngika-mārga)*. Moreover, the last reported words of Buddha are-"Behold now, brethern, I exhort you saying decay is inherent in all component things, work out your salvation with diligence."[2] Thus, Buddhism is largely a scheme of deliverance *(nirvāṇa* or *mokṣa*).

On the other hand, from the very beginning, no self or permanent individuality or *ātman* has had a place, in Buddhist thought. The theory of selflessness or *nairātmya* is the fundamental concept of Buddhism. Nevertheless, to quote Stcherbatsky : "Buddhism never denied the existence of a personality, or a soul in the empirical sense. It only maintained that it was no ultimate reality".[3] "The term *anātman* is usually translated as "non-soul", but in reality *ātman* is here synonymous with a personality, an ego, a self, an individual, a living being, a conscious agent, etc. The underlying idea is that, whatsoever be designated by all these names, it

1. Seyyathāpi, bhikkhave, mahāsamuddo ekaraso lonaraso, evameva kho, bhikkhave ayam dhammavinayo ekaraso vimuttiraso. Cullavagga (Pali publication Board, 1956), p. 357.
2. Handa, dāni bhikkhave, āmantayāmi vo, vayadhammā sṅkhārā, appamādena sampādethā' ti.
Mahāparinibbāna sutta (pali Publication Board—1958), p. 119.
3. The Central Concepti on of Buddhism (=CCB), Calcutta, 1956, p. 22.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

is not a real and ultimate fact, it is a mere name for a multitude of interconnected facts".[4]

The Buddhist idea of the individual can be expressed through the term *skandhasantāna* or a stream of interconnected facts both physical and psychical. Stcherbatsky calls our attention to this very fact in the remark. "This stream of elements kept together, and not limited to present life, but having its roots in past existences and its continuation in future ones—is the Buddhist counterpart of the soul or the self of other systems".[5]

According to the Buddhists, then, the seeker after deliverance is an assemblage of different properties or qualities called *skandhas*, none of which, by itself, is euqal to self. This striking concept of individuality may be best illustrated by the simile of the chariot given in the *Milindapanho*[6]. However, the individual interested in deliverance from suffering may not take comfort in thinking, that he has no permanent self or that he is merely a combination of *skandhas* or just a stream of being. Besides, Buddhist thinkers emphasize that both bondage and deliverance (*bandha-mokṣa*) imply the *anityatā* or impermanence of the individuality. Dharmakīrti, the great expositor of Buddhist philosophy says—"The cause of suffering is the *bandha* or bondage. It cannot take place in the unchanging self. Likewise, the extinction of suffering is *mokṣa* or deliverance. It also cannot occur in the unchanning self, (because a purposive action or *arthakriyā* only belongs to the changing thing but not to the unchanging reality[7])".

Explaining this idea Vācaspatimiśra says—"*Rāga* (passion) etc., are not able to bind the eternal self, because an eternal being cannot be changed; it stays always in its own form; it is neither attainable (*upaneya*) nor removable (*apaneya*). As they say—"How do the rain and sunshine affect the sky, they act only upon the skin. If the self were like the skin, it would not be unchanging or if it were like the sky, it can be subject to no effect". On the other hand, the *Citta*, being a fluxional stream, is bound by passion etc., and gets salvation by removing them".[8]

Moreover, repudiating the view of the *Vaibhāṣika*, who believes that the *pudgala* or individuality is not capable of being described as permanent

4. *Ibid.*, p. 21.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
6. Milinda Panho (Moti Lal Banarsi Dass) ii, 1.
7, Duḥkhasyotpādahetutuam bandhḥ, nityasya tat Kutaḥ. Aduḥkhotpādahetutvam mokṣaḥ, nityasya tat Kutaḥ. Pramāṇavārttika, I, 204—205.
8. Na cātmani nitye rāgādayaḥ saṁsāram Kartuṁ utsahante, nityasyāvikāryatven tādavasthyād upaneyāpaneyābhāvāt. Yathāhuḥ–Varṣātapābhyāṁ Kiṁ Vyomnaś Carmaṇyasti tayoḥphalam. Carmopameś Cet so'nityaḥ Khatulyaś Cedasatphalaḥ. Cittam tu Kāryaṁ rāgādivaśāṭ saṁsāri, tad–Viyogācca mucyate. Nyāyavārttika–tātparya tīkā (=NVT), (Kashi Sanskrit Series Banaras, 1925) p. 242.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

or impermanent, Dharmakīrti says—"He, who cannot be described as impermanent, does not become the cause of anything. Bondage and deliverance, therefore, cannot belong to the pudgal, if it is treated neither as permanent nor impermanent".[9]

In this way *nairātmya* (the absence of unchanging entity) and *nirvāṇa* (the extinction of suffering) are not contradictory, rather they are complementary, since it is clear that only a changing or fluxional being or a stream of life, rather than an unchanging entity, can be capable of deliverance.

Now, the question arises what is the nature of deliverance, according to the theory of *nairātmya* in Buddhism ?

The concept of *nirvāṇa* has been widely discussed and conflicting views have been expressed about it by prominent scholars. However, all agree that when bodhi or enlightenment is attained, final destruction of ignorance or *avidyā* takes place and one gets liberation. Consequently, there are two forms of *nirvāna :* (i) *Sopadiśeṣa* and (ii) *nirupādiśeṣa*. The *sopadiśesa* denotes the condition of a perfect being, in which the desire which binds one to life, is extinct, but his body is not lost. In the *nirupādiśesa* the cessation of being takes place at the time of death.[10] The second type of *nirvāṇa* has been called *parinirvāṇa* (complete extinction). The first form is arhatship. The *arhat's* life resembles that of the *Upaniṣadic Jīvanamukta* or the *sthitaprajña* of the *Gītā*.

Dharmakīrti states that the *mukta* lives in the world on account of the *Karman* (cause of the present bodily existence), or he stays in the world to uplift the people from suffering as well as the origin of suffering.[11] Such exactly is the case of Buddha, who won enlightenment at the age of 35 and spent the next 45 years of his life in preaching and doing good to others. Thus, the two types of *nirvāṇa* correspond to the *Jivanamukti* and the *Videhamukti* of *Vedānta*.

Still, the question 'what is the nature of Pari *nirvāṇa*' remains unanswered. In other words, what remains when the elightened one or *arhat* dies ? Of course, it is a controversial problem of Buddhism. There is difference of opinion regarding this question. The reason is obvious. Buddha did not answer this question. He kept silent.[12] Consequently, divergent views have been expressed on this point by his followers. De La Vallee Poussion observes that there are four conceptions of this aspeet of

9. Anityatvena Yo 'vācyaḥ sa hetur nahi Kasyacit. (Ato bandha-mokṣāvapyavācye pudgale na yujyete) pramāṇa vārtika (vṛtti), i, 205.
10. Cf. Mādhyamikavṛtti, p. 519, 520.
11. Avasthā vītarāyāṇāṁ dayayā Karmaṇā. pivā. Vītamohānāmapi duḥkhād duḥkhahetośca lokam uddhartukāmatayā sthitiḥ. Tāvatkālānubandhi śarīrakṣepaken Karmaṇā Vā sthitiḥ.
Pramāṇa Vārttika (and vṛtti), 1, 195.
12. Cf. Udāna (Hindi translation by Bhikṣu Jagadish Kāshyapa), p. 127.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

nirvāṇa : (i) *nirvāṇa* as pure annihilation, (ii) *nirvāṇa* as a state of happiness (iii) *nirvāṇa* as an inconceivable state and (iv) *nirvāṇa* as a changeless state.[13]

Some of the orthodox writers are inclined to interpret *nirvāṇa* as annihilation or *uccheda* of *Citta*. Even such a great expositor of Buddist thought as Vācaspatimiśra states—"The Buddhists say that extinction of the mind or *Citta* like a flame of a lamp is *nirvāṇa*[14]. Explaining this idea, further he says—"The *santati* of *vijñānas*, a chain of causes and effects, is existing from eternity (*anādi*). When one realizes selflessness (*nairātmya*), the *kleśas* with *Vāsanās* are rooted out and the stream of mind comes to an end.[15] Likewise, many modern scholars interpret *nirvāṇa* as annihilation. But, as a matter of fact, it is not annihilation. It is the complete extinction of passions and suffering, yet it is not extinction of existence, The annihilationist interpretation is, therefore, against the spirit of Buddhist ideas. It is true that there are some passages in pali texts, which suggest that *nirvāṇa* is annihilation. But when these passages are read in their full contexts, the said impression has to be modified. Keith observes that the simile of the extinction of the flame, on which the conception of *nirvāṇa* as annihilation is based, has been interpreted very differently in the *Aggivaccagottasutta*.[15-a]

In all the four schools of Buddhism *nirvāṇa* is not explained as a state of annihilation. Stcherbatsky observes—"According to the Sarvastivādins, this quite negative result is, nevertheless, an entity of some kind. They make a difference—between the essence and the manifestations of the *dharmas*. At the time of *nirvāṇa* the manifestations have ceased for ever, there will be no rebirth, but this essence remains".[16] As a matter of fact "This is *nirvāṇa*, absolute annihilation of the *samskṛtadharmas*, which is tantamount to the presence of the *asaṁskṛta-dharmas*" Stcherbetsky also observes that according to the Vaibhasikas *nirvāṇa* is *Vastu*, real[18].

According to the orthodox *Sautrāntikas nirvāṇa* is the absolute end of the manifestations, the end of passions and life without any positive counterpart.[19] The *Sautrāntikas* argue that *nirvāṇa* is *abhāva* (absence of passion etc.); for, as one of the nonproduced entities (*asaṁskṛta dharmas*), it must share their common characteristics of unreality, *e.g. ākāśa* is an *asaṁskṛta dharma* and it is nothing but the absence of anything tangible, likewish being an *asaṁskṛta dharma*, *nirvāṇa* should be nothing more than

13. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. IX, pp. 376—79.
14. Vaināśikāḥ prāhuḥ pradīpasyeva nirvāṇaṁ tasya cetasa iti, NVT., p. 239.
15. anādiḥ Khalu kāryakāraṇapravāharūpā buddhīnām santatiḥ, sā ca ātma-sākṣātkāronmū-lita-savāsna-Kleśjālasya nivartate. NVT. p. 240.
15-a. Buddhist philosophy p. 66.
16. CCB., p. 44.
17. *Ibid*., pp. 43—44.
18. Nirvāṇa, pp. 25—27.
19. *Ibid*.. p. 29.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the absence of desires and life. In support of their contention that *nirvāṇa* is only an absence or pure negation, *abhāvamātra*, the *Sautrāntikas* quote a *Saṁukta* text (13,5.). They also take advantage of the simile of the extinction of the flame.[20] Thus, to the *Sautrāntikas*, *nirvāṇa* is *avastu* or unreal. The state of *nirvāṇa* is only negative. *Nirvāṇa* cannot be defined as a positive entity. But it cannot be explained as pure annihilation, the *asaṁskṛta dharmas* survive the state of *nirvāṇa*.

According to Vijñānavāda, the *ālayavijñāna* is an absolute *citta*-stuff. Suzuki notes that the philosophers take the *ālayavijñāna* for the empirical ego or self, which is, however, far from the Buddha's teaching.[21] In *nirvāṇa* the *Citta* or consciousness has no object or *ālambana* and perceives nothing, it rests in itself. Thus, *nirvāṇa* is the turning back of the *ālayavijñāna* to its natural state of *advaya-jñāna*.

The *Mādhyamikas* regard external object and subjective cognitions relative and, therefore, essenceless (*niḥsvabhāva*). They posit the reality of *śūnya*, which is the essence of the relative world. It cannot be expressed as existent or non-existent (*sad-asadbhyām anrivācya*). *Nirodha* or *nirvāṇa* is the realization of the nature of *Śūnyatā*. The *Mādhyamika kārikā* defines *nirvāṇa* as follows—

"*Nirvāṇa* is that which is neither discarded nor attained; it is neither a thing destroyed nor a thing eternal, it is neither suppressed nor produced."[23]

Then, what yields the *nirvāṇa* ? 'Just the getting rid of the baseless fancy of bondage', *Nirvāṇa* is devoid of birth and death. It is indefinable and inexpressible by words. Thus, it is not comprehensible as existence or non-existence (*bhāva or abhāva*).

The relevant question now is : does consciousness also exist in the state of *nirvāṇa* ? According to the *Vaibhāṣikas*, as Stcherbatsky observes "it is a kind of entity where there is no consciousness". Why ? "The theory is that consciousness cannot appear alone without its satellites, the phenomena of feeling, volition, etc." So far as the *Sautrāntika* is concerned, as *nirvāṇa* is purely negative for him, there is no room for any sort of consciousness in *nirvāṇa*. It is suggested that in accordance with their own standpoint, the *Sautrāntikas* must hold that *Nirvāṇa* is the emergence of a pure impersonal consciousness. Śāntarakṣita[25] adopts such a view at certain places of his work to which Jayanata[26] and the *Sarvadarśana*

20. Cf. Warrier A.G. Krishna, The Concept of Mukti, pp. 119—20.
21. Studies in Lankāvatārasūtras, p. 254.
22. Sthitam Vijñānmātratve, Triṁśikā 28,
23. Aprahīṇam asaṁprāptam anucchinnam aśāśvatam. Aniruddhamanutpannam etannirvāṇamucyate. Mūlamādhyamika Kārikā XXV.
24. CCB. p. 44.
25. Muktirnirmalata dhiyaḥ. Tattva saṁgraha, 544.
26. Nirvāṇadipadākhyeyam apavargaṁ tu saugatāḥ. Santatyucchedamicchanli svacchāṁ Vā jñānasantatim. Nyāyamanjarī, Part II, p. 81.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Saṁgraha refer[27]. But it appears that Śāntaraksita's teachings on this topic need not represent those of the *Sautrāntika* school at all. On this point, the *Sautrāntikas* seem to be agreed with the *Vaibhāṣikas.*

However, the purity of consciousness in the state of *nirvāṇa* mentioned by Śāntarakṣita, applied to the *Yogāɔāra* school. But, in the *Mādhyamika's nirvāṇa,* there is no room for any sort of consciousness. That is only *Śānta* (*nirvāṇaṁ śāntam*) and *Śūnyatā.* Thus, extinction of consciousness in *nirvāṇa* is a traditional hypothesis and purity of consciousness in *nirvāṇa* seems to be an evolutionary process.

Now it will be appropriate to discuss the fourth conception of *nirvāṇa,* namely as a changeless state. Buddha says—'There is something that is not born (*ajāta*), not produced (*abhūta*), not created (*akṛta*), not compounded (*asaṁskṛta*)'[28]. The *therā* and *Therāgāthā* and *Milinnda Pañho* support the eternal reality of *nirvāṇa*[29]. Vasubandhu states that *nirvāṇa* is an *asaṁskṛta dharma* which is eternal (*nitya*)...[30]. Accordingly, most of the modern scholars hold that *nirvāṇa* is as eternal reality[31]. This only means that there is no rebirth after *nirvāṇa.* It is obvious that Buddha was led to a denial of every permanent thing. Nothing is changeless for him and every *dharma* is changing every moment *(Sarvaṁ Kṣaṇikam).*

It is, now, to be examined "Is the *nirvāṇa* a state of happiness?" The *Dhammapada* describes *nirvāṇa* as a state of bliss, crown of happiness, prefect peace, free from greed, hate and delusion.[32] In some other Pali texts *nirvāṇa* has sometimes been described as a state of bliss.[33] But it is obvious from the nature of *nirvāṇa* mentioned above, that when there is even absence of consciousness in *nirvāṇa*, how there con be any possibility of happiness? Hence, *nirvāṇa* is a state of happiness only in a secondary sense. Happiness or bliss means here the extinction of suffering. This is distinct from worldly pleasure. which is an empirical feeling.[34]

The last point to be discussed is that *nirvāṇa* is an inconceivable state or it is *avyākṛta* as held by Buddha. Poussin opines that in ancient Buddhist literature the notion of *nirvāṇa* is clear and distinct.[35] But, in fact, even in the Pali canon itself the concept of *nirvāṇa* is not clear-cut. The different descriptions of Pali texts support the inconceivability of *nirvāṇa.* The *Saṁyutta nikāya* describes—"*Nirvāṇa* is deep, immeasurable,

27. Cf. Concept of Mukti, pp. 120—121.
28. Atthi, bhikhave, ajātam abhūtam akatam asaṅkhatam, Udāna, VIII, 3.
29. cf. Concept of Mukti. p-107.
30. Nityā dharmā asaṁskṛtāḥ. AK., i. 48.
31. Poussin, The way to Nirvana, p. 57.
Dr. Radhakrishnan, Indian Philosophy, Vol. I, p-450.
32. Nibbānam paramaṁ sukham, DP., 203.
33. DP. 23, Milinda pañha, iii, 4, 8.
34. cf. Sinha J. N., HIP. Vol. II, p-331.
35. The way to Nirvana, p-57.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

unfathomable like the ocean."[36] "It is an existence that is beyond reasons and conception."[37] So far as the systems of Buddhist philosophy are concerned, according to the *Sautrāntika* and *Mādhymika* the state of *nirvāṇa* is not definite at all. For the *Sautrāntika*, *nirvāṇa* is a negative aspect and for the *Mādhyamika* it is inexpressible as existence or non-existence.

Consequenty, most of the modern scholars hold that *nirvāṇa* is an unconceivable state. Keith says—"All empirical qualifications are unfitted, to describe the ineffable."[38] Das Gupta also observes that *nirvāṇa* is indescribable in terms of worldly experience. It cannot be described as positive or negative.[39]

It is obvious, thus that the four of the conceptions regarding the nature of *nirvāṇa* are only partially acceptable. There is no doubt that *nirvāṇa* is annihilation of passion *etc.*, but not the annihilation of existence. *Nirvāṇa*, is a state of consciousness in *sopādiśeṣa* type of deliverance. But in *nirupādiśeṣa nirvāṇa* the presence of consciousness is held only by the *Yogācāra*. It is a state of bliss in *sopādiśeṣa nirvāṇa*, but not in the *nirupādiśeṣa*. Lastly, the state of *nirvāṇa*, after death, in indefinable or *avyākṛta*, but the state of *nirvāṇa* in this life. And, as Rhys Davids observes, the early Pali texts regard *niavāṇa* as a moral condition to be attained in this life.[40]

36. Saṁyutta nikāya, iv, 374.
37. *Ibid.,* iii, 109.
38. Buddhist philosophy, p. 129.
39. History of Indian Philosophy, Vol., I, p-109.
40. Buddhism, p-117.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S.P. Ahluwalia and Mrs. Santosh Narang

A STUDY OF SOME OF THE PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD-AND POOR-ACHIEVERS

In view of the growing need in the country for identifying deserving students and for ensuring superior academic achievement, especially in science and technology, the present study aimed at setting up some basic hypotheses regarding (a) nature of relationship between academic achievement and personality in general, and (b) specific similarities or differences in the personality constitution of good-achievers and poor-achievers. It went out to collect data on the eight traits, Activity, Hypomanic Temperament, Attitude to Moral Values, Dominance, Paranoid Tenency, Depressive Tendency, Emotional Unstability, and Introversion, in the good-achievers (those in the upper quartile of examination marks) and poor-achievers (those in the lower quartile) among the entire Pre-University population of the Kurukeshtra University, by administering N.N. Sen's PTI and an especially-prepared Teachers' Rating Scale, and to compute T_{DM}, $T_{D\%}$ and X^2 for the scores on both and 'yes'—responses Percentage Differences for only the former.

The values of Chi—Square were too small to speak for any relationship between achievement and personality traits, but Contingency Coefficient did give ground for surmising some sort of such relationship. Good-achievers and poor-achievers could not be differentiated on Activity, Hypomanic Temperament, and Dominance, but the discrepant achievers did show some personality differences. Good-achievers were found less unstable emotionally, and marked by less of Paranoid Tendency, Depressive Tendency, and Introversion, and more of sensitiveness to Moral Values than poor-achievers.

There is an acute dearth of verified knowledge in the field of personality-academic achievement relationship, particularly in India. Whatever of it does obtain happens to be largely biased in favour of some sort of vantage point in theory. Most of it is of American and British origin and of doubtful application on the Indian population for reasons of social and cultural disparities.

Such knowledge is, however, vitally needed for educational ends in a number of important ways. It can help the educator in locating the personality factors that go into superior academic achievement. The identification of these factors can also enable him to map out educational objectives in a manner which is contributive to best academic results. The "population explosion" that India has had and the limitations of the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

national resources have made the numbers in educational institutions vastly outstrip the available amenities, and rigorous criteria are, therefore, needed to screen the students at the time of admissions so as to accept only those who can utilise the limited educational resources most profitably. It has become almost imperative for India, in order to meet adequately the requirements for scientific advancenment in this Sputnik age in general and for her defence in particular, to be able to identify unmistakably persons capable of absorbing high-level scientific and technical training usefully, and to avoid the vast amount of unnecessary wastage that would be incurred in the absence of empirically sound selection criteria. It is heartening to find in the democratic India of the post—Independence period an increasing interest in viewing education in the context of the societal needs and values, particularly of the individual's personality.

The present study was intended to make a contribution, however modest, in the direction of fulfilling the above-mentioned genuine need in the country of setting up, from unbiased research in actual conditions, some basic hypotheses about the nature of relationship between academic achievement and personality that could serve as the basis of the criteria for identifying good-achievers and poor-achievers and differentiating between them.

The study aimed at ascertaining the personality make-up of a selected group of subjects on eight specific traits, with a view to finding out (a) whether there exists a relationship between academic achievement and personality characteristics in general, and (b) whether there are any similarities or differences in the personality constitution of the discrepant achievers.

Delimitations and Definitions :

The investigation was restricted to the territorial jurisdiction of the Kurukshetra University, involving a variety of educational institutions as well as of scholastic calibre of the students generally admitted to them: the Sports College and the University College being single-sex institutions and the College of Education a co-educational one.

Out of the total population of 261 Pre-University students (175 male and 86 female), 28 good-achievers (8 male and 20 female), and 28 poor-achievers (23 male and 5 female) could be identified, by taking only those cases whose marks both in the Matriculation and the College Terminal examination fell in the upper and lower quartiles respectively. Thus, the marks obtained by the subjects in these examinations were taken as the index of their academic achievement. Only eight personality characteristics—Activity, Hypomanic Temperament, Attitude to Moral Values, Dominance, Paranoid Tendency, Depressive Tendency, Emotional Unstability and Introversion—were studied, assuming that their study

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

would be enough to lead to generalisations about personatity—academic achievement relationship.

Whereas it was the limited purpose of the present investigation to survey specific traits and, possibly, their internal relationship with reference to academic achievement, the trait theory was conceived of in its most comprehensive and eclectic sense, without having to take a counter-position to any of the other theories of personality. In this sense personality is both analysable and a unitary concept. This approach does not go back on the "global" one, personality being thought of as an organised and integrated unit both in respect of constant traits as well as developmentally a smoothly working whole of a variety of reaction patterns. For purposes of the present study personality was, thus, thought of as a cumulative and dynamic analysable unity of both genetic as well as acquired characteristics taken as inter-acting between themselves, as also with the environment, through the development of the individual. Correspondingly, personality traits were regarded as particular qualities of behaviour which so characterise the individual as to guide his responses fairly consistently, it being assumed that their consistency would prevail over a period of time, though they are only developmentally constant at any one time.

Instruments Used :

The main instrument utilised in assessing the personality of the subjects is the Personality Traits Inventory (PTI) of Dr. N.N. Sen (Reader, Department of Psychological Foundation, *Ncert*, New Delhi), which is a pencil-and-paper questionnaire inteded to provide an index of self-reported response on eight personality traits (Activity, Hypomanic Temperament, Attitude to Moral Values, Dominance, Paranoid Tendency, Depressive Tendency Emotional Unstability, and Introversion), and their characteristic patterns in both normal and abnormal individuals.

A Rating Scale, designed specially for this study, meant for the teachers to rate the subjects (their students) on the aforementioned eight PTI traits in its Part I, and on additional eight personality qualities (one each broadly relted to the PTI traits), was used in the corroborative role.

A Personal date Questionnaire, meant to gather information on the personal and scholastic background of the subjects (e.g., number of siblings, future plans, parents' educational qualifications, monthly income of the earning members, religion, co-curricular activites, weekly hours of study, parental discipline) was administered to ensure the representativeness of the population and of the cases selected for study.

Out of these instruments, only the PTI has been validated, though partially. The constructor of the PTI validated it by (a) correlations with Maudsley Medical Questionnaire on the basis of the date from 76 Medical

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and other Degree College students (the correlations on Emotional Unstabitity, Depressive Tendency, and Introversion having come out significant beyond .01 level) and (b) obtaining results in the expected direction from its administration to a number of dichotomous groups.

Data Collection and Analysis:

The Personal Data Questionnaire and the Personality Traits Inventory were administered to the students in the group situation (that of the class-room). It was known from the respective answer of each of the students to one of the questions in the Personal Data Questionnaire as to which teacher knows him or her best. A Teachers' Rating Scale was got filled by the relevant teachers for the good—and poor—achievers only.

Analysis of the students' responses to the Personal Data Questionnaire first of the total population and then of the two contrasted groups showed that in both the cases there was a fairly wide scatter in all the variables, which indicated that the total population was verv much like the Pre-University population anywhere else in the state, and that although the selection of the sample was not scientifically random, the selected subjects did represent the cross-section of the Pre-University population.

Considering the limitations under which the study was carried out, it was decided to restrict it to only a few simple but dependable methods of data analsais. Three categories of statistical measures, viz., t_{DM}, $t_{D\%}$, and X^2 were computed. The PTI trait scores of the three groups, viz., good-achievers, average-achievers, and poor-achievers, were tabulated their means and standard deviations calculated, and thence the combined means and standard deviations for the total group computed. Moreover the statistical significance of mean-differences of the three dichotomous groups, viz., good-achievers and poor-achievers, good-achievers and the total group, and poor-achievers and the total group, on the personality trait scroes in the eight areas and the total were tested. The same procedure was followed with the analysis of the Rating Scale. As the sole purpose of the present study was to discover whether there existed some personality characteristics differentiating good-achievers from the poor-achievers, scores on the seven-point Rating Scale were analysed and the mean-differences examined statistically to corroborate the findings through the application of 't' test. Another attempt was made to differentiate good-and poor-achievers by comparing the percentage differences of 'yes'-responses for all the items of the PTI. For discovering a possible reiationship between personality characteristics and achievement, 3×3 Contingency Tables were prepared and Chi-Square and Contingency Co-efficients (C's) were computed.

(For Statistical Measures of Personality Trait Scores of Good and Poor-Achievers (PTI), and Relationship between Achievement and Personality Characteristics, see Appendix A and B respectively).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Findings :

The following findings emerged from the study :—

(1) The values of Chi-Square are found to be too small to establish relationship between achievement and any of the eight traits on the PTI. However, Contingency Co-efficients do give ground for surmising some sort of relationship between achievement and personality traits.

(2) The more certain of the findings regarding personality differentiation between the two academically contrasted groups are best presented against the respective personality traits in a tabular form as follows :

Trait on which a certain enough finding is available	*Compartive score on the PTI, Rating Scale (I) and Rating Scale (II)*	*Statistical significance*		
		PTI score Mean-Diff.	*PTI 'Yes' responses %age Diff.*	*Mean Diff. of Rating Scale (I) score*
Attitude to Moral Values	Good - achievers score higher than poor - achievers on the PTI, R. Scale (I), and R. Scale (II).	—	At .05 level on 4 items out of 8.	—
Paranoid Tendency	Good - aehievers score lower than the poor-achievers on all the three	—	At .01 level on 4 items out of 8.	—
Depressive Tendency	Good - achievers score lower than poor - achievers on all the three.	—	At .05 level on 1 out of 8	—
Emotional Unstability	Good - achievers score lower than poor - achievers on all the three.	At .05 level	—	At .01 level.
Introversion	Good - achievers score lower than poor - achievers on only PTI and R. Scale (I).	—	At .05 level.	—

Relation to Previous Research :

Holland (1959) and Lum (1960) found that, good-achievers tend to be less emotionally unstable than poor-achievers[1]. Travers (1949)

1. Holland, John L., "The Prediction of College Grades from the California Psychological Inventory and the Scholastic Aptitude Test, "*Journal of Educational Psychology*, 50 (August 1959).
"Lum, Mabel K. M., "A comparison of Under-and Over-achieving Female College Students", *Journal of Educational Phychology*, 51:3 (March 1960).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

hypothesised a positive relation between introversion and academic success.[2] The findings of the present study are identical to those of these researchers. However, this study fails to establish a relation between Dominance and good-achieving, though most research in the fieled discovers that good-achievers are characterised by dominance.[3]

Conclusions and Suggestions :

(1) The study seems to hint at a broad relationship of personality to achievement, tendency toward psychopathic traits being a hinderance to acadamic achievement.

(2) Good-achievers and Poor-achievers have many similarities, for example the groups of good-achievers and poor-achievers remain undifferentiate for purposes of the persent research on Activity, Hypomanic Temperament, and Dominance.

(3) The discrepant achievers do, nevertheless, have some characteristic personality difference. This study would hypothesise, among other things that, speaking only on one side, good-achievers are less unstable emotionally than poor-achievers. At a lower level of certainty of differenitation, though quite remarkably, the good-achievers are marked out from the opposite group by less of Paranoid Tendency, Depressive Tendency, Emotional Unstability, and Introversion, and more of sensitiveness to Moral Values.

The study seems to suggest that high inter-correlations may be expected in either of the two kinds of discrepant achievers between the four traits of Paranoid Tendency, Depressive Tendency, Emotional Unstability and Introversion. (The PTI seems to have successfully tapped what its constructor, Dr. N. N. Sen, calls a "general factor" composed of these four traits.)

The following suggestions should prove quite rewarding for further research :

(1) The present study may be replicated with a more adequate representation of the subjects in point of numbers and sub-groups like boys vs. girls, Arts vs. Science students, and the like.

---

2. Robert M. W. Travers, "Significant Research on the Prediction of Academic Success," in Donahue, W. T., et. al., eds., *The Measurement of Student Adjustment and Achievement,* University of Mich. Press, Ann Arbor, 1949.

3. Henry H. Morgan, "A Psychometric Comparison of Achieving and Non-Achieving College Students of Higher Ability," *Journal of Consulting Psych.* 16 (1952)., pp. 292-298.

John C. Gowan, "Dynamics of Under-achievement of the Gifted Students," *Exceptional Children,* 24 (Nov. 1957), pp. 98 to 101, 122.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(2) Studies to scientifically identify the trait patterns that go with discrepant achievemenst need to be made.

(3) Research should be conducted on possible steps of remedial instruction and their efficiency in removing discrepancy in the achievement of pupils.

(4) Studies of construction, standardisation and adaptation of personality measurment tools may be rewardingly carried out.

(5) Personality make-up of the dichotomous groups like delinquents and non-delinquents, home-reared and institution-reared adolescents, and the like should be investigated.

APPENDIX A

(i) Table Showing

STATISTICAL MEASURES OF PERSONALITY TRAIT SCORES OF GOOD—AND POOR-ACHIEVERS (PTI)

Variables		*A*	*HT*	*AMV*	*D*	*PT*	*DT*	*AU*	*I*	*Total*
Mean	GA	20.00	18.32	23.54	18.21	16.41	15.61	14.00	14.97	141.43
	PA	21.50	19.43	23.39	18.79	17.82	17.07	14.79	16.54	148.79
S. D.	GA	4.00	4.26	2.77	3.23	2.29	5.21	5.71	4.87	34.90
	PA	3.39	5.62	4.13	3.39	4.69	3.60	8.67	4.25	17.00
N	GA	28.00	28.00	28.00	28.00	28.00	28.00	28.00	28.00	28.00
	PA	28.00	28.00	28.00	28.00	28.00	28.00	28.00	28.00	28.00
SEM	GA	.76	.81	.52	.61	.43	.98	1.08	.92	26.74
	PA	.64	1.06	.78	.64	.82	.64	.88	.80	3.21

(ii) Table Showing

SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCE IN MEANS OF PERSONALITY TRAIT SCORES OF GOOD—AND POOR-ACHIEVERS

Personality Traits	*DN*	*SEDM*	*t*	*Interpretation*
Activity	1.50	.99	1.52	Not significant
H. Temperament	1.11	1.43	.64	Not significant
Attitude to Moral Values	0.15	.94	.16	Not significant
Dominance	0.58	.88	.66	Not significant
Paranoid Tendency	1.41	.99	1.42	Not significant
Depressive Tendency	1.46	1.19	1.23	Not significant
Emotional Unstability	3.79	1.39	2.73	Significant at .05 level
Introversion	1.57	1.22	1.29	Not significant
Total	7.36	7.21	1.02	Not significant

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

APPENDIX B

Table Showing

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACHIEVEMENT AND PERSONALITY CHARACTERISTICS

Variables *Academic Achievement and*	*Computed* X^2	*df*	*Tabulated* X^2 *.05*	 *.01*	*Interpretation*
Activity	0.48	4	9.488	13.277	Not significant
Hypomanic Temperament	3.75	4	9.488	13.277	Not significant
Attitude to Moral Values	4.96	4	9.488	13.277	Not significant
Dominance	5.21	4	9.488	13.277	Not significant
Paranoid Tendency	3.12	4	9.488	13.277	Not significant
Depressive Tendency	1.96	4	9.488	13.277	Not significant
Emotional Tendency	4.26	4	9.488	13.277	Not significant
Introversion	1.15	4	9.488	13.277	Not significant
Total	0.74	4	9.488	13.277	Not significant

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

POLITICAL SCIENCE

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

J.R. Siwach

PRESIDENT AND HIS POWERS OF GIVING ASSENT TO BILLS IN INDIA

The bills after they are passed by both the Houses of Parliament, are sent to the President[1] who may either give his assent, or withhold it or may return the bill as soon as possible after its presentation to him, if it is not a Money Bill with a message requesting that the bill, either as a whole or some of its provisions specified thereof, be reconsidered. If the bill is so returned and passed again by both the Houses with or without the amendment and presented to him for assent, the President shall not withhold it. Unlike the President of the U.S.A., who "has ten days in which to decide whether to sign or veto a bill, or let it become law without his signatures[2]" no time limit has been fixed within which he should give his assent or withhold it. Infact, in the Draft Constitution it was provided that the President was to give or withhold his assent or to return it for reconsideration within a period of six[3] weeks, but at a later stage Dr. Ambedkar moved that "for the words 'not latter than six weeks' the words 'as soon as possible' be substituted"[4]. Hence, at present the Constitution does not specify any time limit within which he is to give or with hold his assent and there are cases where the assent has been kept pending for years together, for example, "The Madras Legislature passed a bill banning the advocacy of secession a few years back and sought Presidential assent for it...the assent was being withheld (uptil now i.e., September)"[5]. This was a bill reserved by the Governor for the consideration of the President under Art. 201. This is something really very serious because in this case the President has neither given his assent, nor declared that he is withholding it, nor returned the bill to the State Legislature for reconsideration. He may do the same thing with the laws passed by the Parliament because Art. 201 with the exception of a proviso is a carbon copy of Art. 111. It may, however, be asked : does not the phrase "as soon as possible" used in the proviso of Art. 111 fix some time limit for giving or withholding assent ? Answer is in the negative, firstly because this phrase is quite vague and according to H.V. Kamath "no body knows what...as soon as means. We know in the Legislature ministers are in the habit of answering questions by saying "as soon as possible" when we ask "when will this

1. Art. 111.
2. Bernard Schwart Z, "A Commentry on the Constitution of United States", Vol. II, p. 31.
3. *Constitmeut Assembly Debates* (Hereafter it will be referred to as C.A.D.) Vol. VIII, p. 192.
4. *Ibid.*
5. The Indian Express, May 6, 1966.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

thing be done ?" The answer is, "as soon as possible or very soon". But six months latter, the same question is put and the answer is again "as soon as possible or very soon." This phrase is vague, purposeless and meaningless and it should not find a place in the Constitution; especially in an Article of this nature where we specify that the President must do a thing within a certain period[6]". This fact was accepted even by Dr. Ambedkar when he said, "I think 'as soon as possible' may be worked in such a manner that the matter may be placed before Parliament within one month, within two months, or may be even a fortnight. It is a most elastic phrase[7]."

Secondly, even this vague phrase 'as soon as possible' is not used in connection with giving or with holding assent. If it were to be so, then this ph rase should have been used in the first part of the Art and not in the proviso because deais with the third alternative given to the President which is entirely different from giving assen or with holding it. It should be noted that under the Proviso it is not obligatory for him to send a bill back for raconsideration, because the Proviso says that the Presieent 'May' send it back for reconsideration. The use of the word 'May' instead of 'shall' certainly gives some amount of option to the President whether he should send a particular bill back for reconsideration or not. If it was to be obligatory for him to send all those bills back for reconsideration from which assent has been with held, then the framers would have used the word "shall" and not "May" in the Proviso 'for sending bills back for reconsideration'. It is of course a fact, that the word "May" some times certainly means "shall"[8] but this is not the case here because the word "shall" has been used twice in this very Article for giving or with holding assent and the same could have been used for sending bills back for reconsideration, if it was to be obligatory for the President to do so. This contention is proved by the fact that the phrase "if the bill is passed again with or without amendment and presented to the President for assent, the President shall not with-hold assent therefrom" is closely related to the bills which are sent back for reconsideration and not with the bill which are vetoed. The phrase "if the bill is passed again with or without amendment" clearly refers to the amendments which are recommended by the President in his message. But whenever, the President vetoes a bill, it is not necessary for him to suggest amendments. He may give reasons of vetoeing a bill but giving reasons and suggesting amendments are altogether different things. This, he may do because a particular bill, may be unacceptable to him, as he may consider it, to be against the national interests.

Dr. P.S. Desmukh, while speaking on this point said that, "the question of with holding assent is not likely to arise unless the President

6. C.A.D., Vol. VIII, pp. 194-95.
7. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 551.
8. Supreme Court Reports (Hereafter it will be referred to as S.C R.) 1950, p. 51

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

finds himself under circumstances where he actually differs from and disagrees with the recommendations of the party and the government in power. Under these circumstances it is correct to presume that there is a conflict between the views taken by the Prime Minister or the government of the day and the President and when such a conflict arises there must be some solution of which the Present House must think of and must make a clear provision with regard to this question so as to solve the difficulty of disagreement between the President and the Prime Minister"[9]. In fact, in order to meet this objection of Dr. P.S. Desmukh that there is no provision for over riding the veto of the President, Dr. Ambedkar moved this amendment that "If the Bill is passed again by the House with or without amendment and presented to the President, the President shall not with-hold his assent"[10]. But the mistake committed is that the phrase is not placed at a proper place. In its present from it only covers the bills which are sent back for reconsideration, bnt not the bills from which the assent has been with held. It should have been expressly mentioned that the bills from which the assent has been with held, if they are passed again in the same form, the President shall not with hold his assent. The mere fact that this amendment was moved to cover the Presidential veto does not in any way alter the present Constitutional position and the President, by with holding his assent can kill a bill finally[11].

It may, however, be argued that to kill a bill by with holding his assent is against the spirit of the Constitution and also against the intention of the framers. On this point, the Supreme Court has already decided that "an argument founded on what is claimed to be the spirit of the Constitution is always attractive for it has a powerful appeal to sentiments and emotions but a court of law has to gather the spirit of the Constitution from the language of the Constitution. What one may believe or think to be the spirit of the Constitution cannot prevail if the language of the Constitution does not support that view[12]". It is a fact that the "words do matter. They are the tools with which we manipulate ideas, and political ideas require to be handled accurately[13]". Attempts have quite often been

9. CAD., Vol. VIII, p. 194.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Uptill now only on one occasion, since the commencement of the Constitution,the the President has refused his assent to a bill but on that occasion too he refused it purely on a technical ground. What did happen on that occasion was that the Parliament passed the PEPSU Appropriation bill on March 8, 1954 and presented it for his assent. t was, however, discovered latter on that the Presidential proclamation which authorised Parliament to leglslate for that state had been revoked one day earlier that is on March 7. In other words when Parliament passed the bill it had no Constitutional authority to do so. The President, therefor, refused the assent but it was on the advice of the law ministry. This incidently shows that there may be occasion when the ministry itself may have to advise the President to withhold assent from the bills introduced by it.
12. D.N. Bannerjee, "Our Fundamental Rights", p. 46.
13. R.W.K. Hinton, "Parliamentry Affairs, 1959-60", Vol. 13, p. 297.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

made to persuade the Supreme Court that a Constitutional provision meant what some speakers in the Constituent Assembly had said. In the state of Travancore-Cochin V. Bombay Co. Ltd. Allepy the Supreme Court has held "that the speeches made in the Constituent Assembly in the course of debate on the Draft Constitution cannot be used in interpreting an article of the Constitution[14]". In the case of Bengal immunity Co. Ltd. V. the State of Bihar, "it had the distinction of hearing the chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Constituent Assembly argue before it what certain constitutional provisions were intended to mean. It refused to seek help from such sources where the provisions were plain and clear[15]". Even our political leaders have followed the letter of the Constitution more, than its spirlt; for example, when the proclamation regarding the failure of the Constitutional machinery in Kerala, was being discussed, Mr. Bhupesh Gupta demanded that the Governor's report should be placed on the table of the House. To this Pandit G.B. Pant, the then House Minister, replied :—

> "The Constitution lays down that the proclamation shall be laid on the table of the House. I have carried out that mandatory direction of the Constitution...Then Sir, this article 356 lays down that after considering the Governor's report and such other information, the President will issue a proclamation. Well the authors of the Constitution used these three words simultaneously in this very Clause-governor's report; information, proclamation. They laid it down that the proclamation should be laid on the table. It was open to them to say that not only the proclamation but also the report and information should be laid on the table of the House...Thus it is evident that the authors of the Constitution did not contemplate that the report and other information should be laid before House."[16]

Hence, the plea that the killing of bills by with holding assent is against the spirit of the Constitution or against the intention of the framers does not hold good and in the absence of clear Provisions, in this respect, the President can constitutionally prevent a bill from becoming an act by with holding his assent and when he does so it is not obligatory on his part to return the bill.

In U.S.A. "Return of a bill on veto is not merely a matter of ceremony between executive and legislative branches of the government. It is an act of the executive unequivocally to evidence his disapproval of the bill, and thereby to confer jurisdiction on the legislature to make the bill a law in spite of his disapproval."[17] If it were to be so in India, then the

14. S.R. Sharma, "Supreme Court in Indian Constitution", p. 64.
15. S.C.R., 1955, p. 603.
16. Rajya Sabha Debates, Aug. 10, 1959, pp. 93-94.
17. Harold M. Dorr, "Judicial interpretation of the executive veto in Michigan", American Political Science Review, 1934, Vol. XXVIII, p. 1061.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

provisions mentioned in the Proviso of Art. 111 would have also applied to the bills, from which the assent has been withheld. But in India the position in this respect seems to be quite different because if the President wants to withhold his assent from a particular bill, then he is simply to declare it, instead of returning it to the Parliament. The word "declare" does not mean that it should be done by way of public notification. To declare an assent is nothing more than an assertion of the fact of assent having been given. It does not require assertion in a particular form."[18] Same is the case in respect of withholding the assent. Hence, with holding an assent from a bill does not imply that it will be returned or sent back and therefore, the provisions mentioned in the proviso of Art. 111 does not apply to the cases where assent has been withheld. In fact, the bill is to be returned not after the assent has been with held but before it is withheld but before it is withheld and the Parliament by itself cannot reconsider the bills unless they are sent back by the President for this purpose.

This contention is supported by the Proviso of Art. 111 which clearly says that the President is to return the bill after its "Presentation to him of a bill for assent". This proviso does not say that the Bill is to be returned for reconsideration after the assent has been withheld. More, over, the phrase, that the President is to return the "Bill to the Houses with a message requesting that they will reconsider the Bill or any specified provision thereof and in particular, will consider the desirability of introducing any such amendments as he may recommend in his message" also supports the same contention. This is so because, when he withholds his assent, there is no need of *Requesting* and sending a message for *Reconsideration* or *Recommending Amendments.* If he is to request or recommend amendments, then he should do it before the assent is with held and not after withholding it, *e.g.* when the President recommended the reconsideration of certain provisions of Kerala Education Bill 1957 and Madhya Pradesh Panchayat Act 1961 he did so not after withholding his assent but before doing so. This means for sending a bill back for reconsideration, the declaration of withholding of an assent is not a precondition.

But it is just possible that some people may still argue that proviso of Art. 111 deals with all those bills from which assent has been withheld and it makes it obligatory for the President to return all such bills. If this line of argument is accepted, then the President has the power of Vetoeing the MONEY Bills at least, because proviso of Art. 111 expressly prevents the President, from sending the Money Bills back for reconsideration, To Money Bills, either the assent is to be given or it is to be with held. If it is withheld, then the parliament has no power to override his veto because the method prescribed by the proviso of Art. 111, for

18. K.C. Gajapati Naryara Deo V. State of Orissa, A.I.R, 1953, Orissa 185.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

overridding the Presidential veto, deals only with those bills which are sent back for reconsideration and Money Bills can not be sent back for this purpose. This means the President has got the final power of with-holding his assent from the Bills, except those which he sends back for reconsideration. But this power will be exercised by him only when he has a following in the Parliament sufficient enough to save him from impeachment.

Returning Bills for Reconsideration

Besides, assenting to bills or with-holding assent therefrom, the President may also return the bills for reconsideration with a message that the bill be re-considered, partially, totally or it be withdrawn. The President recommends partial reconsideration when a particular provision in the bill is either unconstitutional as was the case with the Kerala Education Bill, 1957 or when a particular provision of the bill is against the directive principles of the state policy as was the Madhya Pradesh Panchyat Act of 1961. The President may also return a bill with a message that the bill may be dropped. Such a case arose "in Bihar Legislative Assembly on 18 January, 1951. It appears that the President sent a message to the Bihar Legislature, recommending the dropping of the Bihar Black Marketing Bill which has been reserved by the Governor for his assent. The Speaker ruled, and it seems he was right in ruling that, the message was not inconsistent with the provisions of the Constitution[19]." Whenever, the Bill is returned for reconsideration, it has to be reconsidered accordingly, "but if the Bill is passed again by both the Houses with or without amendment and presented to the President for assent, the President shall not with-hold his assent[20]."

After the Bill is sent back, whether the bill as a whole is to be reconsidered or only certain specified provisions thereof, will depend upon the message of the President and it appears as if Parliament has no power to deviate from the message in this respect, because the Proviso of Art. 111, clearly says "the Houses shall reconsider the Bill accordingly". The use of the word 'accordingly' in this phrase is quite meaningful because it means according to the message sent.

It may, however, be further asked in this connection as to whether, the Parliament is to consider only those amendments which are suggested by the President or it can make any other amendment it likes, when a bill is sent back for reconsideration. The Proviso of Art. 111 says that the Houses "in particular, will consider the desirability of introducing any such amendments as he may recommend in his message". This means that besides considering the amendment as suggested by the President; the Houses can make other amendments as well. But the rules 132 and 134

19. Mukherjee, "Parliamentary procedure in India", p. 185.
20. Art. 111.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of the House of the people, framed in this respect say that "the debate on such motion shall be confined to a consideration of matters referred to in the message of the President or to any suggestion relevant to the subject matter of the amendments, recommended by the President, and no further amendment shall be moved to the Bill unless it is consequential upon, incidental or alternative to an amendment recommended by the President". But in case, if an amendent other than those suggested by the President is made than the President is not Constitutionally bound to give his assent when the bill comes before him for the second time because in that case it become a new bill. However, if the bill is passed either with the amendments as suggested by the President or without any amendments, then the President shall not with hold his assent.

It may, however, be asked again if the President returns the bill on the ground that in the opinion of the Supreme Court some of its provisions are unconstitutional (as was done in the case of the Kerala Education Bill 1957), the Kerala Aggrerian Bill, 1957, but instead of accepting the amend ments as suggested by the President, both the Houses pass the bill in the same form without any amendment, then question will arise, what should the President do in that case ? Should he give his assent to a bill which he knows is unconstitutional and thereby violate the oath of office or should he withhold his assent ; in spite of the fact, that it has been passed again and thereby violate Art. 111 ? If the bill is sent back for reconsideration on the ground of its unconstitutionality but passed again, then the President will have to give his assent to it because it is a mandatory provision of the Constitution.

In America President "Franklin Roosevelt in at least one case, signed a bill with the statement that one of its provisions was "not only unwise and discriminatory but also unconstitutional."[21] Even if the President had sought the opinion of the Supreme Court he should not with-hold his assent if the bill is passed again, because "the advisory opinion is not a judicial pronouncement"[22] and "the opinion would not prevent the Supreme Court from giving a contrary decision, if the validity of the measure, after its enactment, is impeached before the Supreme Court in a proper case."[23]

Another point which may be asked in connection with the bills returned for reconsideration is, as to whether the President can refer a bill to the Supreme Court for knowing its constitutional validity, after it has been passed for a second time by the Parliament. In fact, the President may consult the Supreme Court at any stage but ordinarily he should consult the Supreme Court at the first instance, so that the members of the Parliament may be benefited by it before taking a final decision.

21. Bernard Schwartz, "A Commentry on the Constitution of United States", Part II, p. 32.
22. In Re-Estate duty, A. 1944 F.C. 73 (74-5).
23. Umayal V. Lakshmi, A. 1945 F.C. 25 (36) **Lands and buildings.**

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It may further be noted in this connection that the President may send back for reconideration not only the bills which are passed by both the Houses of Parliament separately but also the bills passed by both the House at a joint sitting according to Art. 108 (4) of the Constitution. Since such a bill is to "be deemed for the purposes of this Constitution to have been passed by both the Houses", therefore, it in no way differs from those bills which are passed separately by both the Houses. But when a bill passed at a joint sitting is to be returened then a further question will arise as to whether such a bill is to be reconsidered by both the Houses separately or at a joint sitting ? As there is no express provision in the Constitution which provides for the reconsideration of the bills at a joint sitting, therefore, it appears that the bill have to be reconsidered separately in the first instance and for that purpose the President will return the bill to the House in which it originated.[24]

Another question which may be asked in this respect is, whether the President can send a bill back for reconsiaderation after the House of the People which passed it; has been dissolved and a new one, in its place has been elected. Since the dissolution of the House of the People neither affects the position of the bills after they are passed by both the Houses, nor the powers of the President for sending a bill back for reconsideration, therefore, it seems as if the President can do so. But the use of the phrase 'as soon as possible' in connection with the bills to be sent back for reconsideration is quite significant and it indirectly implies that ordinarily the President should do so immediately and in the same session if possible, which again means to the House that has passed it. Had this not been the sense, then the phrase 'as soon as possibe' would not have been used in the Proviso of Art. 111, which is significantly missing in the previous clauses of the same Article.

The bills from which the assent has been withheld by the President do not automatically go back to the Parliament for reconsideration. Reconsideration is possible only when he returns the bill before withholding his assent therefrom and the power of withholding assent should be used where the power of returning bill either fails or it is expected to fail.

According to Art. 111 the President can send all the Bills back for reconsideration except Money bills.[25] But this is not a fact because there is at least one more category of bills which cannot be sent back for reconsideration. In that category come the bills which are concerned with the amendment of the Constitution. Unlike Art. 111, Art. 368 does not empower him to return the bills back for reconsideration.

Ministerial Advice And Art. 111

One of the ticklish questions which may be asked is, should the power of Assenting to Bills, withholding it, or returning bills for reconsideration

24. D.D. Basu, "Commentry on the Constitution of India", 5th Ed., Vol. 2, p. 688.
25. Art. 111.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

be exercised by the President on the advice of the cabinet or independently? According to Art. 74 (1) of the Constitution the Council of Ministers is 'to aid and advise the President in the execution of his function'. Though this Art. does not say that the Council of Ministers is to aid and advise the President in the execution of *all his functions*, yet it can be presumed that it is so. But this does not mean that the President must perform all the executive and legislative functions purely according to the advice of the Ministers. There are certain executive and legislative functions in which the President, instead of acting on the advice of the Council of Ministers, may exercise his individual Judgement. According to the Supreme Court of U.S.A. "the veto is a legislative function,"[26] but the President being a part of the Legislative process,[27] may in determining whether to impose his negative approach on bills presented to him "with much the same view point as do members of the Congess themselves when they are called upon to vote on measures before them."[28] Thus it will not be unconstitutional on the part of the President if he exercises his individual judgement in assenting to bills or witholding his assent therefrom. The President while "approving a law...is not supposed to act in the capacity of executive magistrate of the state but as a part of the Legislative branch of the government"[29] and it is expected that before giving his assent the President must ensure that

(i) both the houses of Parliament have passed the bill in identical language;

(ii) the measure has been passed in a manner prescribed by the Constitution, for example, if it is a Constitution amendment bill, then the procedure prescribed by Art. 368 has been strictly followed.

He should not go simply by the advice of the Council of Ministers unless he assures himself about these points. Once President Rajendra Prasad[30] said that it is quite clear at least that the President cannot give his assent to the bills unless, he knows the details of the law including its background which is prepared by ministry. If the President feels that a particular measure is against the best interests of the country and its people, then he may withhold his assent. It is not necessary that he should withhold his assent only when a particular bill is unconstitutional. The question whether the President can interpose his veto on any ground deemed by himself desirable, or he should intervene solely to prevent an unconstitutional Bill was quite current during the early days

26. "American Political Science Review", 1934, p. 1058.
27. Richard, E. Neustadi, "The President's Power," p. 33.
28. Bernard Schwartz, "A Commentry on the Constitution of United States", Vol. II, p. 30.
29. "Amrican Political Science Review", 1934, p. 1058.
30. Balmiki Chaudhry, "Diary of Rastrapati Bhawan" (Hindi), Vol. I, p. 212.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of the American Republic. But it was "put to rest by Andrew Jackson who used his power to veto bills, he deemed objectionable on their merit. Since Jackson's time, his practice has been consistently followed. Certainly for a century, it has universally been recognised that the President may approve or veto a bill for any reason which may commend themselves to him. The power given to "approve" legislation is too broad to be construed only to permit the President to withhold his signature on the ground of invalidity."[31] In India too the President has refused assent on the grounds other than unconstitutionality, for example, the President returned the Madhya Pradesh Panchayat bill, 1961, on the ground that the provision made in the bill for nomination of Panchayats at the block level was undemocratic and contrary to the spirit of Panchayat Raj. "The President accordingly directed the Governor to return the bill to the State Legislature to get it passed after deleting objectionable features."[32]

In fact, the power to withold assent is given to the President so that he may exercise it "when he is satisfied with the unwisdom of the course taken by the Legislative body. He fails in his constitutional duty if he hesitates to make use of it, when he is convinced that the action of the Legislature is detrimental to the interests and welfare of the people of state.[33] whenever he does so it is expected that ordinarily it will be against the advice of the Council of Ministers because hardly any bill can be passed against the wishes of ministers. In fact, it was pointed out by Dr. P. S. Desmukh[34] in the Constituent Assembly that the President may excercise this power of assenting bills or withholding assent, even, against the advice of the Prime Minister and this position was accepted even by Dr. Ambedkar himself. If the President was to act solely on the advice of the Prime Minister in this respect, then there was hardly any need for such a provision in the Constitution.

This contention that the President is to exercise the power of assenting bills or withholding it therefrom, independently, is further supported by the fact that the President has been empowered to take advice from the Supreme Court in all cases where, "a question of law or fact has arisen, or is likely to arise, which is of such a nature and of such a public importance that it is expedient to obtain the opinion of supreme Court upon it ...."[35]. It is just possible that some of the bills passed by the Parliament may seem to him of a doubtful constitutional validity. In that case, instead of accepting the advice of the cabinet, he would like to know the opinion of the Supreme Court and much against the wishes of the Council of Ministers, he may either send a bill back to the Parliament

31. Bernard Schwartz, "A Commentry on the Constitution of United States," Vol. II, p. 30.
32. Basu, "Commentry on the Constitution of India", 4th Ed., Vol. III, p. 303.
33. Glenn R. Negley, "American Political Science Review", 1939, pp. 1056-57.
34. C.A.D., Vol. VIII, p. 194.
35. Art. 143 (1).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

for reconsideration or may withhold his assent from it, if it is unconstit tional. Another proof of this fact is that under Art. 201 the Governer may reserve certain Bills for the consideration of the President. In respect of such bills, the President instead of acting on the advice of the Council of Ministers, should act independently, particularly when that state is being controlled by a party in opposition to the party in power at the centre. Otherwise the Presidential power of assenting to the state Bill is likely to be used for blocking the state legislation for discrediting the opposition party. This may check the growth of democratic opposition parties in the states and it will facilitate the continuance of one party rule throughout the territories of India.

"It is impossible to argue, because the power of Veto has by political practice fallen into disuse in England, that the Indian President was given a power of Veto over legislation with intent that he should not use it. The Irish and Burmese Constitutions clearly deny the veto to the Presidents of those countries. If it was intended that the Indian President's Veto should only be exercised in the case of private members' bills, the Constitution could have explicitly said so"[36]. In fact it was moved in the Constituent Assembly that the President should not have the power of withholding[37] his assent from the bills. This amendment was moved to make the position of the President analogus to the King in England" as the King has no power of dissenting from any bill passed by Parliament[38]". But this amendment was not accepted by Dr. Ambedkar[39]. The President is regarded as the protector of the people's rights and interests as against the action of the people's representatives in the legislatures who some times may act purely on partisan lines. If the legislature does not protect the rights of the people and enacts bad laws then the People are bound to look to the Executive Head as not "the executive concerned with administrative duties but paradoxically as the executive concerned with the protection and maintenance of people's rights and interests against the representatives of the people"[40]. Therefore, the power of giving assent or withholding it is to be exercised by the President not on the advice of the Council of Ministers but independently. But the position of the crown in this respect is quite different, "If the crown is opposed to a measure at the present day, it would either attempt to dissuade the ministry from introducing it, or ask it to make the issue clear by an appeal to the nation by disolution: if the nations bows itself in favour of the measure the crown must yield. If the ministry refused to dissolve and determined to demand assent to a bill under Parliament Act, 1911, the king would have to yield or to dismiss them"[41].

36. Gledhill, "The Republic of India", p. 104.
37. C.A D., Vol. VIII, p. 191.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 192.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 195.
40. American Political Science Review", 1939, p. 1051.
41. Keith, "Constitutional Law", p. 106.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Similarly, the power of sending bills back for reconsideration is to be exercised indenpendently. Ordinarily it is unthinkable for the Council of Ministers to ask for the amendment or for a reconsideration of a measure which is piloted by it and there is hardly any bill which can be passed by the Parliament against the wishes of the Cabinet, unless it is a minority government.

It should also be noted in this connection that when the President wants to give assent to a particular bill he will have to sign it and this function cannot be delegated to the officers subordinate to him under Art. 53 (1). The question whether the function of signing the bills can be delegated or not was raised by Shri K. Santhanam in the Constituent Assembly who asked, "does it mean that a bill passed by the legislature could be signed by an officer subordinate to the President"[42]. To this, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, who was the President of the Constituent Assembly replied that Art. 53 (1) "relates to the executive power and not to the Legislative powers. Signing of bills, I suppose, comes under the Legislative power"[43]. Shri T. T. Krishnamchari[44] who was piloting this Art. 53(1) on behalf of the Drafting Committee agreed to it. "The President may delegate his appointment power and thus be relieved from signing unimportant commissions. He could not delegate his power to sign the laws and treaties"[45]. But in England "the Royal assent is generally given by commission and not in person". The Royal assent is rarely given in person, the last occasion being on 12 August, 1854, when Queen Victoria attended and gave her assent to several bills, and afterwards delivered the usual speech before the Progation of Parliament."[46] In this respect the position of the Indian President differs from the Queen of England.

Can the President give a Qualified Assent ?

According to the Constitution if the President wants to give his assent to a particular bill, he should simply do it without any reservation. In this respect the powers of the Presidents of U.S.A. and India are analogous. "According to the highest court, the only duty required of the President in regard to a bill which he approves is that he shall sign it—nothing more"[47].

Constitutional Amendment and Presidential Assent :

Constitutional amendment bill in the U.S.A., does not require Presidential assent. "It is settled that a proposed Constitutional amendment passed by two Houses need not be presented to the President". This

42. C.A,D., Vol, 10, p. 353.
43. *Ibid.*
44. *Ibid.*
45. J.A. Laponce, "The Government of the Fifth Republic", p. 195.
46. Sir T.E. May's Parliamentary Practice, pp. 592-93.
47. Bernard Schwartz, "Commentry on the Constitution of United States", Vol. II p. 32.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

has been established since 1798 when Justice Chase stated that "the negative of the President applies only to the ordinary cases of legislation. He has nothing to do with the proposition or adoption of amendments to the Constitution."[48] But in India unlike the U.S.A., after a bill for the amendment of the Constitution has been passed, it has to be presented to the President[49] for his assent and ordinarily the veto power is implied in the power of assent. "Nothing in the Constitution prevents the President of the Republic from using his 'power to validate' as a veto power"[50]. But in India this is not the case because his power of giving assent does not include the power of vetoeing it. This contention is proved by the fact that Art. 111 speaks of his power of assenting to bills and withholding it. If the veto power had been implied in the power to assent, then Art. 111 which gives the President the power to assent, would not have mentioned about the power of withholding assent. Since Art. 368 merely says that after the amendment bill is passed "it shall be presented to the President for his assent and upon such assent being given to the bill, the Constitution shall stand amended in accordance with the terms of the bill". This means, the power of withholding assent which is given to him under Art. 111 has been denied to him under Art. 368. Hence, he cannot withhold his assent from a Constitutional amendment bill, provided that it is passed in a manner as prescribed by the Constitution. Nor can he send it back for reconsideration because unlike Art. 111, even this power is denied to him under Art. 368.

State Legislation and Presidential Assent :

In a strictly federal constitution, ordinarily the constituent units are completely autonomous within sphere allowed to them by the constitution and the federal executive has no power to veto laws passed by them. This is the position in U.S.A. and Australia. But in India, the President has been empowered not only to withhold his assent from the bills passed by the Parliament, but also to veto the bills passed by the state legislature, if they are reserved for the consideration of the President by the Governor and the Governor must reserve a bill for the consideration of the President, if it, in his opinion, will effect the Constitutional position of the High Court if passed. Since the state Legislatures have exclusive law-making power on the matters relatings to the jurisdiction and powers of all the courts within their territorial jurisdiction, it is just possible that this power may be used by them for limiting the jurisdiction and powers of the High Court and for transferring the same to the inferior courts. All such bills must be reserved by the Governor for the consideration of the President because the Constitution[51] clearly provides that the Governor shall not assent to them. If the Governor, by mistake gives an assent to any such

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.
49. Art. 368.
50. J.A. Laponce, "The Government of the Fifth Republic", p. 195,
51. Art. 200.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

bill, it can be challenged on the ground that the Governor is not competent to give assent to such bills. Such a challenge, in fact, was made in "Prem Narain V. State of U.P.A. 1960, Art. 205 (207)"[52]. But every bill that affects the powers of the High Court need not necessarily be reserved under this proviso; it must endanger the constitutional position of the High Court. This view has been accepted by Allahabad High Court in Prem Narain[53] V. State of U.P.

However, bills, other than those relating to the High Court, may also be reserved by the Governor for the consideration of the President under Art. 201. But ordinarily the Governors reserve those bills for the consideration of the President which they think are either of doubtful constitutional[54] validity or which violate the directive principles of state policy[55] or which are likely to cloth with union Legislation or policy or require uniformity in Legislation.[56] Whenever, the bill is reserved for his consideration he may give his assent to it or he may withhold it or he may send it back for reconsideration if it is not a Money Bill, but unlike Art. 111 the President is not required to send it back 'as soon as possible' when he wants to return a bill, he will send it to the Governor and not to the State Legislature directly because Proviso of Art. 201 clearly says that "the President may direct the Governor to return the bill to the House or, as the case may be, the Houses of the Legislature of the State." When a bill is so returned it must be considered within a period of six months from the date of receipt of such message and if it is again passed by the House or Houses with or without amendment, it shall be again presented to the President for his consideration but unlike Art. 111, the President is under no obligation to give assent to a bill even if it is passed for the second time by the State Legislature. This means, the bills reserved for his consideration can be killed by the President simply by not assenting to them. But ordinarily it is expected that the President will withhold his assent, either upon the federal principle, that is, where the proposed law is likely to clash with some union legislation or policy or where it is not quite safe to leave the constitutionality of a state law to be determined by the courts, *e.g.*, where there is a patent violation of some fundamental right or unconstitutionality on some other ground upon which authoritative judicial opinion may have already been available; or a violation of the directive principles of the state policy as regards which aunulment by court is not open. Another salutory object may be the safeguarding of uniformity in Legislation ; *i.e.*, the avoidance of diversity in principle (as distinguished from detail) between laws of different states relating to the same subject. Perhaps the President may also use his

52. Basu, "Commentry on the Constitution of India", Vol. 3, p. 300.
53. *Ibid*.
54. (a) Kerala Education Bill (b) Kerala Agrarian Bill 1957.
55 Madhya Pradesh Panchayat Bill 1961.
56. Bill banning the advocacy of secession (Indian Express, May 6, 1966).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

powers where legislation by one state unnecessarily affects the legitimate interest of another state or its citizens"[57].

It should, however, be noted that whenever, the Governor issues an ordinance on matters mentioned in sub clause a, b, and c of cl (1) of Art. 213, in pursuance of instructions from the President, further reservation of the ordinance for the assent of the President under Art. 254 (2) would not be required[58]. The actual importance of this power becomes evident when an account is taken of the fact that the Governor is appointed by the President, holds office during his discretion and therefore, simply cannot go against his wishes. Through Governor, that is by asking him to reserve bills for his consideration, he can very easily interfere with the course of state legislation and thereby may even undermine, indirectly the federal scheme altogether in this field. "It is nowhere enjoined that the Governor, in making such a reference, should act on the advice of his Council of Ministers. Though Constitutional experts are of the opinion that the Governor has no authority to act on his own, this interpretation is not implicit in the express provistons of the Constitution. Nor is any remedy provided if the Governor were to act on his own responsibility in making such a reference"[59]. In fact, the President has sent message to the Legislatures not only to amend certain unconstitutional provisions of the bill reserved for his consideration but also to drop the bills altogether as was done in the case of Bihar Black Marketing Bill[60]. He may, by prepenting the state Legislatures, from enacting laws, for implementing the election pledges, given to the people at the time of the election, undermine the very basis of domocrary. Hence this is quite dangerous power given to him because he can stop the working of a state Legislative machinery at any time, through the instrumentality of the Governor.

Another surprising Legislative power in the field of state Legislation is given to the President by Art. 254 (2).[61] The intention of this Art. is to bring about a certain amount of flexibility in the scheme of distribution of powers between the Centre and the States, so far asthe concurrent list is concerned. This Art. provides that the law made by the State Legislature

57. Basu, "Commentry on the Constitution of India", Vol. 3, p. 362.
58. Laxmi Bai V. State of M.P., A.I.R., 1957. Nag 94 as quoted by Basu, Vol. II, 3rd ed., p. 46.
59. Ashok Chanda, "Federalism in India", pp. 98-99.
60. Mukherjee, "Parliamentary procedure in India", p. 185.
61. Where a law made by the Legislature of a State with respect to one of the matters enumerated in the concurrent list contains any provision repugnant to the provisions of an earlier law made by Parliament or on existing law with respect to that matter, then, the law so made by the Legislature of such a state shall, if it has been reserved for the consideration of the President, and has received his assent prevail in that state; provided that nothing in this clause shall prevent Parliament from enacting at any time any law with respect to the same matter including a law leadding to amending, varying or repealing the law so made by the Legislature of the State.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

on the concurrent list, with the approval of the President is to prevail over the law passed by the Parliament. Though the Parliament, may, by a subsequent legislation, add to, amend, vary or repeal the law so[62] made, yet the President may again give his assent to a state bill on the same subject and thereby limit the scope of the central legislation. It should be noted in this connection that under the Government of India Act 1935, once a provincial law became valid with the assent of the Governor General, the Federal Legislature had no right to amend or repeal the law without his previous sanction.[63] Thus, if the President is adamant in limiting the scope of the central legislation with respect to the matters mentioned in the concurrent list he can do so, firstly, by giving an assent to a state legislation in spite of the already existing parliamentry legislation on the subject, and then by refusing assent to bills passed by the Parliament with the intention of repealing or amending the state bill. By this policy, the President can considerably curtail the law making powers of both the Houses of Parliament on the subjects mentioned in the concurrent list. In fact the Constitution has made his position that of an arbitrator in respect to the matters mentioned in the concurrent list. In this respect his position is more or less the same as was the position of the Governor General under the Act of 1935.

62. Asok Chanda, "Federalism in India", p. 96.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

P.N. Mital

PRIVILEGE AGAINST SELF-INCRIMINATION AND THE AMERICAN SYSTEM

According to Wigmore the duty of the citizen to testify before lawful tribunals and society's right to every man's evidence have been recognized for well over three hundred years.[1] All privileges of exemption from this duty are exceptional. The privilege represents a compromise between the interest of a witness in not being compelled to testify against himself and the competing interest of others in full disclosure of relevant evidence.[2]

The privilege against compulsory self-incrimination grew up in England as a revolt against procedures, especially those in the ecclesiastical courts and the Court of the Star Chamber, whereby persons were questioned by the judges in order both to get evidence on which to accuse them and to secure a confession from them after they were accused. Wigmore considers the history of the privilege against self-incrimination as a history of more than ordinary interest. According to him there are two "distinct and parallel lines of development". The first is the history of the opposition to the 'ex-officio oath' of the ecclesiastical courts, and the second is the history of the opposition to the criminating question in the Common-law courts. The first part begins in the 1200s and lasts well into the 1600s; the second part begins in the early 1600s, and runs on for another century.[3]

The disappearance of the practice of interrogation is often attributed to the abuses of the Court of High Commission, and the Court of the Star Chamber especially in John Lilburn's case. However, Lilburn's protest was against interrogation in the absence of a formal accusation, not against interrogation as such. Though on Lilburn's petition the Parliament abolished the Court of Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission for Ecclesiastical Causes, yet there was no acknowledgement of any privilege in Common Law trials in 1600s. The practice of interrogation of the accused and the use of torture in the presence of the court to extract confession continued until the 1700s had begun. Objection to self-incriminating questions was expressed with more and more vigour in

1. John Henry Wigmore, *A Treatise on the Anglo-American System of Evidence*, Vol. 8 (Boston : Little, Brown and Company, 1940), § 292, p. 64.
2. *Standford Law Review* Vol. 14 (1962), p. 821.
3. Wigmore, *op. cit.*, 2250, p. 277.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 293.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the latter part of the 17th century, and this led to the acceptance of the privilege as a matter of judicial decision in 1700s in England.[5]

This privilege against compulsory self-incrimination was written in the Fifth Amendment of the American Constitution, and constitutes one of the most controversial guarantees in the Bill of Rights. The desirability of this protection has been questioned by different bodies of opinion mainly on two grounds : First, it is considered to be no longer necessary, as the modern court system is very much different and would not permit any attempt to get evidence from an accused by means of torture or intimidation. The second ground is that the protection is a shield only to the guilty, since only a guilty person can legitimately refuse to give evidence on the ground that his testimony would tend to incriminate him.[6] Inspite of these attacks the privilege continues to command strong support. There is a strong moral sense which regards it as uncivilized to put a person through the degrading process of having to give the evidence upon which he may be convicted of crime. Another distinct merit of this privilege is that it promotes sound police methods by preventing recourse to easy method of torturing suspects. Wigmore analyses the various reasons given by Bentham for the abolition of the privilege and though conscious of the abuse to which it is sometime put, is in favour of its retention. According to him the system suffers morally by reliance on compulsory self-disclosure, and legitimate use grows into unjust abuse.[7]

While in federal cases this privilege against self-incrimination has been an established practice over a long period, the process of assimilation under the due Process Clause of the 14th amendment has taken long to take shape against the states. The assimilation took place in the fairly recent case of Malloyv Hogan.[8] The earlier position was different and the protection was regarded not as an essential part of due process, but a wise and beneficient rule of evidence. In Twining v. New Jersey[9], Justice Moody held that the protection was not a fundamental right, protected against state abridgement. Similarly in Palkov Connecticut[10] Justice Cardozo held that the immunity against self-incrimination "might be lost, and justice still be done".

The purpose of the immunity is to protect a man against being compelled to give evidence, the result of which might be his prosecution for crime. In the Boyd v. United States[11], the Court tied together the

5. C. Dickerman Williams, "Problems of the Fifth Amendment", 24 *Fordham Law Review* (pp. 19-52), p. 20.
6. Cushman and Cushman, *Cases in Constitutional Law* (New York : Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1965), pp. 603-4.
7. Wigmore, *op cit.*, p. 309.
8. 378 U.S. 1 (1964) [Citations from *The United States Supreme Court Reports*]
9. 211 U.S. 78 (1908)
10. 302 U.S. 319 (1937)
11. 116 U.S. 616 (1886)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Fourth and Fifth Amendments to make a search unreasonable, if it resulted in self-incrimination. The exclusionary rule in the *Weeks*[12] case, seemed primarily interested in protecting individuals from compulsory self-incrimination resulting from the action of the federal officials. In Wolf v. Colorado[13] the Court decided that the Fourth Amendment right against unreasonable searches and seizures was fundamental enough to be assimilated into the 14th amendment, but it need not to given the support of the exclusion-of-evidence rule announced in the *Weeks* case. The reason suggested by the Court's opinion was that the exclusionary rule is chiefly a protection against compulsory self-incrimination, and this right could not be considered a fundamental right, "implicit in the concept of ordered liberty". The exclusionary rule against the states was adopted in Mapp v. Ohio,[14] and closed "the only court room door remaining open to evidence secured by official lawlessness in flagrant abuse of that basic right, reserved to all persons as a specific guarantee against that very same unlawful conduct".

As the purpose of the immunity is to protect a man against being compelled to give evidence the result of which might be his prosecution for crime, the question arises that if he is safe from prosecution as the result, for instance, of a pardon or of a statute of limitations, can he still claim immunity ? Can the government compel a man's testimony under a statute which guarantees him immunity from prosecution if he does testify ? Assuming that it could do so, the Congress passed an act in 1868 which provided that no evidence given by a person under judicial compulsion could be used against him in any court. The act was examined by the Supreme Court in Counselman v. Hitchcock.[15] It is the first important case regarding immunity against self-incrimination, that appeared before the Court. During a Grand Jury Investigation into violations of the Interstate Commerce Act, a federal district court ordered Counselman to give evidence against certain railroads. Despite his immunity under the statute, Counselman refused to answer on the ground that his answers would incriminate him. The Supreme Court held that the immunity granted by the statute was insufficient and Counselman did not have to answer. The Court was of the view that the immunity statute must provide complete immunity, and the Act of 1868 failed to do this.

In 1893, accordingly, the Congress passed the Compulsory Testimony Act and the insufficiency of the immunity afforded by this statute was decided in 1896 in Brown v. Walker[16]. In this case a federal grand jury was investigating charges against a railroad that it had granted discriminatory rates and rebates. Brown, who was an officer of the railroad, was

12. Weeks v. United States, 232 U.S. 383 (1914)
13. 338 U.S. 25 (1949)
14. 367 U.S. 643 (1961)
15. 142 U.S. 547 (1892)
16. 161 U.S. 591 (1896)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

called as a witness but refused to answer certain questions on the ground that the answers would tend to accuse and incriminate him. He was adjudged in contempt for his refusal to answer. Justice Brown, who wrote the opinion of the Court, was of the view that. "While the constitutional provision in question is justly regarded as one of the most valuable prerogatives of the citizen, its object is fully accomplished by the statutory immunity".

Another aspect of the privilege against self-incrimination is in relation to Congressional investigations. In 1857, Congress passed "an act to more effectively enforce the attendance of witnesses on the summons of either House of Congress, and to compel them to discover testimony". The act made it a misdemeanour to refuse to testify, but provided that no one should be "held criminally in any Court of Justice, or subject to any penalty or forfeiture for any fact or act touching which he shall be required to testify..." As the act was misused to procure "immunity bath" against prosecution, the Congress was led to amend the act in 1862 to limit the breadth of the immunity. It became apparent when the act was passed, and again in 1938 when it was revised that Congress on compelling testimony did not consider itself bound by the limitations of the Fifth Amendment and the Counselman decision, since Congressional hearings were not criminal cases. But no case had come to the Supreme Court to test the validity of that assumption. The Court, however, went out of its way in the United States v. Bryan[17] and made it clear that the purpose of the statute had been "effectively nulified in 1892 by this Court's decision in Counselman v. Hitchock" since it, "like § 860, was a constituent part of an immunity bargain declared invalid in the Counselman case". In 1954 Congress passed a new witness immunity act which enables Congress to compel testimony from a witness in certain national security investigations. A federal judge must sign the order to testify, and in return the witness gets the broad immunity which the Court held valid in Brown v. Walker.

The Immunity Act was examined by the Supreme Court in Ullman v. United States[18]. Mr. Justice Frankfurter wrote the opinion of the Court. He held that "this command of the Fifth Amendment registers an important advance in the development of our liberty "one of the great landmarks in man's struggle to make himself civilized". In reply to claim that the immunity furnished by the statute was inadequate, in view of the disabilities imposed by federal and state authorities and the public in general such as loss of job, expulsion from labour unions, state registration and investigation statutes, passport eligibility, and general public opprobrium, the Court held that "The interdiction of the Fifth Amendment operates only where a witness is asked to incriminate himself...in other words, to give testimony which may possibly expose him to a criminal charge. But if the criminality has already been

17. 339 U.S. 323 (1950)
18. 350 U.S. 422 (1956)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

taken away, the amendment ceases to apply." However, Mr. Justice Douglas, with whom Mr. Justice Black concurred, dissented and was of the view that the right of silence created by the Fifth Amendment is beyond the reach of Congress, and the immunity granted is less than the protection afforded by the constitution.

The question arises as to what is the nature of this privilege. Can it to waived ? The question has been answered in several Court decisions. The privilege against self-incrimination is a personal privilege. It does not protect a person from giving evidence against his relatives, friends, employer, labour unions, or any other party or group. Since it exists only for the benefit of the individual, he may waive it if he chooses. This is done by an accused person who takes the stand in his own defence. Certain persons waive the privilege by accepting obligations placed upon them by law. Corporations are held to have waived the privilege, and corporate officers may not claim the privilege on behalf of the corporation. A person waives his privilege by assuming control of public records including corporate records and all records required by law to be kept. Moreover, one may not plead self-incrimination in order to avoid public humiliation, disgrace, or the loss of one's job, but only to avoid criminal prosecution. The possibility of such prosecution must be real.

In Rogers v. United States,[19] the Court held that if petitioner desired the protection of the privilege against self-incrimination, she was required to claim it ......The privilege "is deemed waived unless invoked". Petitioner's claim of the privilege was considered to be a purely afterthought.

The Court held that as the privilege was solely for the benefit of the witness, and was purely a personal privilege of the witness, a refusal to answer could not be justified by a desire to protect others from punishment, much less to protect others from interrogation by a grand jury. Furthermore, books and records kept "in a representative rather than in a personal capacity could not be the subject of the personal privilege against self-incrmination, even though production of the paper might tend to incriminate (their keeper) personally." Where incriminating facts have been voluntarily revealed, the privilege could not be invoked to avoid disclosure of the details. As to each question to which a claim of privilage is directed, the Court must determine whether the answer to that particular question would subject the witness to a "real danger" of further incrimination.

Mr. Justice Black, with whom Mr. Justice Douglas and Mr. Justice Frankfurter concurred, wrote a vigorous dissent in the *Rogers* case. He regretted the attitude to look upon the privilege to be silent as a constitutional nuisance which the courts should abate whenever and howsoever

19. 340 U.S. 367 (1951)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

possible. According to him, "Apparently, the Court's holding is that at some uncertain point in petitioner's testimony, regardless of her intention, admission of association with the Communist party automatically effected a "waiver" of her constitutional protection as to all related questions. To adopt such a rule for the privilege against self-incrimination, when other constitutional safeguards must be knowingly waived, relegates the Fifth Amendment's privilege to a second-rate position. Moreever, to-day's holding creates this dilemma for witneses: on the one hand, they risk imprisoment for contempt by asserting the privilege prematurely; on the other, they might lose the privilege if they answer a single question..." Mr. Justice Black regretted the attitude of the Court to put a broad construction on the doctrine of "waiver" as a deliberate attempt to narrow the scope of the privilege. Whether one agrees with or differs from Justice Black's dissent, it is true that sometimes the whole issue of waiver is a very close thing. In United States v. St. Pierre[20] Judge Learned Head indicated this fact, when he observed: "Cases may perhaps arise where the testimony put forward as a waiver was so vague or general as to raise a question whether specifications can be said to be truly in amplification of it..." Thus the issue of waiver may sometimes pose a real problem before the Court, and needs to be handled with great circumspection.

The Fifth Amendment Protection against compulsory self-incrimination is undoubtedly one of the most controversial provisions of the American Bill of Rights. According to Dickerman Williams the subjective character of one's approach is often displayed when one attempts to review the privilege. Dickerman Williams sets much store by this factor, and rightly so, when he emphasises it in certain questions which he poses. He asks : "Would Justice Moody have been so unsympathetic to the Amendment in Twining v. New Jersey if he had not only a short time previously as a government prosecutor lost the *Armour* case because of repercussions of the Amendment ? Would Justice Cardozo, Justice Black and their associates have spoken so lightly of the privilege in Palko v. Connecticut if they had not a few years previously lived through its frequent use by witnesses involved in the *Seabury* investigation of municipal corruption in New York and in Senate investigations of businessmen ?" Dickerman Williams had obviously Dean Griswold of the Harvard Law School in mind when he went on to ask : "Contrariwise, would so many law professors of today be so highly indulgent towards those who invoke the Amendment if they did not resent, at least, subconsciously, investigation of behaviour which in their opinion was inspired by motives of idealism ?"[21]

---

20. 132 F 2d 837 (2d. Cir. 1942). (The United States Federal Court Decisions Second Circuit)
21. Dickerman Williams, 24 *Fordham Law Review* (pp. 19-52), pp. 51-52.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Inspite of the presumption of guilt commonly associated with the invokation of the privilege[22], the Supreme Court has assimilated it with the concept of ordered liberty in recent cases and extended its full application to the states through the Fourteenth Amendment. Malloy v. Hogan, which over-turned the thesis of Justice Moody and Justice Cardozo embodied in Twining v. New Jersey, and Palko v. Connecticut respectively, broke new ground in this regard. In Murphy v. Waterfront Commission[23] the Court extended the scope of the immunity legislation by holding that the constitutional privilege against self-incrimination not only protected a federal witness against incrimination under federal as well state law, but also a state witness under state as federal law. Earlier the Supremacy clause helped the federal government. In the *Murphy* case the Court recognized state interest and need for broad powers of investigation[24]. In the light of the Murphy decision, once defendant demonstrates that he has testified, under state grant of immunity, to matters related to federal prosecution, federal authorities have burden of showing that their evidence is not tainted by establishing that they have an independent, legitimate source for the disputed evidence.

22. Sidney Hook, *Common Sense and Fifth Amendment* (New York : Criterion Books, 1957), p. 13.
23. 378 U.S. 52 (1964).
24. *The Yale Law Journal*, Vol. 73 : 1478 (1963-64).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Vijay Sen Budhraj

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF INDEPENDENT INDIA 1915-20*

Soon after the outbreak of the First World War and Indian Revolutionary Committee (also called Indian Independence Committee) was set up in Berlin which had the support of the German Government and which attracted quite a few India students and revolutionaries who happened to be in Europe at that time. The Committee established contacts with a number of Indian revolutionaries outside Europe, including the leaders of the Ghadar Party in the U.S.A., and informed some of them in India that the German Government would help them in their struggle, for independence.[1] By the end of 1914 the news reached India that the Committee had obtained from the German Government "the promise of arms and money required to declare the war of independence."[2]

No doubt all members of the Committee were anti-British, but that does not mean that they were all pro-German; their love for India tended to incline them to the enemies of Great Britain who were also eager to use their energies and influence against the Allied Powers. Upon the suggestion of the German Government some members of the Committee were sent to Turkey to incite the Indian troops in Mesopotomia to revolt against the British.

To make things difficult for the Allied Powers in other parts of the Middle East, the German Government sent various agents with arms and gold to Persia and in the early part of 1915 decided to send a mission to Afghanistan to talk Amir Habibullah Khan into declaring war against Britain, to establish a base in Kabul for stirring up trouble in India, "nursery of British troops," and to make a serious attempt to undermine the loyalty of Indian princes to the British Crown.

The German oriental experts were of the view that the German Mission to Kabul should include a member of the princely order in India, who, it was argued, would be quite effective in persuading the Amir and the Indian princes to rise in revolt against the British. Virendranath

---

*This paper is based mainly on the relevant records of the Foreign and Political Department, Government of India, made available to this writer by the National Archives of India, New Delhi. The author acknowledges his indebtedness to Mr. S.V. Desika Char, Assistant Director of Archives (R) and his staff in whom he found a warm and immensely helpful reception while collecting material for this study.

1. *M. N. Roy's Memoirs* (Bombay : Allied, 1964), p. 286.
2 *Ibid.*, p. 3

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Chattopadhyaya[3], an important member of the Berlin Committee, went to Geneva where he met Mahendra Pratap, who agreed to go to Berlin when he was assured that he would be received in audience by the Kaiser.

Mahendra Pratap was rather impulsive and was not clear about what he wanted to do. While travelling by train from Dehradun to Brindaban, he heard that the War had broken out in Europe and then and there decided to "go to Europe and see for myself what it it all about."[4] The U.P. authorities regarded him as an "eccentric person full of enthusiasm but with little ballast."[5] He had not taken any part in the Indian national movement except that he had attended one or two congress sessions, had met a few Congress leaders and had contributed some money to the Congress fund. He was interested in religion rather than in politics and once toured Moradabad district, preaching cow protection, singing religious songs and delivering lectures.[6] Years later when Jawaharlal Nehru met him in Geneva, he thought that he was "a character out of medieval romance, a Don Quixote who had strayed into the twentieth country."[7] However he was well-connected with a number of ruling families, Raja Dat Prasad Singh of Mursan (U.P.) was his eldest brother and had been married in the ruling family of Faridkot. He had been adopted by Raja Harnarain Singh of Hathras, U.P., and married in the ruling family of Jind—one of the three sister Phulkian states in the Panjab. These connections made him acceptable to the German Government.

He reached Berlin February 10, 1915, where he was treated with some consideration, taken to the Eastern front, awarded the order of the Red Eagle, second class, and was received in audience by the Kaiser.[8]

He agreed to accompany the proposed German Mission to Afghanistan and was made in charge of Indian affairs for which the German Government promised him full support and assured him that he would be given "ample financial support" for life, "no matter what happened."[9] At his suggestion a list of twenty-six Indian princes was drawn up who

3. He was a brother of Sarojini Naidu and at one time a member of the terrorist group to which Savarkar also belonged.
4. Mahendra Pratap, *My Life Story of Fifty-Years* (Dehradun : World Federation, 1947), p 35.
5. National Archives of India (hereafter referred to as NAI), *Proceedings of 1918, 241-430*, Foreign and Pol. Dept., Frontier Branch-Confidential-A, Notes, p. 3.
6. Mahendra Pratap, *op cit.*, p. 30.
7. *An Autobiography* (Bombay : Allied, 1962), p. 151.
8. Mahendra Pratap, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-42.
M.N. Roy's version is slightly different. According to him the "coveted and promised interview did not materialize" However, "the President-designate of the Provisional Government of Independent India was......received in audience by the Crown Prince.' *op. cit.*, p. 289.
9. Mahendra Pratap, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

were to recieve letters from the German Chancellor through Mahendra Pratap. A letter was to be sent to the King of Nepal as well and the German Emperor was to entrust him with a letter addressed to the Amir of Afghanistan.

The Indo-German Mission left Berlin for Kabul on April 10, 1915. It included Mahendra Pratap, Maulana Barkatullah, Dr. Von Hentig of the German Foreign Office and a number of Afghan-Afridi soldiers who had been taken prishners in the War and who were promised freedom upon reaching home. The Mission carried with it large quantities of gold, arms and ammunition. A week later Chancetlor Von Bethmann Hollweg sent Mahendra Pratap a letter from the Kaiser to the Amir and letters addressed by him to the Amir, the Maharaja of Nepal and the Indian princes, beautifully inscribed on vellum and sumptuously bound, together with translations in the court languague of the State concerned, "to be delivered to their destination in a suitable manner."[10]

It was a difficult and hazardous journey indeed as the Mission had to pass through some such countries as were not friendly to Germany and as had primtive means of communieations. On the way the Mission spent some time in Constantinople where Mahendra Pratap met the Prime Minister of Turkey, who agreed to write to some of the Indian princes, and where he was received in audience by the Sultan who gave him a letter addressed to the Amir and despatched some Turkish officers with the Mission, increasing considerably thereby its strength. At Ispahan, Persia, Captain Niedermeyer and Captain Paschen of Germany joined the Mission. These enterprising officers had been in Persia for quite some time and were aware of the local routes and also of the bases and posts established by Britain and Russia in several parts of Persia to prevent the "crossing of enemy missions into Afghanistan or Baluchistan".[11] Though the Indo-German-Turkish Mission was attacked by the British detachments and Russian Cossacks at several places and in these encounters it lost some of its papers, arms and gold, when it entered Afghanistan, a British intelligence report estimated its strength at 40 Germans, 20 Austrians, 8 Afghans, 50 Persians and about 40 Turks.[12]

The Mission reached Herat on August 24, 1915, where its members were courteously received and lodged in the state guest house. They are reported to have told the local people that they were preaching "jehad" by the orders of the Sultan of Turkey, the Shah of Persia, and the 'Ulema' of the Sunnis and the Shias. The Germans allowed it to be understood that they would accept Islam after bringing the War to a successful

10. NAI, *Proceeding of Oct. 1917, Nos. 1-319*, Foreign and Pol. Dept, Secret-War, Pro. No. 288, p. 161.
11. Sir Percy Sykes, *A History of Persia* (London : Macmillan, 1958), Vol. II, p. 448
12. NAI. *Proceedings of March, 1916, Nos. 1-196*, Foreign and Pol. Dept., Notes (Pro. No. 112), p. 49.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

conclusion. Incidentally, this was quite similar to German Propaganda in Persia wherein it was being stated that the entire German nation had been converted to Islam and that the Kaiser had made the pilgrimage to Mecca and was known as "Haji Wilhelm."[13] This type of propaganda appealed to the fanatics and thus fell on receptive ears; some Mullas showed the members of the Mission great attention and encouraged the people "to kiss their hands."

The Governor of Herat made all the necessary arrangements for the long journey over the snow-covered Hazara mountains to Kabul where the Mission reached October 2, 1915; at a time when the city was in the grip of cholera fearing which the Amir had fled to Paghman and a great many people had followed him.

The Amir's Diplomacy

It is significant to remember that the treaty with Britain forbade the Amir to have political relations with any power other than Britain. At first when the War broke out in 1914 it caused little stir in Afghanistan, for to most Afghans Germany was an unknown entity and events in Europe were of little consequence. The Amir, therefore, declared his intention of abiding by his agreement with the British Government and maintaning the neutrality of his country. However, when Turkey entered the war on the side of the Central Powers and when the Sultan made a declaration of "Jehad", the anti-British party in Afghanistan, headed by the brother of the Amir, Prime Minister Nasrullah Khan, began to assert that Afghanistan as a Muslim country should join Turkey, the chief Islamic power, whose ruler was regarded by most Muslims as their spiritual head. This party was ultimately successful in persuading the Amir to receive the Indo-German-Turkish Mission. But for a number of days the members of the Mission, lodged (rather interned) in the state guest house (the Bagh-i-Baber), were not allowed to go out of its four-walls while the Amir engaged himself in consultation with his advisers, leading mullahs and chiefs.

The Mission was received by the Amir some time towards the end of October at Paghman when Mahendra Pratap and Dr. Von Hentig presented the letters they had brought and explained the object of their Misson. Negotiations continued for a couple of weeks; the Mission found the Amir crafty and vacillating with no desire to enter the War. But faced with (1) a war-party headed by his own brother (2) a general wave of pro-Turkish fanaticism throughout his country and (3) the possibility of the defeat of Great Britain, the Amir finally decided to sign on January 24, 1816 the draft treaty with the German Mission according to which Germany pledged to furnish the Afghan Government, gratis and without subject to return, 100,000 rifles of newest pattern 300

13. Sir Percy Sykes, *op. cit.*, p. 443.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

guns with munitions and other war material and ten million sterling. Germany also agreed to give technical assistance and "to defend the Afghan kingdom with all measures against foreign conquest in the rear of the Afghan kingdom." In case Afghanistan entered the War Germany was to help her in recovering "lost and conquered territories."[14] This possibly meant the tribal belt, Kashmir, the Panjab and Baluchistan—territories Afghanistan had lost over the years to the Sikhs and the British.

The Amir could say that he got a lot for nothing. Apart from the promised military assistance the agreement tended to placate his counsellors, quiet his people and avoid a deflnite breach with Germany and Turkey in the event of their winning.

The German Mission got the impression that the Amir had been won over. While commenting on the draft treaty Captain Niedermeyer wrote home that the prospects of military success were favourable and that the Amir had assured him that he would enter the war as soon as 20,000 to 100,000 German or Turkish forces arrived in Afghanistan.[15]

In fact, Captain Niedermeyer was mistaken. The Government of India was aware of the presence and intrigues of the Mission in Afghanistan and also of the pro-German element in that country. To strengthen its bonds of friendship with the Amir, it had already been decided that the King—Emperor should send an autograph letter to the Amir expressing his gatification at the scrupulous and honourable manner in which the Amir had maintained the attitude of strict neutrality as guaranteed by him in the beginning of the war. "In view of presence in Kabul of Turco—German party and consequence re-inforcement of influence antagonistic to Amir's neutrality," the British Government in India informed the Amir, vide its letter of October 29, 1916, that his annual subsidy had been increased by 2 lakhs of rupees as a token of appreciation of his attitude and "to enable him to convince those of his advisers and people who question the wisdom of his present neutrality, that it carries some material advantage."[16]

The offer of "material advantage" proved to be more attractive than the reward promised in the draft treaty negotiated with the German Mission. In course of time the Germans too realized this when they found that they were regarded as state prisoners rather than as guests; and, in the summer of 1916, becoming apprehensive, on misleading information, of the Amir's real intentions towards them, they hastily left Afghanistan. By this time they had come to know of "the pitiful

14. For full text of the darft, treaty, see NAI, *Proceedings of 1921, Nos. 12-13*, Foreign and Pol. Dept., Frontier-Confidential A, Notes, pp. 8-9.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
16. For a copy of the letter see NAI, *Proceedings of March 1916, Nos. 1-195*, Foreign and Pol. Dept., Part I, No. 188, p. 72.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

condition of the Afghan army" and had been convinced that there was not "the slightest hope of Afghanistan joining the war."[17]

The Indian Mission

In the meantime the Indians who had come with the German Mission were sucessful in establishing a base of their activities and in earning the goodwill of some members of the royal family. Even before the arrival of the Mission, some Indians had secretly reached Afghanistan from India for various reasons. When Turkey entered the war, a number of Muslims were much exercised and some of them decided to leave India to join the holy war, "jehad", against the British. For example, in February, 1915 the British Government in India came to know that a party of 15 Muslim college students of the Panjab had run away across the border with the idea of joining in and preaching the "jehad". They were followed by others singly or in small parties for the same purpose. Secondly, the Wahbis had once again become active both in India and in the tribal territories all along the Indo—Afghan frontier with the object of destroying the "infidel" rulers of India and had been successful in persuading a number of Muslims to leave India for Kabul and thence to Turkey to join the forces of the Sultan. Finally, some Indian revolutionaries, including some members of the Ghadar Party[18], had also come to Kabul to establish there a base of their activities. When the British Government in India come to know of the escape of two members of the Ghadar Party into Afghanistan it hastened to inform the Amir on July 6, 1915, about the presence in his country of two "murderous conspirators, revolutionaries and anarchists," Dr. Mathura Singh and Harnam Singh of the Lahore Conspiracy Case.[19] In the absence of any extradition treaty the Government of India could not ask for their surrender. It was also realized that such a demand would result in a demand of reciprocity, whereas, the Government was of the view that India should object "to deliver a criminal to Afghan justice."[20]

The Afghan Government was neither sympathetic to the cry of "jehad" nor to the cause of Indian revolutionaries. It had, therefore, interned all such people as had come to Afghanistan for these objects and some of them were even kept in chains. But the situation changed with the arrival of Mahendra Pratap and his party as they were able to persuade the Afghan Government to set them free.

17. NAI, *Proceeding of Oct., 1917, op. cit.*, Notes, p. 6.
18. The Ghadar rebellion which began in the Panjab some time towards the end of 1914 was completely crushed by the British by August 1915. Nearly all the leaders and many active adherents were arrested ; however, some of them were successful in escaping into Afghanistan and other neighbouring countries.
19. NAI, *Proceedings of March 1916, Nos. 54-59,* Foreign and Pol. Dept., Secret-F, Proc, No. 54, p. 1.
20. *Ibid.*, Notes, p. 2.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

With the cooperation of some of these Indians, Mahendra Pratap formally established the Provisional Government of India in his room in the presence of his German and Turkish friends on December 1, 1915-his 29th birthday.[21] He became its President till "a regular government was established by us in India," Maulvi Barkatullah became the Prime Minister, and Maulana Obeidullah the Home Minister. Subsequently, Maulvi Bashir was appointed Minister and Champakraman Pillai Foreign Minister. Shamsher Singh (Dr. Mathura Singh), Khuda Baksh and Mohammed Ali were appointed Ministers Plenipotentiaries.[22]

Significantly, Mahendra Pratap does not mention whether any member of the Afghan Government was present to witness this historic occassion. The cautious Amir had no intention to recognise the Provisional Government until it had given evidence of its strength. However, the Amir allowed himself to be humoured by a sort of streaty which gave Afghanistan "Baluchistan and all Indian territory upto the River Indus".[23] But the Amir made it clear that he would not order his troops to attack India until the arrival of troops and war material from Germany and Turkey, promised to him in the treaty concluded with the German Mission in January, 1916.

Mission to Russia

Mahendra Pratap whose fertile imagination was very active thought of doing something even before the arrival of military assistance from Germany or Turkey. Early in 1916 he suggested to the Amir that Afghanistan should have contacts with her big neighbour, Russia. With the consent of the Amir he wrote a pompous and vague letter to the Czar on February, 15, 1916 on a "plate of solid gold" regretting that two friendly powers were at war and hoped that they would soon be reconciled and combine to overturn the oppressors of the whole world.[24] In an introductory letter, dated February 25, 1916, to the Governor-General of Turkestan, Tashkent, he approached him as an Indian nationalist and wrote that he wanted to serve the interests of Russia and humanity, that the Kaiser and the Sultan were patronising his cause, that he now looked to Russia for help. He, "as a representative of a neutral nation," assured the Governor-General that he could do much to bring about an understanding between Russia on the one hand and Germany on the other "if the Asiatic question is taken up by you in all earnestness.[25]

Mahendra Pratap neither approached the Russian Government as President of the Provisional Government of India nor did he mention that the Amir was also "patronising his cause." The Amir was realistic enough

21. Mahendra Pratap, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 51.
24. NAI, *Proceedings of 1918, Nos. 241-430, op. cit.*, Proc. No. 263, p. 11.
25. For full text of the letter, see *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to have understood that the recognition of the Provisional Government would invite strong protests from, and the ill-will of, Britain. There was no point in taking such a step until the promised German and Turkish assistance had reached Afghanistan. Mahendra Pratap, on the other hand, was incurably optimistic and seemed to be living in a world of his own. He was not aware of the stakes involved in the War and did not realize that as for as Russia was concerned his bargaining power was nil.

With a letter of introduction from Prime Minister Barkatullah addressed to the Russian Frontier Officer-in-Chief, the emissaries of Mahendra Pratap, Mirza Mohammed Ali and Shamsher Singh (alias Dr. Mathura Singh) reached the Russian frontier where they were taken for the emissaries of the Afghan Government and therefore accorded warm welcome and allowed to proceed to Tashkent. While presenting the two letters to the Governor General, they informed him that Afghanistan was preparing for war and that they had seen "with their own eyes" Firman concerning war with England.

The Russian Government informed both India (through its Counsul General) and Britain about the Indian Mission, the contents of the letters and what the emissaries had revealed about the situation in Kabul. When the British Government asked for the arrest and extradition of the two messengers, the Russian Foreign Office replied that the Governor-General in Tashkent had promised them a free return, that both of them had Afghan passports and special letters of recommendation from the Afghan Minister Barkatullah and that "to avoid the underisable for us and for British unpleasantness in the relations with Afghanistan," the Governor General had been permitted to let the messengers go without answers to their letters.[26] Thus the whole project came to nothing.

But the situation in Afghanistan as described by the emissaries and the fact they carried Afghan passports and a letter of introduction from an "Afghan Minister" (since Barkatullah had signed as Diwan Sahib, the Russian Government took him for a Minister in the Afghan Government) created considerable alarm in Petrograd. To allay the fears of the Russian Government, Britain instructed its ambassador in Russia to communicate the substance of a memorandum prepared by the India Office in May 1916 regarding the situation in Afghanistan and India. The Memorandum stated that His Majerty's Government was satisfied with the state of affairs both in Afghanistan and India. Though the anti-British faction, headed by Nasrullah Khan, the Amir's younger brother, wanted to drag the Amir into the War on the side of the Turks, there was no reason to believe that the Amir had been converted to their policy or the situation had gone b eyond the Amir's control. With respect to the activities of Indians in Afghanistan it was stated that Mahendra Pratap had been described by the Government of India as "very eccentric, if not actually insane," that Barakatullah had

26. NAI, *Proceedings of 1918, Nos. 241-430, op. cit*, Notes, p. 8.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

been away from India for over ten years and had no first-hand knowledge of the present situation there, and that the Indian "Nationalist" movement, as such, commanded no sympathy whatever in Afghanistan and that it was most unlikely that Mahendra Pratap and his friends enjoyed the confidence of the Afghan authorities. About German intrigues it was stated that earlier German attempts "to bring about a rising in Bengal in December 1915" or to seduce the ruling chiefs, the native army and the Indian masses had all been frustrated.[27]

The Government of India was of the opinion that it paid to address the Amir as little as possible. Why embarrass him when he was pursuing a policy of neutrality in face of many counter influences in his own way? Besides, any letter to the Amir on this subject would have tended to the create the impression in Kabul that Delhi was much exercised over the Pratap Mission. The letters carried by the emissaries were considered as "the work of a lunatic" by a high-ranking Government official and the Viceroy, therefore, decided to let the Amir "take the measure of Mahendra Pratap."[28]

The Provisional Government and the Pan-Islamist Movement

Turkey's entry in the War had caused much unrest among the priests and fanatical elements in Afghanistan and also among the Pathan tribes of the North-West frontier. In 1915-16 the Mohmmedans raid the Peshawar district in force, the Khostwalis raided the Tochi Pass, the Swatis attacked a British force at Chakdara and the Mahsuds rose against the British in Waziristan. The Provisional Government decided to adjust itself to this source of discontent and its leadership therefore tended to slip into the hands of the Pan-Islamist Movement. It decided to get in touch with the dissident tribes and groups in India. Mahendra Pratap, a "Kafir," was a movement. He could not have won the confidence of the Mullahs or of the Muslim masses as well as Pathan tribes. Since Prince Inayatullah was taking keen interest in the Indian Mission, at the suggestion of the Home Minister, Obeidullah, it was decided to approach the Amir and request him to give them "Prince Inahatullah to lead the Indian freedom movement."[29]

It was suggested to the Amir that he should fish in the troubled waters of India and thus make an attempt to regain Afghan greatness. But for the Amir the plun was unrealistic. He made it clear that nothing would move him from his policy of neutrality short of the actual arrival of Turkish troops and military assistance from Germany. The President of the Provisional Government, therefore, sent emissaries to Turkey and Germany for help as well as to China and Japan. In his letter to the German Chancellor, dated

27. For full text of the memorandum see NAI, *Proceedings of 1918, Nos. 241-43*, *op. cit.*, Proc., pp., 14-15.

28. *Ibid.*, Proc., No. 246, p. 5.

29. Mahendra Pratap, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

May 19, 1916, he wrote that when he arrived in Kabul he had, practically not a single farthing to start the work." He asked for the despatch of "at-least 20 thousand troops for purely Indian work." He, at the same time, assured the Chancellor that he was on "very friendly terms" with the Afghan Government "as a whole" and that "every high personage" at Kabul thought that if sufficient number of German-Turkish armed forces arrived Afghanistan would at once join the War.[30] But his emissaries never reached their destinations, almost all were intercepted by the Russian troops and this time handed over to Britain.

In the meantime Home Minister Obeidullah, who was the leader of the Pan-Islamist Movement, in the Provisional Government, decided to carry out his project. While in India he founded in 1912 the "Haxarat-ul-Muarif Qorania," *a society which established several branches* with the object of *inculcating fanatical ideas in* Muslim youths.[31] He was also responsible for inciting quite a few Muslims in India to leave their country in order to work for the success of the Sultan of Turkey. He himself reached Kabul on October 8, 1915, joined the Provisional Government and was reported to have won the confindence of Prime Minister Nasrullah Khan. In the summer of 1916, he established an organisation known as the Army of God. The "Army" was to be a Muhammadan quasi-military scheme in which all members were to receive military titles. Medina was to be its principal centre, where a prominent Indian "Alim" was actually appointed "General", while secondary centres were to be at Constantinople, Tehran and Kabul. The object of the "army" was to create a union among Muslim kings with a view to the liberation of Muslim countries under "infidel" rule, specially India. The General at Medina was to approach the Sultan of Turkey for military assistance which, it was anticipated, would cause the Afghan Government to declare war on Britain. The Kabul centre of the "army" was to remain in touch with the anti-British element in Afghanistan and to keep the independent tribes in a state of constant histility to the British. The members of the "army" in India were to carry on anti-British propaganda and collect funds for the impelementation of this project.[32]

In order to translate his programme into action Home Minister Obeidullah wrote several letters on silk to his friends and relatives in India and Arabia, informing them of his travels, the activities of the Provisional Government, the situation in Afghanistan and tribal territory and disclosing his plan for the formation of the "army" of God. He also informed them about the office holders of his "army" and what to do in the future. Three of these letters, written on yellow silk, fell into the hands of the Government of India in August 1916. Their bearer, Abdul Haq, became

30. For full text of the letter see NAI, *Proceedings of 1918, Nos. 241-430, op. cit.*, Notes, Proc. No. 422, p. 89.
31. *Ibid.*, Notes, p. 16.
32. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-19.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

frightened and tired of his dangerous missions and wanderings and handed them over to Khan Bahadur Rup Nawaz Khan of Multan two of whose sons had fled away to Afghanistan in February, 1915 and had later joined the Provisional Government. The Khan Bahadur did not miss this opportunity to demonstrate his loyalty to the British Crown, though this meant the betrayal of the cause so dear to his sons. He handed over the silk letters to the Government on the basis of which several searches and arrests were made in Peshawar, the Punjab, Delhi and Sindh.

At about this time the Provisional Government too issued a proclamation calling upon the people of India to join and help its forces when they came down to liberate them. The Nawabs and Rajas of India were asked to combine and devise their own plan for war against the British, the Indian sepoys to kill their officers and join the army of liberators to free mother India.[33]

A similar proclamation was issued by the Hindustani Fanatics, living in the tribal territory, to incite the people living in the North-West Frontier. It was stated that the Hindu and Muhammadan leaders had jointly established the Provisional Government of India, that the Sultan of Turkey and the Kaiser had promised to assist this Government with money and troops.[34]

It was a grand design indeed to unite all the forces of Islam, the Turks, Arabs under the Sherif of Mecca, the Afghans, the frontier tribes and the Muslim masses as well as the Hindus of India in a combined effort against British rule. As stated by Sir Michael O'Dwyer, this scheme was "by no means impossible of execution in the circumstances then existing."[35]

But when the Provisional Government requested the Amir to send arms and ammunition to the tribal territory, he is reported to have made it clear that he did not rely upon the tribes and could not send arms without sending his own arms and that he could not raise arms against the British until Turkish and German troops came to his assistant. The execution of this otherwise grand project thus depended on the ability of Germany and Turkey to fulfill their pledges of military assistance to Afghanistan. Besides, the revolt of the Sherif of Mecca against the Truks in June 1916 divided Muslims and seriously undermined all hopes of combined Muslim action against the British Empire in India. Finally, the Muslims in the Panjab on the whole remained loyal to the British Empire. The number of fighting men raised in the Panjab during the four years of war was roughly three hundred and sixty thousand (more than half the total number raised in India) "and of these one-half were Punjab Mohammedans,

33. For full text of the proclamation see *Ibid*, Notes, pp. 35-36.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-35.
35. *India As I Knew It 1885-1925* (London, 1925), p. 180.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

who enlisted with the knowledge that they were going to fight the Turks."[36]

Left to themselves the members of the Provisional Government again decided to approach foreign powers for assistance. Emissaries were sent to central Asia, Japan and Persia. Barkatullah himself started for Turkey via Persia and Mahendra Pratap for Russian Turkestan still hoping to get a favourable reply from the Czar. In the autumn of 1916 he reached Mazar-i-Sheriff from where he wrote to the Governor-General of Turkestan asking for an interview for the purpose of making "very confidential communications" and sought his permission to travel across Russia to China and Japan. The Russian Government again informed Britain about the letter it had received from Mahendra Pratap and assured her that the Governor-General of Turkestan had been instructed not to answer the letter but to arrest Mahendra Pratap immediately, "should he arrive at Termez."[37] When Mahendra Pratap did not hear from the Governor-General for five months he decided to go to China through the Wahn valley. However, Prime Minister Nasrullah Khan informed him that China was not safe for him as the Chinese had become the allies of the British. He was advised to return and again attempt a journey through Russia "as owing to the revoultion circumstances had greatly changed there."[38]

Letters to the King of Nepal and Indian Princes

Now that the Pan-Islamist Movement had failed and there was no hope that the promised troops and war material from Germany and Turkey would ever arrive Mahendra Pratap decided to make use of the letters that the German Chancellor had written to the Indian princes and the King of Nepal some two years earlier. It seems that he had been instructed to deliver them after the entry of Afghanistan into the War about which he had lost all hope. But he decided to use them any way. Upon reaching Khanabad, he entrusted Kala Singh (alias Captain Teja Singh) with the task of handing over the letters for the Indian princes and notables (15 or 16) to Muhammed Ali or the Sheikh of Sindh at Chamarkand with instructions to arrange for their posting from Lahore. From Chamarkand Captain Teja Singh was to go to Nepal to hand over the letters to the King and the Prime Minister and to deliver a verbal message as well.

In his introductory letter, dated June 15, 1917, to the King of Nepal, Mahendra Pratap hailed the King as "the main pillar of the Hindu faith" and requested him to act in such a way that "the ancient Hindu Dharma may receive the highest benefit from the present churning of the world." To the Prime Minister he wrote that the Allied Powers were "totally

36. *Ibid.*, p. 215.
37. NAI., *Proceedings of 1918, Nos. 241-430, op. cit.*, Proc. No. 352, pp. 54-55.
38. From the statment of Kala Singh NAI, *Proceedings of Oct. 1919, op. cit.*, p. 156.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

hollowed from inside," that the neutral powers like Sweden, Holland, Switzerland, Spain and Greece were "practically on the side of the Central Powers, that all the people of Persia and Afghanistan, and the legitimate sons of India were against the English." He urged the Prime Minister to act in cooperation with other Maharajas and people of India so that he may one day become "the Prime Minister of a great empire." In a note written on the letter of the Chancellor to the King, he stated that "the whole Hindu world considers the Maharaj Dhiraj of Nepal as their leader," that Afghanistan sought his friendship and therefore urged him to engage in a religious war to "keep alive Hindu religion and free sacred land of Hindustan from the British and protect her from other lions."[39]

While addressing them as the President of the Provisional Government of India he did not explain why he had kept with him the letters entrusted to him by the German Government two years earlier. Strange as it may seem the person who in 1916 gave full support to the Pan-Islamist movement and agreed to hand over to the Amir as President of the Provisional Government Baluchistan and all the land upto the River Indus and even agreed to step down in favour of Prince Inayatullah now began to urge the king of Nepal to wage a holy war to protect the Hindu religon. As President of the Provisional Government perhop she would have gladly offered to Nepal as her price for changing sides the territory she had lost to the British !

The German Chancellor in his letter to the King revealed much ignorance about Nepal. The letter was addressed to King Bir Bikram Jang Bahadur who had died in 1911. In the letter it was stated that the German Government was giving good treatment to the captured Gorkha soldiers and even premitted them to return to their own country. It was further stated that the Ceneral Powers had gained unparalleled success in the War begun by England, France and Russia. With regard to the situation on the Indian sub-continent, the Chancellor wrote that the Amir of Afghanistan had drawn his sword on the side of the Central Powers to destroy the enemies of India and that the Rajas and people of India looked upon him (the King) as their leader. Finally he was assured of the support of the Central Powers in his efforts "to raise India to her proper high place."[40]

Like the Russian Government, the Government of Nepal passed on to the British Government in India copies of the letters brought by Captain Teja Singh and later when requested even the original letters were handed over.[41]

39. For full text of letters see NAI, *Proceedings of Oct.* 1919, Secret-War, Foreign and Pol. Dept., pp. 128-131.

40. For full text see *Ibid*, p. 130-131.

41. *Ibid*, pp. 138-139.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Most letters addressed to the Indian princes were intercepted, and those who received them did not take any action. A British spy, who had won the confidence of Mahendra Pratap's friends at Charmang, brought seven letters of the German Chancellor from there (addressed to the Nawab of Tonk and the Maharajas of Gwalior, Indore, Udaipur, Bikaner, Patiala and Jodhpur) and delivered them to the British Government in November, 1917.[12] In fact some such letters had fallen into the hands of the British agents in Persia much earlier, some time towards the end of 1916.[13] In these letters the princes had been urged to make all efforts to set India free at a time when the British Empire was engaged in defending itself in Europe, Asia and Africa. They were assured that Germany would welcome all efforts which "may lead to the liberation of the ancient civilized nations of the East."[14]

This project too failed. The signals for revolt against the British went unanswered. Even if all the letters had been delivered, it is doubtful the princes would have risen in revolt against the British. According to L. F. Rushbrook Williams, "the great princes of India, true to their martial traditions and tested loyalty, rallied with one accord to the defence of the empire, offering their personal services and the resources of their states for the prosecution of the war."[15] They were thus the most reactionary element in the political life of the country. They knew that they could remain in power as long as British rule continued and were, therefore, the strongest pillar of the British Empire in India. Mahendra Pratap must have realised this several years later when he made an attempt to meet his brother-in-law, the Maharaja of Jind, in Japan and when the latter conveyed to him that he could meet Mahendra Pratap only through the English Consul General in Japan[16].

The Bolsheviks and the Provisional Government

When the Bolsheviks came to power in Russia in November 1917, they invited Mahendra Pratap perhaps thinking that he might be of some use to them in negotiating a trade agrement with Afghanistan and in creating trouble for the British in the tribal area. Early in 1918 he went to Russia from where he proceeded to Western Euroupe and later in the spring of 1919 rushed back to Moscow enroute to Kabul when he heard that King Amanullah of Afganistan had declared war against the British. This is what he had been wanting since the establishment of the Provisional Government in December, 1915. His dreams were coming true.

42. NAI., *Proceedings of 1921, 12-13,* Foreign and Pol. Dept., Frontier Confidential A, pp. 2 and 3.
43. P. Sykes, *A History of Afghanistan* (London, 1940), Vol. II, p. 263.
44. For text of the letter to the Maharaja of Kasmibazar, see NAI, *Proceedings of Oct. 1917, op. cit.,* Appendix III to Notes, p. 8.
45. Dodwell, H.H. (Ed.), *The Cambridge History of India* (Delhi : Chand, 1958), Vol. VI, p. 477.
46. Mahendra Pratap, *op. cit., p.* **210.**

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Afghanistan had raised its arms against Britain and the new Russian Government was favourably inclined to help Afghanistan in its war against the British.

At about this time the Prime Minister of the Provisional Government, Barkatullah, too had come to Tashkent where in his booklet *Bolshevism and the Islamic Body-politc* he called upon Muslims to "respond to this call of liberty, equality, and brotherhood which brother Lenin and the Soviet Government of Russia are offering you."[47] A few weeks later, on May 6, 1919, *Izvestia* carried a long statement of Barkatullah in which he stated that his political programme had been that of driving the Britons from Asia.

> I am an irreconcilable foe of European capitalism in Asia, which is represented largely by the British. In this attitude I come close to the Communists, and in that respect you and I are natural allies.[48]

The Provisional Government of India asked for recognition. Mahendra Pratap met Lenin but he could not have impressed the Soviet leader with his booklet *The Religion of Love* which he presented with the remark that "unless the Soviet leader guided the new regime in Russia according to the principles formulated therein, the Revolution would fail."[49] However, the Soviet Foreign Office decided to use Mahendra Pratap for negotiating a treaty of friendship with the Amir of Afghanistan. It seems that he was informed that Moscow was prepared to recognize any Provisional Government of India "supported by revolutionary circles."[50] In view of this he agreed to accompany the Soviet Diplomatic Mission to Kabul. But by the time he reached Kabul Afghanistan had made peace with the British and, therefore, the Amir neither needed the Provisional Government nor the support of the Soviet Government.

It may be remarked that Afghanistan had taken up arms against the British too late, at a time when the War in Europe had ended as a result of which Britain was in a better possition to meet any challenge to its supremacy on the Indian sub-continent. Both Turkey and Germany lay in ruins and Soviet Russia's ability to help Afghanistan in its struggle against the British could be seriously doubted. Under these circumstances Afghanistan could not hold out against the British for long; the new Amir, Habibullah Khan, therefore hastened to make peace with Britain.

47. Published in Persian on March 15, 1919. For its English translation see NAI, *Procddings of Feb. 1920, Nos. 77-171*, Foreign and Pol. Dept., Secret-F, Proc, pp. 159, 42-47.
48. Eudin and North (Eds.), *Soviet Russia and the East* (Stanford, 1957) document 37, pp. 181-182.
49. M.N. Roy, *op. cit.*, p. 290.
50. Information supplied by the General Staff, NAI, Home-Political, Oct. 1919, *Deposit, No. 26*.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Moreover, the British Government acted with restraint. It realized that it could not afford to deal with the Amir severely at a time when a wave of dissatisfaction had spread in several parts of India and when the Muslims in India had expressed their resentment against the treatment meted out to the sultan of Turkey by the Allied and Associated Powers. Afghanistan was offered peace with honour. She was satisfied when Sir H. Grant, Chief British representative to the peace conference between India and Afghanistan, held at Rawalpindi, acknowledged in a letter to the Afghan delegates that "Afghanistan (was) officially free and independent in its internal and external affairs."[51] This amounted to recognition of Afghan independence by Britain.

The peace treaty with Britain sounded the death-knell of the Provisional Government of India. It could not now hope to get any support whatever from the Amir and ceased to function as "a semi-official organ in 1920"[52], when its President, Mahendra Pratap, agreed to help Afghanistan in establishing contacts with the outside world and when to discharge this function he left Kabul that year with seven letters from the Amir to be delivered to the rulers of Tibet, China, Japan, Siam, the United States, Germany and Turkey.[53] In order to please the British the Amir requested other "Indian revolutionaries to leave Afghanistan."[54] Most of them went to Moscow from where Home Minister Obeidulla went to Consatntinople and thereafter to Mecca in order to spread revolutionary propaganda among Indian Muslim pilgrims.

Summary and Conclusions

The Provisional Government of Independent India, established in Kabul in December 1915, was completely isolated from India and could do little to promote the cause of Indian independence. Its leadership was in the hands of a young, inexperienced person who had not taken any active part in the Indian national movement either at home or abroad, and who was almost ignorant of international politics. But his membership of the princely order convinced the German Government that he was the right person to persuade the Amir of Afghanistan and some of the ruling princes in India to join the Central Powers. To win over the Amir, the Germans promised him military assistance and all possible support in recovering the territories Afghanistan had lost to the Sikhs and the British. The German Government believed that if the Amir of Afghanistan invaded India the Pathans and most Muslims would rally around him, that the king of Nepal too might decide to fish in the troubled waters of India in order to recover all that Nepal had lost to the British, and that the princes could

51. For full text of the letter see P. Sykes. *History of Afghanistan*, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 359.
52. Mahendra Pratap, *op. cit*. p. 113.
53. *Ibid*., p. 113.
54. M.N. Roy, *op. cit*., p. 492.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

be tempted to regain independence at a time "when the British Empire was engaged in defending itself in Europe, Asia and Africa." Its purpose was not to help a specific entity to replace the British Government in India, but to create chaos, to stir up trouble in India in order to make it impossible for Britain to recruit the Gorkhas and Indians to fight against the Central Powers.

The bait offered by the German Mission to Afghanistan was indeed tempting, but the cautious Amir made it clear that he would order his troops to invade India only after the arrival of German and Turkish army. No such army could ever reach anywhere near the Afghan frontiers. The President of the Provisional Government of India and the German Mission waited in vain for the arrival of the German troops. Left to themselves, the German Mission finally decided to leave Afghanistan in the summer of 1916, but the Provisional Government continued to exist until 1920.

During this period the Provisional Government made several unsuccessful attempts to get assistance from foreign countries without which it could neither influence the Amir nor the course of events in India. The people in India knew little about the men who constituted the Provisional Government and the British Government was successful in intercepting most of its letters and messages. Its propagandist activities therefore remained confined to inciting the frontier tribes against the British.

Why did not the German Government appoint a well-known Indian revolutionary as head of the German sponsored Indian Mission at Kabul? Hardayal, Virendranath Chattopadhyaya and Bhupendranath Dutta were all members of the Indian Revolutionary Committee in Berlin. It is doubtful whether the German Government desired the establishment of a provisional government at Kabul. Mahendra Pratap nowhere mentions in his autobiography that he had been authorized to do that. According to him he was made "in-charge of Indian affairs."[55] Secondly, in the letters to the Indian princes and the King of Nepal the German Chancellor did not disclose the establishment of the Provisional Government. Thirdly, when Mahendra Pratap wrote to the German Chancellor from Kabul on May 19, 1916, for the despatch of at least 20 thousand troops for purely Indian work," he did not sign the letter as President of the Provisional Government of India.[56] It seems that as far as the German Government was concerned the Pratap Mission was merely a bid to win over the Indian princes and the King of Nepal, not realizing that they were the strongest pillar of British imperialism in India.

When Mahendra Pratap arrived in Kabul, he found some Indians who had come there for the purpose of waging a holy war against the British. They joined the Provisional Government not because they found

55. *Supra.*, p. 3.
56. *Supra.*, p. 12.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

in Mahendra Pratap a man who could lead them to success but because they were given to understand that Mahendra Pratap was likely to get a large amount of military and financial assistance from Germany and Turkey. When German or Turkish help did not arrive, they became the moving force behind the Provisional Government and even decided to get rid of Mahendra Pratap in order to give the leadership to an Afghan prince provided the Amir agreed to order his troops to march into India. But the Amir is reported to have said that he would begin to think they meant business when they could show him an army of 100,000 men (German and Turkish) at Herat. The whole project was closely linked with the ability of Germany to fulill the terms of the treaty the German Mission had signed with Afghanistan in January, 1916.

The observer of these events would be unfair to those Indians who risked their lives when they crossed into Afghanistan during the War and later established a provisional government of independent India at Kabul if he were to evaluate their activities on the bases of their achievements. True, their efforts did not yield practically any important results. True, the Germans used them to make things difficult for the British. But they also carried on propaganda against the British and "raised the dignity of revolutionary India" abroad, specially in Afghanistan, Germany, Persia and Russia. It was not a mean achievement on their part to have secured the support and sympathy of the German Government and some members of the Afghan royal family in their struggle for liberating India. Serious setbacks and insurmountable difficulties did not discourage them or deter them from their path. When Mahendra Pratap arrived in Afghanistan, he did not have, "a single farthing to start his work" and the Germans who brought him there hastily left him a few months later in the summer of 1916; and yet he and other Indian nationalists continued their struggle against the British with meager resources and planned and launched daring and at times fantastic schemes to achieve their end. Their sacrifices and exciting adventures must be admired. Their activities and those of other Indian nationalists in other parts of the world must have influenced to a considerable extent the decision of Great Britain to associate "Indians in every branch of administration with a view to progressive realization of responsible government in India."[57]

But they could not return to India when the British decided to implement the new policy. Mahendra Pratap wandered abroad until India became independent. Barkatullah died in San Francisco in 1927 and Champakraman Pillai in Berlin of suspected slow poisoning after he had incurred the wrath of Hitler in 1934. They and their colleagues certainly deserve a much higher place than has yet been accorded to them in the history of the freedom movement.

57. The Montagu Declaration of August 20, 1917.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SANSKRIT

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Shiv Raj Shastri

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF MEGHADUTA (UTTARAMEGHA, VERSE 41)

A few years back I was engaged in preparing a critical edition of the Meghadūta of Kālidāsa. While doing so, I came across many problems regarding the text of the Meghadūta and the Sanskrit Ṭīkā of Mallinātha on it. This brief note is intended to draw the attention of the scholars towards the interpretation of a particular verse of the Meghadūta. viz., *Tām āyuṣman mama ca vacanād ātmanaścopakartum etc. etc.* (*Uttaramegha*, verse 41 according to my edition).[1] While translating and commenting on this verse, I was not satisfied with the Mallinātha's interpretation of its first line. I, therefore, compared other old Sanskrit commentaries such as those of Bharata Mallika, Pūrṇasarsvatī and Sthiradeva, which could be available to me. All these commentators except Mallinātha, have interpreted the verse in question as I had thought to be its best interpretation. Unfortunately, at that time, I could not make up my mind whether the other commnetators should be given preference over Mallinātha, so I yielded to him as he is a great authority, and I was obliged to translate and explain the verse in accordance with his Ṭīkā.

But now on further study of the same I am convinced that Mallinātha has not been able to interpret the verse in question in Kālidāsa's spirit. As most of the editions of the *Meghadūta*, generally used by the University students, have the Sanskrit commentary of Mallinātha or are influenced by it, it is all the more necessary to warn the readers of the pitfall, Mallinātha may lead to.

First of all, let us take up the text of the verse, as it has many variations according to the different editions of Meghadūta. According to the commentary of Mallinātha, the verse runs as follows :

(*a*) *Tām āyuṣman mama ca vacanād ātmanaścopakartum,*
(*b*) *Brūyā evaṃ tava sahacaro rāmagiryāśramasthaḥ,*
(*c*) *Avyāpannaḥ kuśalam abale pṛcchati tvāṃ viyuktaḥ,*
(*d*) *Pūrvābhāṣyaṃ sulabha-vipadāṃ prāṇināṃ etad eva.*

In (a) some editions have *āyuṣmān* in place of *āyuṣman*. The Sanskrit commentary of Pūrṇasarasvatī has *upakartuḥ* in place of *upakartum* in (a). The editions which have *āyuṣmān* in (a) have *brūyāt* in place of *brūyā* in (b). In (d) some editions have *pūrvāśāsyaṃ* in place of *pūrvābhāṣyam*, but the variant reading makes no difference in the sense in this case. According to the commentary of Sthiradeva there is *ātmanā* in place of

1. Published by M/s. Sahitya Bhandar, Subhash Bazar, Meerut, 1962.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ātmanaḥ in (a). Bharata Mallika reads *viyuktām* in place of *viyuktaḥ* in (c). According to his reading, (d) is quite different and it runs as: *Bhūtānāṃ hi kṣayiṣu karaṇeṣv ādyam āśvāsyam etat.*

Here we are mainly concerned with the interpretation of the first line of the verse. The verse can be broken into three parts. 1. The quoting or narrating speech, beginning with '*tām*' and ending with '*brūyā evaṃ*', the words of the narrator, the *Yakṣa*; 2. the quoted speech, beginning with '*tava sahacaro*' and ending with '*tvāṃ viyuktaḥ*', which are the words placed in the mouth of the *Megha*, although briefed by the *Yakṣa* himself; 3. the general statement (*arthāntaranyāsa*) put in to vindicate the propriety of the proposed statement. The last line can be assumed to be the words of the poet (*kavi-vacana*).

The commentary of Mallinātha on the first part of the verse runs as follows :—

he āyuṣman । praśaṃsāyām matup । paropakāra-ślāghya-jīvitetyarthaḥ । mama vacanaṃ prārthanā-vacanaṃ tasmāc cātmanaḥ svasyo' pakartuṃ ca । paropakāreṇā 'tmānaṃ kṛtārthayitum ityarthaḥ । upakāra-kriyāṃ prati karmatve' pi tasyo' pakarotī' tyādivat sambandha-mātra-vivakṣāyām ātmana iti ṣaṣṭhī na vīrudhyate ।······tāṃ priyām evaṃ brūyāḥ । tvam iti śeṣaḥ ।......

According to him, the purport of the first part of the verse is—'O long-lived one, on my asking (*mama vacanād*) as well as to gain benefit for yourself (*atmanaś copakartum*) (by doing good to others) you please tell her in the following manner'.

Here Mallinātha construes '*vacanāt*' with '*mama*' and '*upakartum*' with '*ātmanaḥ*'. He assumes '*ātmanaḥ*' to be the object of the verb '*upakartum*' and explains the case-ending in '*ātmanaḥ*', which is genitive singular, by *saṃbandha-mātra-vivakṣā* and supports the usage by quoting similar instances from the works of Bhāravi and Śrīharṣa. As far as the usage of the genitive in such cases is concerned, it cannot be challenged. Mallinātha is on firm ground in saying that the *ṣaṣṭhī* case-ending in *ātmanaḥ* is not objectionable even though it is the object of the verb *upakaroti*, because in *saṃbandha-mātra-vivakṣā* it takes the *ṣaṣṭhī* case-ending as it is in the case of the instance *tasya upakaroti*. Our contention is that *ātmanaḥ* should not be construed with *upakartum*, as Mallinātha has done, but it should be construed with *vacanāt*. The first line should be construed in the following manner :—

Āyuṣman, mama ca ātmanaḥ ca vacanāt tām upakartum evaṃ brūyāḥ.

Then the purport of the first line would be : 'Long-lived one, on your behalf as well as on my behalf tell her in the following manner in order to do good to her'.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mallinātha's interpretation of the verse can be objected to on three grounds :

1. According to his interpretation the phrases *mama vacanāt* and *ātmanaḥ upakartum* are both used as reason (*yukti*) for Megha's conveying the message, but both the phrases are not executed in the same manner and there is a reflection on Kālidāsa's abilities of *execution*, which is seldom found elsewhere in his works.

2. It also does not appeal to common sense that a supplicant would request somebody to do his errand by pointing out that it could also do good to the performer.

3. The double use of the indeclinable *ca* is not well brought out in his interpretation. Bharata Mallika has rightly pointed out that the double use of the indeclinable *ca* is to indicate the importance of the speeches of the cloud and the Yakṣa both[1].

As mentioned above, several old commentators have interpreted the first line of the verse under discussion in the manner suggested here. Pūrṇasarasvatī, in his commentary *Vidyullatā* on Meghasaṃdeśa[2], has construed *vacanāt* with *mama* and *ātmanaḥ*. The relevant part of his commentary on the verse is quoted below :

> *mama vacanāc ca madīya-vacanatvena cetyarthaḥ । upakartuḥ īdṛśa-paramopkāra-kariṇaḥ । ātmanaś ca ātma-śabdena meghaḥ parāmṛśyate bavataś cetyarthaḥ । vacanād iti anuṣajyate*[3].

Bharata Mallika also has construed it in the manner as suggested here :

> *he āyuṣman dīrghajīvin, mama ca ātmanaś ca vacanāt vākyāt tām mat-kāntām upakartum evaṃ itthaṃ vakṣyamāṇa-prakāreṇa tāṃ tvaṃ brūyāḥ kathayiṣyasi*[4].

Sthiradeva, another commentator, who has preferred to read *ātmanā* in place of *ātmanaḥ*, understands the first line of this verse in the same manner : *mama vācanāt madīyena vacasā tathā ātmanā svayaṃ ca mama tasyāś ca mitra-vadhvā upkartum......* Following Sthiradeva's commentary, Prof. V. G. Paranjape has translated the first half of the verse in the following way:—'Say this to oblige her, long-lived cloud, for my sake and of thy own accord, "Frail lady......"'[5].

1. mama cā'tmanaś ca vacanād ity anena vikalatayā yan mayā vaktum vismṛtam tad api tvayā dṛstāvasthaṃ vaktavyam iti jñāpitam. Ca-dvayam ubhaya-prād h nyārtham.
   J.B. Chawdhari's edition, Prācyavāṇī Mandira, Calcutta, 1951.
2. Meghasaṃdeśa is another name of the Meghadūta of Kālidāsa.
3. Meghasaṃdeśa edited by R.V. Krishnamachariar, Shri Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam, 1909.
4. J.B. Chawdhari's edition, 1951, p. 75.
5. Paranjape's edition of Meghadūta, 2nd ed., 1941, p. 114.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Again, if we closely examine the verse in question and the following eleven verses, we shall find that they contain a narration partly put in the mouth of the cloud and partly put in the mouth of the Yakṣa. Pūrṇasarasvatī, suggesting a way to avoid a *krama-bhanga-doṣa*, has very correctly analysed the whole matter. He says that here the speech beginning with the words *'tava sahacaro'* and ending with *'man mukhenedam āha'* (verse no. 43 according to my edition) is the narration by the cloud and the speech beginning with the words *'śyāmāsv aṅgam'* (verse no. 44) is the narration by the Yakṣa. Therefore the content is such as fully justifies the suggestion that *vacanāt* should he construed with *mama* as well as *ātmanaḥ* and here *mama vacanāt* should rather be translated as 'in my words' or 'in my name'. Prof. Monier Monier-Williams, in his dictionary, has properly noted the meaning of the phrase *vacanāt* or *vacanena* (with the genitive) as 'in the name of'.[2]

A study of the phrase *mama vacanāt* and the like, as detailed below, would show that Kālidāsa has used this and the like phrases several times in his other works. Wherever a speaker asks or requests somebody else to convey his message to a third person or party, the message is often preceded by a sentence like *'mad vacanād ucyatām'* and the message is reported in the direct narration. Therefore in such contexts the phrases *'mama vacanāt'* etc. should mean *'in my words'*.

In *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* such phrases have been used four times in different contexts. In act IV, when Śakuntalā is being sent to Hastināpura, Kāśyapa, foster-father of Śakuntalā, asks Śārṅgarava to convey his massage to the King Duṣyanta by saying : *Śārṅgarava, iti tvayā mad vacanāt sa rājā Śakuntalām puras-kṛtya vaktavyaḥ—Asmān sādhu vicintya saṃyama-dhanān ......etc.* (*Abhijñānaśākuntalam, act IV, p. 136).*[3]

In act V, when the door-keeper informs the king of the arrival of the sages along with ladies and with a message from Kāśyapa, the king asks him to tell the priest Somarāta to receive them befittingly and bring them in his presence. He says, *'ten hi mad-vacanād vijñāpyatām upādhyāyaḥ Somarātaḥ—amūn āśrama-vāsinaḥ śrautena vidhinā sat-kṛtya svayam eva praveśayitum arhatīti,'* (*Act V, p. 150*). In act VI, the king Duṣyanta requests his friend Vidūṣaka to convey his message to his minister Piśuna by saying : *'vayasya, anatikramaṇīyā divas-pater ājñā. Tad atra parigatārthaṃ kṛtvā mad-vacanād amātya-Piśunaṃ brūhi—tvan-matiḥ kevalā tāvat pari-pālayatu prajāḥ, adhijyam idam anyasmin karmaṇi vyāpṛtam Duṣyanta dhanuḥ*, (Abhijñāna, Act VI, p. 242). In Act VII, when the king Duṣyanta

1. 'Atra ca "tava sahacarp" ity ārabhya "man mukhenedamāha" ity antasya megha-vacanatvāt 'śyāmāsv ity ādeś ca yakṣa-vacanatvāt. Meghaṣameśa, edited by R.V. Krishnamachariar, Shri Vani Vilasa Press, Srirangam, 1909.
2. Monier Monier-Williams : A Sanskrit English Dictionary, p. 912 Col. 3.
3. Edited by Dr. Shiv Raj, Meerut, 1961.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

accepts his deserted wife Śakuntalā along with her son, Mārīca the hermit asks his disciple Gālava to convey the good news to the hermit Kaṇva by saying : *Gālava, idānīm eva vihāyasā gatvā mad-vacanāt tatra-bhavate kaṇvāya priyam āvedaya yathā putra-vatī Śakuntalā tac-chāpa-nivṛttau smṛti-matā Duṣyantena prati-gṛhīteti'* (*Abhijñāna Act VII, p. 286*).

Such instances also occur in Mālavikāgnimitra[1] and Vikramorvaśīya[2], the other two plays of Kālidāsa. In all such cases it would appear that the phrase *mad-vacanāt* or the like refers to the message subsequently produced in the direct narration, therefore the phrase should invariably mean 'in my words' or 'in my name'. Prof. Monier Monier-Williams has adopted, in his dictionary, the latter meaning.[3]

The use of this phrase is not confined only to the works of Kālidāsa. Other Sanskrit play-wrights, his predecessors and successors, have frequently used the phrase just in the manner as Kālidāsa has used it. It would be sufficient, for our purpose, to cite only a few instances here.

Śūdraka, in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, has used this phrase several times. In act I, Śakāra, the villain, asks Maitreya to convey his threatening message to Cārudatta in these words: *are re duṣṭa-baṭuka, bhaṇiṣyasi mama vacaṇena taṃ daridra-Carudattakaṃ—eṣā sasuvarṇā.........vasantasenā.........tava gehaṃ praviṣṭā.........etc..*[4] Similarly in Act III, when Cārudatta sends Maitreya with the neck-lace to Vasantasenā, the same phrase again precedes the message: *vaktavyā ca sā madvacanāt—yat khalv asmābhiḥ suvarṇa-bhāṇḍam ātmīyam iti kṛtvā visrambhād dyūte hāritam. Tasya kṛte gṛhyatāṃ iyaṃ ratnāvalīti.*[5]

In act IX, Cārudatta requests Maitreya to convey his last respectful salutation (*abhivādana*) to his mother, by saying: '*Sakhe Maitreya, gaccha, mad-vacanād ambāṃ apaścimam abhivādayasva.*'[6]. Here it is to be noted that the sentence of salutation is not put in the direct narration and the formal uttering was to be supplied by Maitreya himself.

Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa, the author of the *Veṇīsaṃhāra*, has also used like phrases in several contexts and in all cases the phrase seems to refer to the speech or the message of the first speaker. In act I, Bhīma in fury asks his brother Sahadeva to return and inform the king that for one day Bhīma was no more subservient to him. He says: *tat Sahadeva nivartasva evaṃ cā' ticira-pravṛddhāmarṣoddīpitasya Bhīmasya vacanād vijñāpaya rājānam/.........| yuṣmac chāsana-laṅghanāṃhasi mayā magnena nāma sthitam.........etc.*[7]

1. Jīvānanda's ed. of Mālavikā., act I, p. 6 ; V, p. 124.
2. Vikramorvaśīya (Calcutta ed.) Act II, p. 27 ; III, p. 71; V p. 160 ; V, p. 179.
3. A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, p. 777, Col. 2.
4. Mṛcchakatika (edited by R.D. Karmarkar), act I, p. 34.
5. *Ibid*, act III, p. 83.
6. *Ibid*, act IX, p. 220.
7. Veṇīsaṃhāra (edited by Dr. Shiv Raj, Meerut, 1960), pp. 18 and 20.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In act IV, on hearing of the heroic death of Karṇa's son, Duryodhana asks Sundaraka to console Karṇa on his behalf by saying: '*Sundaraka, tvam api mad-vacanāt tvaritataraṃ gatvā vayasyam aṅgarājaṃ pratibodhaya—alam atisāhasena, abhinna evāyam āvayoḥ saṃkalpaḥ*'.[1] *In act V, Dhṛtarāṣṭra* requests *Saṃjaya* to convey his message to *Aśvatthāmā* by saying: *Saṃjaya, mad-vacanād brūhi Bhāradvājam Aśvatthāmānam——smarati na bhavān pītam stanyaṃ vibhajya sahā' munā etc.*[2] In act VI, Yudhiṣṭhira conveys his message to his mother Kuntī through his maid-servant Buddhimatikā in the following words: *Bhadre Buddhimatike, ucyatām asmad-vacanād ambā—yenāsi tatra jatuveśmani dīpyamāne......etc.*[3] Again in the same Act, Draupadī also asks Buddhimatikā to convey her message to Subhadra by saying: *Halā Buddhimatike, bhaṇa mama vacanena priyasakhīṃ Subhadrām—adya vatsāyā Uttarāyās' caturtho māsaḥ pratipannasya garbhasya.........etc.*[4]

An examination of the instances cited above would show that in all these phrases—*mama vacanāt, mad-vacanāt, asmad-vacanāt, mama vacanena etc.*—the word *vacana* refers to the message or speech which follows. Therefore, in the verse under discussion also, the word *vacanāt* should refer to the speech that follows. Here, as shown above, the speech which follows, consists of two parts——(1) speech of the cloud and (2) speech of the Yakṣa, therefore the word *vacana* should refer to both of them. If the word *vacana* should refer to both the speeches, it should be construed with both the words *mama* and *ātmanaḥ* which occur in the first line of the verse. Hence our suggestion stands justified,

Again, the motive of the Yakṣa in his requesting the cloud to convey his message to his beloved in Alakā is a wish to save her life, as it it clear from the adjective *dayitā-jīvitālambanārthī* (wishing to save the life of his beloved) occurring in verse 4 of Pūrvamegha. Therefore, the word *upakartum* in the verse in question shou*d naturally correspond to *dayitā-jīvitālambana*. Hence it would be most natural to construe the word *upakartum* with the word *tām* which stands for the Yakṣiṇī, and not with the word *ātmanaḥ*.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 176
2. *Ibid.*, p. 216
3. *Ibid.*, p. 258
4. *Ibid.*, p. 260

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FORM IV

(See Rule 8)

1. Place of publication ... Kurukshetra

2. Periodicity of its publication ... Biannual

3. Printer's Name ... T. Philip

   Nationality ... Indian

   Address ... Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra

4. Publisher's Name ... Dr. Buddha Prakash

   Nationality ... Indian

   Address ... Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra

5. Editor's Name ... Dr. Buddha Prakash

   Nationality ... Indian

   Address ... Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra

6. Name and address of individuals who own the magazine and partners or share-holders, holding more than one per cent of the total capital ... The paper is owned by the Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra.

I, Buddha Prakash, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Dated 7-3-67.

Signature of Publisher
BUDDHA PRAKASH

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Vol. I, No. 2.

KURUKSHETRA UNIVERSITY

RESEARCH JOURNAL

[ARTS AND HUMANITIES]

EDITOR
BUDDHA PRAKASH

KURUKSHETRA UNIVERSITY
KURUKSHETRA
June-July, 1967

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CONTENTS

Ancient History, Culture and Archaeology

The Positivist Character of Indian Thought and Culture
—Buddha Prakash ... 237

A Note on King Harichandra
—H. A. Phadke ... 247

The Taxila Copper-Plate of Patika—(Year 78)
—M. Choudhury ... 251

Chammak Copper-Plate Inscription of Mahārāja Pravarasena II (Regnal Year 18)
—Sadhu Ram ... 260

English Literature

The Influences Behind Yeats's Dramatic Theory
—G.L. Narang ... 283

Religion and Education
—S. P. Ahluwalia ... 290

The Odes of John Keats
—M. R. Tewari ... 299

Hindi

लोक-साहित्य की मध्यकालीन कृति—वीसलदेवरासो
—छविनाथ त्रिपाठी ... 313

काव्यात्मक प्रतीक : सृजन एवं प्रभावप्रक्रिया
—राज कुमार शर्मा ... 319

शोध-प्रक्रिया
—विनयमोहन शर्मा ... 324

History

The Great October Revolution and India
—Devendra Kaushik ... 333

Role of Uttar Pradesh Peasantry in the Indian National Liberation Movement (1918-1922)
—D. Awasthi ... 355

Role of Thakur Pratap Singh of Kulu in the Uprising of 1857
—K. C. Yadav ... 362

Village Under the Mughals
—Mahendrapal Singh ... 365

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Linguistics

Problems of Language Teaching
—J. D. Singh ... 373

भोजपुरी के नासिक्य स्वनिम
—कृपाशंकर सिंह ... 376

Philosophy and Psychology

Epistemic Requisites of Theory-Construction
—A. K. Sinha ... 379

The Conception of Individual Self in the Tṛka Philosophy of Kāśmīra
—Deba Brata Sen Sharma ... 391

On Scientific Materialism
—H. S. Sinha ... 400

The Representationist Theory of Perception in Buddhist Philosophy
—Shri Nivas Shastri ... 408

Political Science

Exclusion and Expulsion of Aliens Under the U. S. Laws
—P. N. Mittal ... 415

Recent Trends in Pakistan's Foreign Policy
—Surendra Chopra ... 424

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

1. **Dr. Buddha Prakash** — M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., D.Litt, is professor of History and of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology and director of the Institute of Indic Studies.
2. **Dr. H.A. Phadke** — M.A., Ph.D., is lecturer in the Department of History. He has written his thesis on Tripartite Struggle.
3. **Dr. M. Choudhury** — M.A., Ph.D. is lecturer in the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology.
4. **Sh. Sadhu Ram** — M.A., is U.G.C. scholar attached to the Linguistics Department. He has specialized in Epigraphy.
5. **Sh. G. L. Narang** — M.A., is lecturer in the Department of English.
6. **Dr. M.R. Tiwari** — M.A., is lecturer in the Department of English.
7. **Sh. S.P. Ahluwalia** — M.Ed., Ph.D., is lecturer in the Department of Education. He is currently working on "A Study on Child's Perception of the Parent" and "A Psychometric Study of Front-Benchers and Back-Benchers."
8. **Dr. Chhavi Nath Tripati** — M.A. (Hindi and Sanskrit) Ph.D. (Hindi and Sanskrit) Sahityaratna, is reader in the Department of Hindi and has written some learned works on Sanskrit and Hindi literature, specially on Champu Kavya.
9. **Sh. Raj Kumar Sharma** — M.A., is Research Scholar in the Department of Hindi. He has recently been appointed Head of the Hindi Department in D.A.V. College, Dehradun.
10. **Dr. V.M. Sharma** — M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., is professor and Head of the Department of Hindi and is a well-known Hindi writer, poet and critic. He has held many important positions in the Hindi world and is one of the foremost writers and thinkers of this period.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

11.	Dr. D. Kaushik	M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. (Agra), Ph.D. (Tashkent), is lecturer in the Department of History. He has worked on Anglo-Russian Colonial Rivalry in the Central Asia and the Soviet Nationalities Policy in Central Asia and published research papers in India and abroad.
12.	Dr. D. Awasthi	M.A., Ph.D., is lecturer in the Department of History. He has written his thesis on S. H. Butler's Administration 1918-1922, published several learned papers and is currently working on the Administration of Sir James Thomason.
13.	Dr. K. C. Yadav	M.A., Ph.D., is lecturer in the Department of History. He is the author of (1) Rao Tula Ram—A Hero of 1857, (2) Ahirwal Ka Itihas. (3) Uprising of 1857 in Hariyana. He is also the Editor of *Hariyana Research Journal* and is currently working on *History and Culture of* Hariyana (1803-1866).
14.	Sh. M. P. Singh	M.A., is Research Scholar in the Department of History.
15.	Dr. J. D. Singh	M.A. (Sanskrit), M.A. (Linguistics), Ph.D. (U.S.A.) is professor and Head of the Department of Linguistics and is quite well-known in his field.
16.	Sh. Kripa Shankar	M.A., is Research Scholar in the Department of Linguistics.
17.	Dr. A. K. Sinha	M.A., Ph.D. (U.S.A.) is Head of the Department of Philosophy. He has written many books and papers and is actively engaged in research in Social Philosophy and other subjects.
18.	Dr. D. B. Sen Sharma	M.A., Ph.D. is lecturer in the Department of Sanskrit and is Specialist of Ancient Indian Philosophy.
19.	Sh. H. S. Sinha	M.A., is lecturer in the Department of Philosophy.
20.	Dr. Sri Nivas Shastri	M.A , Ph.D., Shastri, is lecturer in the Department of Sanskrit. He wrote his thesis on 'The Exposition of Buddhist Philosophical System by Vacaspatimisra' and published some papers.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

21. Shri P. N. Mittal — M.A., LL.B., M.A. (Washington), is lecturer in the Department of Political Science and has published some papers on Constitutional Problems.

22. Shri Surendra Chopra — M.A., is lecturer in the Department of Political Science. He has some papers to his credit and has finished a research project "On Kashmir in the United Nations".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Ancient History, Culture and Archæology

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Buddha Prakash

THE POSITIVIST CHARACTER OF INDIAN THOUGHT AND CULTURE

Indian thought and culture are usually described as spiritual, metaphysical and otherworldy. Both foreign and native scholars characterise the Indian approach to life as an escape from the work-a-day world into a land of mystery and nothingness which defies understanding. They hold that the Indian dismisses the world as an illusion, rejects life as a hallucination, treats reality transcendental and supramundane and attempts to pass into it through a withdrawal from the material pursuits. In a seminar, organized by the Indian Committee for cultural Freedom at New Delhi in November 1962, it was suggested that the basic features of Hinduism are as follows :

(1) The supernatural is heavily relied upon ;

(2) the supernatural being a matter of faith or mysitc experience, faith and intuition and mystic experience are commended as sources of valid knowledge ;

(3) the idea of a Supreme Being, or God, is emphasized ;

(4) the doctrine of *karma* and rebirth and transmigration of soul is adumbrated ;

(5) the theory of social stratification through varṇa-structure is held out.

All these notions, it was held, will have to be discarded, because they conflict with the best of modern thought and values, which are higher than them "not simply because they are modern but because they are in consonance with reason and the dignity of man."[1] Accordingly, the editor of the proceedings of the said seminar concluded that "it is obvious that very little of the dominant Hindu intellectual and social tradition is capable of co-existence, not to speak of integration, with the modern outlook."[2] Therefore, it is necessary to reexamine the basic values of Indian culture in order to see if they have been correctly interpreted in the context of what is called the modern outlook.

Indian Culture is a complex of diverse standpoints exhibiting a multiplicity of thought patterns, but there are some unifying threads in

1. *Tradition and Modernity in India*, ed. A.B. Shah and C.R.M. Rao, Manaktalas, Bombay (1965), p. 29.
2. *ibid.* p. 22.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

them which give them coherence and cohesion. One such thread is the *Veda*, which, according to Medhātithi, a commentator of Manu (II,6), is so called because *dharma* or the behaviour of the universe, society and man is known from it. Veda is available to us in the form of the carefully edited books of the Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda and Atharvaveda. They are explained and expatiated upon in a vast mass of exegetical literature consisting of the Brāhamṇas, Āraṇyakas, Upaniṣads, Sūtras etc. Their varied interpretations give rise to various schools of thought, often diametrically opposed to each other, some commending them, others criticising them, but all clearly acknowledging their importance in the framework of the cultural system. Thus the actions and reactions of the Veda constitute the formation and unfolding of the texture of Indian culture and it is better to start with it. Veda is knowledge, an understanding of the real, which is also light and immortality. The leit-motif of the Veda is summed up in a text as the progress :

> From the unreal to the real ;
> From darkness to light ;
> From death to immortality.[3]

The knowledge of the real comes through introspection[4] which reveals that reality is the unity of existence. It is 'that one' (*Tad Ekam*) which exists by its own potentiality.[5] Impelled by its creative urge (*kāma*), it manifests itself in the various forms of existence.[6] Spatially considered, it is the the Frame (*skambha*) of the universe[7] ; temporally treated, it is Time (*kāla*) or the process of being.[8] In course of spatio-temporal unfolding, it betrays the opposing forces of conservatism, stagnation and inertia and dynamism, progress and change. These forces are called *Asat* and *Sat* and their interaction constitutes the evolution of creation. In Vedic symbology, they are Vṛtra and Indra, both sons of Tvaṣṭṛ[9], whose struggle enshrines the working of the negative and positive aspects of the creative process.

In the *Ṛgveda*, the 'That One' is also called Prajāpati Viśvakarman[10], Brahmaṇaspati[11] and Puruṣa.[12] In the Upaniṣads, it is known as Brahman. According to these texts, Brahman is not merely the source of all but actually is all. To quote the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (V,4) "This (universe) is that (sole principle), even the real. He who knows that

3. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, I, 3, 28.
4. *Ṛgveda*, X, 81, 4.
5. *ibid.*, X. 129, 2.
6. *ibid.*, X, 129, 3.
7. *Atharvaveda*, X, 7 ; X, 8.
8. *ibid*, XIX, 53-54.
9. A.A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, pp. 57, 116.
10. *Ṛgveda*, X, 81-2.
11. *ibid.*, X, 72.
12. *ibid.*, X. 90.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

great wonderful thing as the first-born, namely, that Brahman is the real, conquers these worlds." The *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* (II, 2, 11) adds "Brahman, indeed, is this immortal : in front is Brahman, behind is Brahman, to right and to left is Brahman, stretched forth below and above. Brahman, indeed, is this whole world, this widest extent." Another name for Brahman is Ātman. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (VII, 25, 2) says that "Ātman alone is this whole world." In a discussion on Ātman in this text, Prācīnaśāla Aupamanyava identifies it with heaven, Satyayajña Pauluṣi says it is the sun, Indradyumna Bhāllaveya thinks it is the wind, Jana Śārkarākṣya holds it is the space, Buḍila Āśvatarāśvi states it is water and Uddālaka Āruṇi considers that it is the earth, but, synthesizing all these views, Aśvapati Kekaya says that it is the totality of all these elements.[13] The *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* (II, 21) clarifies that Ātman or Brahman being the real, includes both the *Sat* and the *Asat*. Thus, it is clear that early Indian thought identifies the reality of the universe with its unity. This is what W. Norman Brown calls 'realistic monism.'[14]

The scheme of being or Brahman or Ātman is organically constituted. All its components are inseparably arranged in one whole. The body of the Puruṣa in the *Ṛgveda* (X 90) is the symbol of the universal organism. From his various limbs the phenomena of nature as well as the classes of society emerge. Hence, there is a fundamental correspondence between nature and society, which, in turn, go into the making of man and are reflected in him. Nature consists of sixteen elements which are enumerated in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (IV, 4-9) as east, west, south, north, earth, atmosphere, sky, ocean, fire, sun, moon, lightning, breath, eye, ear and mind. Expressing this idea, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII, 5, 1, 15) says that "everything here consists of sixteen parts" (*ṣoḍaśakalam vā idam sarvam*) and the *Kauṣītakī Brāhmaṇa* (XVI, 16, 4) holds that the universe has sixteen parts. This sixteenfold totality of being is conceived of as sixteenpartite creator (*ṣoḍaśī prajāpati*)[15], whose microcosmic form is the sixteen-faceted man (*ṣoḍaśakalo vai puruṣaḥ*)[16]. In this way, nature and man are microcosmic enlargement and microcosmic abridgment of the same scheme of being.

The sixteen constituents of being are also reduced to seven : mind, life or breath, earth, water, fire, air and sky. These are the seven sons of Viśpati mentioned in the *Asyavāmīya sūkta*[17] and symbolized in the conception of the seven Ādityas, seven priests, seven hymns, seven layers of the fire-altar, seven seasons, seven regions, seven worlds of gods, seven

13. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, V, 18, 2.
14. W. Norman Brown, *Man in the Universe : Some Continuities in Indian Thought*, (1966), p. 31.
15. *Vājasneyī Saṁhitā*, VIII, 36; *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VII, 2, 2, 17.
16. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, X, 4, 1, 17; *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa*
17. *Ṛgveda* I, 164. 1.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

animals, seven vital airs etc. Corresponding to them on the social plane, we have the seven components of the state, sovereign (*svāmin*), bureaucracy (*amātya*), territory and people (*rāṣṭra* or *janapada*), capital (*durga*), army and police (*daṇḍa*) and friends and allies (*mitra*)[18]; equivalent to them in the individual, there are the seven powers of mind, life hearing, smell, sight, taste and touch. From this point of view also, the universe, society and man are the forms of the same order of being.

The elements of being are further reduced to three, mind, (*manas*) life (*prāṇa*) and matter (*vāk*).[19] They are symbolized in the three gods, three qualities, three worlds, three fires and the three vedas.[20] Parallel to this threefold conceptions of nature, gods and life is the social structure of the Indo-European society based on the tripartite classification of priests, warriors and husbandsmen.[21] Corresponding to this scheme of things in the human body, we have the threefold system of epiblast, mesoblast and hypoblast,[22] manifest as the three leaves of the sacred pipal twig, depicted on Indus Valley seals.[23] Here again there is perfect symmetry in the working of the order of being on the natural, social and individual planes.

It is clear from the above discussion that reality may be conceived of sixteenfold, sevenfold or threefold according to the various stages of evolution. But, at each stage, it reveals an organic unity and a central system marked by a harmonious blending of various potentialities. Creation means the transformation of the one into the three, the three into the seven, the seven into the sixteen and so on and so forth. In this process, there is a perpetual disintegration and reintegration, an endless renewal and renaissance, an incessant dynamism and change. Underlying this process are the trends of harmony, cohesion and synthesis; the force of *ṛta*, *satya* and *dharma*, which have to be assimilated and incorporated on all planes of existence. The construction of the Vedic altar[24] or the raising of the Hindu temple[25] and the performance of the ritual and the offering of worship in them are attempts at recapturing the cosmic harmony with a view to transferring it to human life. After all, natural law, social life and individual adjustment are the three aspects of the fundamental harmony of being which man has to appropriate through proper symbols whose complex constitutes culture and religion.

The process of the unfolding and evolution of the one in the many is called creation or construction the word for which in Indian language

18. J.W. Spellman, *Political Theory of Ancient India*, p. 9
19. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIV, 4, 3, 14.
20. *Ṛgveda*, I, 164, 42; *Liṅga Purāṇa*, I, 70, 78.
21. G. Dumézil, *L'idéologie tripartite des Indo-Europeéns* (Brussels, 1958).
22. V.S. Agrawala, *Vision in Long Darkness*, p, 18
23. Buddha Prakash, *Ṛgveda and Indus Valley Civilization*, p. 34.
24. H. Hubert et M. Mauss, *Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice*, Annèe Sociologique, II, (1897-98), p. 29.
25. S. Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, 2 Vols. (Calcutta, 1946).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

is *māyā*. Burrow derives this word, *māyā*, from the Indo-European root *mā*-"to make", from which have come Latin *māter* (mother) and *materies* (material).[26] Gonda takes the root of this word to denote "creative thinking, devising" so that it is almost synonymous with *prajñā*, meaning "wisdom, intelligence, device, design."[27] In any case, *māyā* implies the idea of the manifestation of the basic reality of being in the form of its varied phenomena. To quote Gonda, this word "is, in the *Ṛgveda*, used so as to suggest the conception of a special ability, ascribed to a god, to project himself into externality, to assume an outward appearance or to appear in, or as, the phenomenal world (*Ṛgveda*, III, 53, 8; VI, 47, 18 where Indra's habit of becoming every form is said to be due to his faculty called *māya*)."[28] The *Atharvaveda* (X, 8, 34) conceives of the scheme of being as a lotus flower, the root of which remains hidden in the water whereas the stalks spread out in the visible world, and describes it as the consequence of *māyā*. The *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* (IV, 1) equates *māyā*, with *śaktiyoga* or the exercise of the power of the manifestation of the potentiality of creation in the universe of varied forms. In the *Bhagavadgītā* (IV, 6) also *māyā* means the 'activity' by which the Fundamental Being causes the phenomenal world to emanate from His Owe Self. In Śankara's philosophy *māya* is the inherent energy of Being, like heat in fire. "Name and form are the germs of the whole expansion of the universe traditionally called *māyā*, *śakti* or *prakṛti*."[29] Rāmānuja makes this point even more clear when he describes *māyā* as the *prakāra* of Brahman. Thus, *māyā* stands for the empirical reality or the phenomenal world or the finite universe. Not only etymologically, but also semantically, *māyā* and *material* are equivalent.

Analogous to *māyā* is the concept of *mithyā*. In Indian philosophical terminology, it denotes variety and multiplicity as the precipitate of unity. Since the varied and the many are the evolutes of the one, their existence is relative to it. This state of relativity of the manyfoldedness of the world goes by the name of *mithyā*. It is wrong to equate it with its popular meaning of falsehood or unreality.

We have observed that in ancient Indian thought the reality of being is equated with a unity which evolves into multiplicity by the creative power inherent in it. In course of its unfolding, in manifests itself as the triplicity of mind, life and matter through the combinations and interactions of which the world of multiple forms comes into existence. Thus, mind, life and matter form part of one material complex having a dynamic orientation. They are materially real and organically interrelated. The question of the precedence of the one to the other does not arise.

26. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (1960), p. 65.
27. J. Gonda, *Four Studies in the Language of the Veda*, pp. 167 ff.
28. J. Gonda, *Change and Continuity in Indian Religion*, p. 168.
29. *Śankarabhāṣya*, translated by G. Thibaut in *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. 34. p. 328.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Being is a dynamic process. In it there is perpetual movement and formation. It reveals incessant expansion (*samprasāraṇa*) and contraction (*samañcana*). In Vedic language, it is *Yajus* embodying *yat* and *ju* or 'moving and staying.'[30] Both *stithi* and *gati* are latent in it so that it is both fixed and fluxional or absolute and relative. Some emphasize its immutable aspect calling it *Brahman*, others concentrate on its kaleidoscopic character naming it *śūnya*. Yājñavalkya and Śankara stressed the former and Nāgārjuna and Dignāga pointed out the latter. But, beneath this difference in expression and accentuation, is the realisation of the existence of the process of being.

Buddha in the sixth century B.C. revolutionized some patterns of Indian thought. Though his teaching is shrouded in the pedantry of later interpretations, it clearly appears that he was thoroughly anti-metaphysical and scrupulously avoided discussing whether the world is eternal or not, whether it is finite or otherwise, whether the body and soul are identical or different, whether a man exists or not after death. His silence on these points disturbed and agitated some of his intelligent companions and made them sceptical of his wisdom. One such thinker was Mālunkyāputra, who approached Buddha with the aforesaid categorical questions soliciting his clear-cut anwers and threatening to withwithdraw from his order in the event of his evading them. But, matching his insistence with his firmness, Buddha told him in unmistakable terms, "Mālunkyāputra, any one, who should say, 'I will not lead the religious life under the Blessed One until the Blessed One shall elucidate these questions to me', that person would die, Mālunkyāputra, before the Tathāgata had ever elucidated this to him." Illustrating his point by an analogy, Buddha went on, "it is, as if, Mālunkyāputra, a man had been wounded by an arrow thickly smeared with poison, and his friends and companions, his relatives and kinsfolk were to procure for him a physician or surgeon; and the sick man were to say, 'I will not have this arrow taken out until I have learnt whether the man, who wounded me, was a Kṣatriya, or a Brāhmaṇa, or a Vaiśya or a Śūdra, or until I have learnt his name and his clan, or whether he was tall or short or of medium height, or whether he was black or dusky or tawny, or whether he was from this village or that village or town or city, or whether the bow, which wounded me, was a *cāpa* of a *kodaṇḍa etc.*, that man would die, Mālunkyāputra without ever having learnt this." Concluding the discourse Buddha remarked: "The religious life, Mālunkyāputra, does not depend on the dogma that the world is eternal or on the dogma that the world is not eternal, nor on any of the other dogmas, which you have cited. Whichever alternatives among these pairs of dogmas obtain, there still remain birth, old age, death, sorrow, lamentation, misery, grief and despair, for the extinction of which in the present life I am preaching."[31] On the basis of this and similar

30. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, VI, 1.1,1; X, 3,5,1-2
31. W.C. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, Vol. III, pp. 117 ff; M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*. Vol. II, pp. 70-71.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

other discourses, we can endorse the opinion of Edgerton that Buddha was "as indifferent to metaphysics as he was untouched with supernaturalism."[32]

Buddha took the world for granted and preached a pure social ethics based upon the discipline of human thought and act. Whatever attitude he had towards life, seems to steer clear of eternalism and annihilationism. While he did not accept any permanent and immutable substance in man, he also refused to hold that his being comes to an abrupt end with death. He was conscious of some continuity amidst the change and flux of forms. Explaining it, one of his disciples cites the case of the cowherd, who entrusts a pot of milk to a man on condition that he would take it back next day, but, finding it sour cream, quarrels with the trustee insisting that the milk in the original form be returned to him, while the latter pleads not guilty swearing that he did not even touch his milk.[33] Here both the persons are partially right, whereas the cowherd justifiably contends that the sour cream being returned to him is different from the milk which he gave to the trustee, the latter correctly argues that the thing which he was handing over to him was the same thing in original packing which he had received. In fact, continuity and change go hand in hand without contradicting each other. On this showing, in the domain of life also, change of form, brought about by birth and death, is accompanied by continuity of existence which, for want of a better concept, can be expressed through the concept of rebirth. On the dissolution of the integration of mind, life and matter at the time of the death of a person, his ideas and feelings pass on to the collective subconscious psyche, his conduct and demeanour merge in social mores and canons and his body forms part of subsequent generations. Thus, he lives on psychologically, sociologically and even physically. Usually one is reborn in the form of one's offspring, but even when one is issueless, one's thoughts, sensibilities and actions are passed on to future generations through socio-psychic transmitters forming the architectonics of the cultural system. Buddha used the terms rebirth or the transmission of karma through the stream of consciousnesss in this sense. But that he was not clear, much less dogmatic, on the use of these terms, is proved by his refusal to discuss or dwell upon the question of the relationship of body and soul or the existence of a man after death. What he plainly understood was that there is continuity in life process which carries on the effects of actions.

The Buddhist view that the scheme of being functions through the process of cause and effect and represents a succession of point-instants led to the relativism of Nāgārjuna, according to which nothing

32. F. Edgerton, 'Did the Buddha have a System of Metaphysics'? *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. LXXIX (June 15, 1959).
33. *Milindapanho* in W.C. Warren, *op. cit*, Vol. III p. 237-8.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

can be called absolutely true, and the Kantism of Dignāga, according to which the world is a flux of *svalakṣaṇas* embodying the integrations of spatio-temporal structures. These doctorines led to the postulation of a plethora of realities in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system. Not only substances (*dravya*), qualities (*guṇa*), actions (*karma*), generals (*sāmānya*), particulars (*viśeṣa*) and inherence (*samavāya*), but also non-existence (*abhāva*), were treated as objective realities. It was held that a change in the qualities, *etc.* of a substance alters its character so that it perishes and comes into existence every once in a while. For instance, when a jar is baked in a kiln and its colour changes from grey to red, it is destroyed and a new one comes in its place. This means that not only in organic objects, but also in inorganic substances, every change in qualities brings about their destruction and the appearance of new ones.[34] Thus, the world is a kinetic and dynamic process in which there is a perpetual flux of forms following incessant alterations in the composition of elements and properties. This conjuncture of kinesis and statis explains the varied formulations and unlimited multiplicity of the phenomenal world.

We have observed above that Indian thought recognises the basic reality of being and encompasses in it both mind and matter with the result that we do not have here any dichotomy of realism and idealism such as we observe in western thought. In fact, we have no synonym of realism in Indian philosophical terminology evidently because the idea conveyed by it was so pervasive that no need was felt to specify it through a distinct term. Here the distinction lies between monism (*advaitavāda*) and dualism (*dvaitavāda*) representing different viewpoints of reality.

The aforesaid realism and positivism of Indian thought conditions and characterizes all aspects of Indian society and culture. Here, for want of space, we want to confine ourselves to the study of art and literature. The Indian view of being, as we have seen, may be defined as the ordered incarnation of the one into the many or the harmonious manifestation of the single into the multiple. This process implies a harmony, balance and order going by the name of *ṛta*, *satya* and *dharma*. The universe, society and man all follow, imbibe and obey it in varying degrees. Its recapitulation through various media means the creation of beauty and the production of art. Hence the *Ujjvalanīlamaṇi* defines beauty as the decent arrangement, composition and ordering of parts and organs.[35] But beauty does not reside in these parts and organs, it is the function of their ordering and blending in a harmonious pattern.[36] Its creation

34. D.N. Shastri, *Critique of Indian Realism*, pp. 20-22.
35. Aṅgapratyaṅgakānām yaḥ sanniveśo manoharaḥ I
Suśliṣṭasandhibandham tat saundaryamudāhṛtam II
36. Ānandavardhana, *Dhvanyāloka*, I, 4
Yattadprasiddhāvayavātiriktam vibhāti lāvaṇyamivāṅgnāsu
Abhinavagupta on *Dhvanyāloka* I. 3. lāvaṇyam hi nāmāvayavasaṁsthānābhivyaṅgyam avayavyātiriktam dharmāntarameva.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

means the placing of things in a harmonious relationship. Thus, art, as the creation of beauty, is an attempt at recapturing the harmony of being, that is to say, it is a dialogue between man and the universe through the medium of harmony. Hence, Indian art is the recreation of the unity and continuity of the scheme of being. In it, men, animals, plants and the inanimate environment mingle in a dynamic pattern exhibiting the rhythm of rise and fall in a sequence of continuity. As a celebrated authority on Indian art has observed about the reliefs of the Bharhut railings, in them men, animals, fruits and flowers all "join, in stabilized harmony, the hymn of life which is sung by the patient and heavy movement of an untiring all pervading lotus-stalk. Life's unbroken continuity is expressed by the revolving ringlets of the lotus-stalk, which, unswerving and undisturbed, patiently carries the Buddha throughout his former incarnations and rocks each of them with equal tenderness between its undulations."[37] Viṣṇu reclining on the serpent, Varāha lifting the earth from the watery chaos, Śiva performing the cosmic dance, Buddha moving his fingers in response to the wavy lips radiant with soft smile, and the massive Jina exhibiting control and composure of the whole being are different attempts at recapturing the dynamic harmony of the cosmic system through the language of chisel and stone. In alliance with religion, it seeks to catch the infinite in the finite and lock the abstract in the concrete. Thus, it reveals a union of plastic corporeality and broad universality. It is tangible, bodily and iconic as well as universal, symbolic and cosmic, in other words, it combines the classic and the romantic.[38]

Like art, literature is also an essay in recapturing harmony and order through words. Its Indian equivalent *sāhitya* literally means the state or act of having been synthesized or put together and figuratively denotes the interfixing of word and meaning.[39] In it, the commonly used linguistic symbols are transmuted into universal symbols; individual characters are divested of their historical personalities and converted into the vehicles of cosmopolitan expression. Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Buddha are torn of the contexts of time and space and made the mouthpieces of universal forces. Through literature individual and the universe interpenetrate, the individual expanding to encompass the universe and the universe contracting to incarnate itself into the individual. This cosmic outlook of Indian literature explains why there is no place of history in it, and also no tendency of escapism or abstraction or the doctrine of art for art's sake. Since beauty is harmony and harmony is good, beauty has an inevitable

---

37. Stella Kramrisch, 'The Expressiveness of Indian Art,' *Journal of the Department of Letters* (Calcutta University), Vol. IX (1923) pp. 55-144

38. Buddha Prakash, 'Observations on Indian Art,' *Śatābda Kaumudi* (Central Museum, Nagpur, 1964); pp. 44-48

39. Rājaśekhara, *Kāvyamīmānsā*, p. 4, śabdārthayoryathāvat sahabhāvena vidyā sāhityavidyā.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

connection with goodness, a strong moral appeal and even a didactic purpose.[40]

Thus, we observe that Indian art and literature are a theatre of concrete and corporeal figures, beings of flesh and blood, derived from real life. All these figures and characters are plastic, material and perceptible, without any trace of the abstract, metaphysical or mysterious. But, in them, there is a synthesis of the individual and the universal. In their forms, the scheme of being, evolving into mind, life and matter, encompassing nature, society and man and expressing itself through harmony, rhythm and poise, is compressed. Here is positivism, materialism and realism on a total cosmic scale in which the individual and the universe combine and coalesce in a pattern of harmony. This realisation of the reality and organicism of the scheme of being is the hall-mark of Indian positivist thought. It is wrong to call it idealistic, otherworldly, escapist or spiritual.

40. Kalidasa, *Kumārasaṁbhava*, V, 36, Yaducyate pārvati pāpavṛttaye na rūpamityavyabhicāri tadvacaḥ.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

H.A. Phadke

A NOTE ON KING HARICHANDRA

The disintegration of the Gupta empire about the second half of the sixth century was the signal for the rise of several new powers in Northern India. One of these powers was the Pratihāras who, under Harichandra, founded their earliest kingdom somewhere in the Jodhpur region.[1] In this paper an attempt has been made to study the history of this ruler on the basis of information supplied by a few inscriptions of his family.[2]

The inscriptions trace the descent of this dynasty from Lakṣmaṇa, who performed the duty of a *pratihāra* (door-keeper) to his elder brother Rāmabhadra (Rāma) of the Kṣatriya Raghu family.[3] This agrees with the information supplied by the Gwalior praśasti of Mihira Bhoja, a ruler of the Pratihāra family of Jalor and Kanauj.[4] But, as against this, another

1. The expression "*sva pratīhāra-vaṁśajān praśastau lekhayāmāsa*" in verse 3 of the Jodhpur inscription (*EI*. XVIII, p. 87 f) wherein Bāuka is said to have glorified the kings of his own Pratihāra clan implies the existence of a Pratihāra family other than that of Bāuka.
2. For the history of the Pratihāras of Jodhpur the following inscriptions are important :—
   (a) Jodhpur inscription of Bāuka of V.S. 894 (A.D. 837) *EI*, XVIII, p. 87 ff. *JRAS*, 1894, pp. 1 ff.
   (b) Ghatiyālā inscriptions of Kakkuka, a step-brother of Bāuka, dated V.S. 918 (861 A.D.), *EI*, IX, p. 210 ff ; *JRAS*, 1895, p. 513 ff.
3. *EI*, XVIII, p. 87 ff. V. 4 ; EI, IX, p. 220 ff. V. 2.
   (a) *sva-bhrāttrā-Rāmabhadrasya prātihāryaṁ kṛtaṁ yataḥ*
   Śrī-pratihāra-vaṁśoyam-ataśchonnatim-āpnuyāt ||
   (b) *Raghu-tilako Paḍihāro āsī siri-Lakhaṇotti Rāmassa* |
   Teṇa Paḍihāra-vanso samuṇai ettha sampatto ||
   R. C. Majumdar's translation of the verse No. (a) 'Insamuch as the very brother of Rāmabhadra performed the duty of door-keeper (*Pratihāra*), this illustrious clan came to be known as *Pratihāra*, is not acceptable to Dasaratha Sharma whose translation would be 'Inasmuch as the very brother of Rāmabhadra preformed the duty of door-keeper (*Pratihāra*), may this illustrious Pratihāra family attain eminence (*JIH*, XLI, Pt; III No. 123, p. 760). This passage if read alongwith the No. (b) cited from the Ghatiyālā inscription stating that 'the Paratihāra became eminent after Lakṣmaṇa who was Rāma's *Pratihāra*, vouches the correctness of R C Majumdar's translation. To our view this mistake of tracing the origin of the Pratihāra family of Jodhpur from Lakṣamaṇa was committed by the *praśastikāra* during whose time (A.D. 837) the mythological origin of the Pratihāras gained acceptance. That is also why the undated Gwalior inscription of Mihira Bhoja, who was a contemporary of Bāuka refers to the same fact. (See, fn. 4).
4. *EI*, XVIII, p. 95 ff. vv. 3–4.
   Ślāghyastasyānujosau Maghavad-mada-muṣo Meghanādasya Saṁkhye |
   Saumittris-tīvradaṇḍaḥ pratiharaṇa-vidher-ya Pratihāra āsit ||
   tad-vaṁśe Pratihāra-ketana-bhṛti-trailokya-rakṣāspade |

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

verse of the Jodhpur inscription suggests an altogether different line of inquiry. It refers to the fact that the sons of Brāhmaṇa Harichandra from his Kṣatriya wife became the founders of the royal iine of the Pratihāras, while those, born of the Brāhmaṇa wife, became Pratihāra-Brāhmaṇas.[5] The attempt to trace the origin of the Pratihāra family from a mythological person like Lakṣamaṇa, without making Harichandra, the founder of the dynasty, a Pratihāra, is rather surprising.

Harichandra appears to have assumed the title *Rohilladhyaṅka*,[6] the meaning of which is not quite clear. He was well-versed in the Vedas and the Śāstras and was a preceptor like Prajāpati to his family.[7] As the off-springs of Harichandra from his Kṣatriya wife Bhadrā are emphatically called Pratihāras, it appears that Bhadrā belonged to a Pratihāra family.[8]

---

5. *ibid.*, p. 87 vv. 5, 7, 8.
   Vipraḥ Śri-Harichandrākhyaḥ patnī Bhadrā/cha/kśatriyā/tābhyāṁ tue ye sutā
   jatā Pratihāraṁscha tān viduḥ //
   Tena Śrī-Harichandreṇa pariṇītā dvijātmajā /
   Pratihārā dvijā bhūtā Brāhmaṇyāṁ ye bhavan Sutāḥ /

6. This term is considered to be an outlandish name by those who support the foreign origin of the Pratihāra clan (*IHQ*. IV, p. 172 ; *HK*, pp. 222-23) Dasaratha Sharma, on the other hand, though he has not come across this word in any other record, takes it to be a Prakrit term and tries to expiain it as *rohia laddhi jassa, i.e.*, one who had developed the yogic power called *laddhi* or one who had attained the state called *laddhi* in which there is an end to all limitations obstructing *jñāna*. According to him, the final word *aṅka* has the well-recognised sence of *dvitīya-nāma* as in the famous names *Virahāṅka*, *Dakṣiṇyāṅka*, and *Vikramaṅka* (*JIH*, XLI, Pt. III, No. 123, p. 763).

7. This translation of the expression *"dvijaḥ Śrī-Harichandrākhyaḥ prajāpati-samo Guruḥ"*. (*EI*, XVIII, p. 87 ff. v. 6.) is questioned by Dasaratha Sharma who prefers to render the term guru by 'ancestor'. According to him, Harichandra stood to the Pratihāras of Mandor in the same relation as Prajāpati (Brahmā) to the world (*JIH*, XLI, No. 123, p. 761). But the expression *"Pratihāra-vaṁśa-guruḥ sad-dvijaḥ"* of the Ghatiyālā inscription (Bhandarkar, *A List of North Indian Inscriptions*, p.7. fn. 5) of Kakkuka, which he cites in his support, actually goes against him. Harichandra was a Brāhmana, and not a Pratihāra. Priesthood is the natural profession of a Brāhmaṇa. Prajāpati was also a preceptor of the Gods. In this capacity as a 'preceptor' of the Pratihāra family, his comparision with Prajāpati (Brahmā) is not at all incongruous : for, in the Linga-Purāṇa Brahmā is said to have acted, as a preceptor' (*Upādhyāya*) at the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī (103, vv. 55, 58).

8. Since it is explained that the family of Harichandra was callrd Pratihāra, because of his marriage with a Ksatriya wife belonging to a Pratihāra family, the mythological origin looses its ground. It may be, as suggested by Dasartha Sharma 'that Pratihāra was an occupational title used by the Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya and Śūdra, provided either they or their ancestors had ever held the highly rosponsible and respectable office of a royal door-keeper (*JIH*, XLI, No. 123 p. 767).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In order to raise their prestige, the off-springs of Harichandra from his Brāhmaṇa wife also began to call themselves Brahmaṇa-Pratihāra.[9]

The forces of disintegration which, were let loose after the downfall of the imperial Guptas, provided the descendants of Harichandra the right opportunity to carve out an independent kingdom. In this enterprise they might have received considerable assistance by their maternal uncles' family coming of the great Kṣatriya rulers (*mahākula*). The inscriptions do not help in finding out the original home of the family before the capture of Māṇḍavyapura by Harichandra's sons, who raised an invincible rampart round that city.[10] Although the achievements of his sons from the Brahmaṇa wife are also not known, yet the existence of their line can be gathered from another verse of the Jodhpur inscription which describes the heroic feat of Bāuka.[11]

The probable period, when king Harichandra flourished, is also a matter of controversy among scholars. Hoernle,[12] assigning the usual rate of twenty years for a reign, and counting back from V.S. 894, the date of the Jodhpur inscription, places him in about A.D. 640, R.C. Majumdar,[13] who points out the difference between reign and generation assigns, twenty five years per generation and fixes this date at about A.D. 550. Since three rulers of this family had renounced the world rather young it is possible to accept A.D. 600, the date for Harichandra as suggested by B.N. Puri.[14] This may also enable us to identify him with Bhaṭṭāra Harichandra mentioned by Bāṇa.[15]

9. According to Manu, the progeny of such *anuloma* marriages were treated as belonging to the caste of the father (X.v.6) but some of the Smritis declared the progeny to be an intermediate caste. During the days of Harsha and in subsequent centuries, however, the epigraphs show that the progeny was treated as belonging I to the caste of the mother (C.V. Vaidya, *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, II, pp. 29, 195).

10. *EI*, XVIII, p. 87 ff. vv. 9-10.

11. *ibid*, v. 27. *Dṛṣṭvā-bhagnān svapakṣān dvija-nṛpa kulajān Sat-pratihāra bhūpān.* According to Dasaratha Sharma, such Brāhmaṇa Pratihāras are still found in the Jodhpur State (*JIH*, XLI, No. 123 p. 767).

12. *JRAS*, 1905, p. 28.

13. *EI*, XVIII. p. 89.

14. *The Gurjara-Pratihāras*, p. 24.

15. *Harṣacarita*, I.v. 12.
Padabandhojjvalo hārī kṛtavarṇa kramasthitiḥ Bhaṭṭāra Harichandrasya gadyabandho nṛpāyate.
Cowell and Thomas (p.2) translate it as follows:—
"The prose-composition of the revered Harichandra stands pre-emient as a sovereign, luminous with its employment of words, delightful (or not stealing from others), and preserving rigidly the traditional rules of letters (or as applying to a king, glorious by the rule of his territoy, and preserving all the caste regulations)".

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

To sum up, it can be stated that Harichandra, the founder of the Pratihāra family of Mandor was not himself a Pratihāra, but his family was so-called because of his marrying a kṣatriya wife belonging to a Pratihāra family. He was a great scholar and his identity with Bhaṭṭāra Harichandra mentioned by Bāṇa is not altogether impossible. Further, if A.D. 600, the probable date when he flourished, is accepted, he becomes a contemporary of Prabhākaravardhana and Harṣavardhana. In this context, his mention by a court poet of the Vardhanas becomes understandable.

Harichandra was a great scholar, well-vesed in the Vedars and the Śāstras and it is not surprising that he might also have to his credit an excellent prose-composition which unfortunately fails to find mention in a latter praśasti. It is interesting to note that Kakka, a descendant of Harichandra was well known for his sound knowledge of prosody grammer, logic, astronomy with attendant arts and poetry (E.I. XVIII/p. 87f. v. 25). The last known ruler of this line Kakkuka himself was the composer of one of his inscriptions. In view of what has been stated, it is not impossible that Harichandra was also an eminent prose-writer so as to draw the notice of Bāṇa. V.S. Aggrawal further accepts the indentity of Bhaṭṭāra Harichandra with the one alluded to by Rājaśekhara in his Kāvyamīmāmasā *(Harshcharita-eka adhayana*, p. 6).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

M. Choudhury

THE TAXILA COPPER-PLATE OF PATIKA–(YEAR 78)

PROVENANCE : Mounds near Taxila.

PUBLISED IN : Dowson, *JRAS*, XX, pp. 221ff. ; Bhagwanlal Indraji, ibid., 1894, pp. 551ff, Buhler, *EI*, IV, pp. 58ff. ; Konow, *CII*, II, Pt. i, pp. 23ff. ; *Sel. Ins.*, pp., 120–121.

LANGUAGE : Prākrit.

SCRIPT : Kharoṣṭhī.

OBJECT : Establishment of the relics of Lord Śākyamuni, and a *Saṅghārāma*.

INTRODUCTION

The Taxila Copper–Plate of Patika is broken into three pieces, the smaller piece fitting in between the two large ones. The inscription consists of five lines; the fifth line mentioning *navakamika* having been added later starting from between the ninth and tenth letters of line 4. The letters are incised by punching small dots into the plate. The script of the inscription is Kharoṣṭhī of the old Śaka type. The *anusvāra* is of frequent occurrence, and *ṇa* and *na* are distinguished as in Sanskrit.

TEXT

१. [सम्व] त्सरये अठसततिमये २० (+) २० (+) २० (+) १० (+) ४ (+) ४ महरयस महंतस [मो] गस प [ने] मस मसस्स दिवसे पंचमे ४ (+) १ एतये पूर्वये क्षहरत [स]

२. [चुख्स] स च क्षत्रपस लिअ्रको कुसुलुको नम [।*] तस पुत्रो पति [को] तखसिलये नगरे [।*] उतरेण प्रचुदेशो क्षेम नम [।*] अत्र

३. [दे] शे पतिको अप्रतिठवित भगवत शकमुनिस शरिरं [प्र] तिथवेति [संघ] रमं च सर्व–बुद्धन पुयए मत–पितरं पुयय [तो]

४. [क्षत्र] पस स–पुत्र–दरस अयु–बल–वर्धि [ए] भ्रतर सर्वं च [ञतिग–बन्ध] वस च पुययंतो [।*] महदनपति पतिक सज उव [भ्र] ए [न]

५. रोहिणिमित्रेण य इम [मि?] संघरमे नवकमिक [।।*] ।

Reverse : पतिकस क्षत्रप लिअ्रक [।।*] ।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

SANSKRITIZED VERSION

१. संवत्सरे अष्ट–सप्ततितमे २० २० २० १० ४ ४ महाराजस्य महत: मोगस्य पनेमस्य मासस्य दिवसे पञ्चमे ४ १ एतस्यां पूर्वस्यां [तिथौ] क्षहरातस्य

२. चुख्सस्य च क्षत्रपस्य [यस्य] लिअक: कुसुलुक: नाम। तस्य पुत्र: पतिक: तक्षशिलायां नगरे। उत्तरेण प्राच्यदेश: क्षेम: नाम। अत्र

३. देश: पतिक: अप्रतिष्ठापितं भगवत: शाक्यमुने: शरीरं प्रतिष्ठापयति संघारामं च सर्वबुद्धानां पूजायै, मातापितरौ पूजयन्,

४. क्षत्रपस्य सपुत्रदारस्य आयुर्बलवृद्धये, भ्रातृन् सर्वान् च ज्ञातिक–बान्धवान् च पूजयन्। महादानपति: पतिक: सह उपाध्यायेन

५. रोहिणीमित्रेन य: अस्मिन् संघारामे नवकर्मिक:।

Reverse : पतिकस्य क्षत्रय: लिअक:।

TRANSLATION

1—2. In the seventy-eighth—78—year, (during the reign) of the *Mahārāja* Moga, on the fifth–5-day of the month Panemos, on this aforesaid date, Patika, the son of the *Kshaharāta* and *Kshatrapa* of Chukhsa, Liaka Kusuluka by name, in the town of Takshaśilā, in the eastern region called Kṣhema towards the north,—

3. In this place, having adored his mother and father, Patika established a (hitherto) not established relic of the Lord Śākyamuni, as also a *Saṅghārāma*, for the worship of all the Buddhas,

4. For the enhancement of the life and strength of the *Kṣatrpa*, his son and wife, honouring all his brothers, kinsmen and friends—the Great-gift-lord Patika (does this) together with the Upādhyāya,

5. Rohiṇīmitra who is the overseer of works in this *Saṅghārāma*.
Reverse : (This donation is) of Patika; the *Kshatrapa* (is) Lika.

NOTES

1. संवत्सरये २०+२०+२०+१०+४+४ (line 1)—The year 78 is obtained by adding all the figures, but the era to which it belongs, is a subject of great controversy and is discussed below.[1]

2. पनेमस (line 1)—It is a Greek name, roughly corresponding to the Indian month of Āshāḍha.

3. क्षहरतस (line 1)—Some scholars do not accept the omission of [illegible] and read *Kshaharasa* taking it along with *Chukhsasa cha Kshatrapasa*, they

1. vide *infra*, s v. 'The Era of This Plate'.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

translate it as 'Of *Kshatrapa* of Kshahara and Chukhsa'. Cunningham[2] tried to indentify Kshahara and Chukhsa with the present Sīr–Sukh whence, he thought, the plate had come, which is not correct. Kshahara and Chukhsa, too, cannot be phonetically equated with Sīr–Sukh. Moreover, the reading *Kshaharasa* too is not to be accepted ; for, next to the defaced *ra*, we have *ta* after which traces of the bottom of *sa* are visible. *Kshaharāta* is a clan-name that occurs as *Khakharāta* in the Nāsik inscription of Puḷumāyi.[3] The words *Chukhsasa Ksatrapasa* are also found on Taxila Silver Vase[4] which belongs to the year 191, where Chukhsa is the name of a locality governed by the *Kṣatrapa*. Bühler[5] suggested the reading *Chuskha* and equated it with an absolete Sanskrit word *choska*, meaning 'a horse from the Indus region' in the lexicons. Like *saindhava* from Sindhu, *choska* may also be a horse from some place called Chuska or Chuskha, of which the variant form might also have been Chukhsa. According to this interpretation, the *Kṣatrapa* in question governed the Eastern Panjab as far as the Indus. But Sir Aurel Stein[6] has indentified Chukhsa with the modern Chach or Chachh, an alluvial plain in the north of the town of Attock in the immediate neighbourhood of Taxila. This appears to be the right explanation, though there is still the phonetic difficulty about the vowel *u* of the original corresponding to *a* in Chachh.

4. लिअको कुसुलुको (line 2)—Liaka Kusuluka, no doubt, is the same ruler who struck coins in direct imitation of one of the issues of Eukratides and bearing the legend ΛΙΑΚΟ ΚΟΖΟγΛΟ[7], which shows that *s* was pronounced as sonant *z*. He was evidently a Śaka ruler who, as the inscription says, held sway in and round about Taxila when Moga was the Śaka Suzerain.

5. पतिको (line 2)—He is given no title in the inscription. He might, therefore, be holding a subordinate office of *Mahādānapati* (l. 4). Later on, he appears to have risen to the rank of *Mahākshatrapa*, probably in Taxila, for his name occurs as *Mahakṣatrava Kusulua Padika* on the Mathurā Lion Capital.[8] But scholars like Fleet, Thomas, Jayaswal and Lohuizen de Leeuw[9] do not believe that this Padika is indentical with the Patika referred to here, on chronological grounds. Sircar surmises that most probably there was some sort of relationship between the two Satrapal houses of Taxila and Mathurā, and that Padika was possibly the grand-father of Patika.[10]

2. *ASI*, II, p. 134; V. pp. 67 ff.
3. *EI*, VIII, 60 ff.
4. *CII*, II, 81 ff.
5. *EI*, IV, 54 ff.
6. *IA*, XXV, 1896, pp. 174-75.
7. *CS*, I 8, 9.
8. *CII*, II, p. 48.
9. *SP*, p. 17.
10. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 117; also *AIU*, p. 133.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

6. क्षेम (line 2)—The locality of Kṣema has not yet been decisively identified. It might have been somewhere to the north-east of Sirkap which was the chief settlement of Taxila during the Śaka period.[11]

7. [दे] शे (line 3)—The line begins with *śe*, and the restoration to *deśe* was suggested by Bühler, Dowson joined it with the next word and read *śepatiko*, Senart thought, it might have been *kośe* meaning a reliquary for the remains of the Buddha.[12]

8. पतिकस क्षत्रप लिअक (on the reverse)—Sircar has given the dative form *Patikāya*[13] in Sanskrit, corresponding to *Patikasa*. Konow[14] has translated it as 'To Patika the Ksatrapa Liaka.' Couldn't we retain the genitive from *Patikasya* and translate thus : "(This donation is) of Patika. The *Kṣatrapa* (at this time is) Liaka" ?

9. Language : This inscription shows evidences of erroneous construction. The fault, in the first place, consists in putting the epithets *Ksaharatasa* and *Ksatrapasa* (ll. 1–2) in the genitive, and the name Liaka Kusuluka in the nominative. Therefore, the addition of the genitive pronoun *yasya* becomes necessary before *Liaka Kusuluka*, and should be taken as understood in order that the passage makes better sense. Again, the last line of the inscription (*Patikasa Kshatrapa Liaka*) is equally faulty and requires a laboured interpretation. Dr. Sircar has śanskritized it as *Patikāya Kshatrapaḥ Liakaḥ*, interpreting it by *Patikamuddiśya Kshatrapeṇa Liakena phalakaḥ ayaṁ preṣitaḥ*,[15] which seems to be far-fetched. In our opinion, Konow's rendering seems to be more reasonable and correct.[16]

THE ERA OF THIS PLATE

There is a wide difference of opinion among scholars about the era used in the copper-plate. The identification of the great king (*Mahārāja*) Moga with Maues is generally accepted by historians and scholars, since Moga is merely a dialectical variant of Moa, the Indian equivalent of Maues found on coins. Speaking of the Kharoṣṭhī records, and primarily of those which are dated in the same era as this plate, Konow agrees with Thomas in thinking that the era must have been of Śaka institution.[17]

"The Śaka empire in Maues' time comprised the country about Taxila including the Hazārā district in the north, and probably extending southwards along the Indus.[18]" Śaka suzerainty was possibly acknowledged in Kāṅgrā, Karnāl and Mathurā regions where old Kharoṣṭhī

11. Marshall, *Guide to Taxila*, 2nd Ed., 1921, pp. 67 ff.
12. *JA*, VIII, xv, 18·0, p. 130.
13. *Sel, Ins.*, p. 121.
14. *CII* II, p 29.
15. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 121.
16. Konow, *op cit.*, p 29.
17. vide *GBI*, p. 496; *JRAS*, 1913, p. 637; *EI.*, XIV, p. 135,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

inscriptions have been found. In the present plate, Liaka Kusuluka is described as a *Kṣaharāta* and *Kṣatrapa* of Chukhsa (mod. Chachh, north-west of Taxila). We, however, cannot agree with Konow that *Kṣaharāta* was most probably the name of family or clan to which the Western Kshatrapas belonged, as the word undeniably stands for *Kshahararātra*, of which *Kshahara* is most likely a dialect form of *Kshatra*.[19]

Liaka Kusuluka is the same person who issued coins with the legend ΛΙΑΚΟ ΚΟΖΟΥΛΟ. From the Greek spelling, it is clear that the actual sound of *s* was the sonant *z* and the pronunciation was *Kuūzla*, possibly the name of a family belonging to the larger group of the *Kshaharātas*. The same designation was used about the oldest of the Kushāṇas who had entered India from the north-west. It is, therefore, quite likely that Liaka had descended from the ancient Śaka rulers of Ki-pin where this title was used, and that his family had not eome from Seistān.[20]

Patika has been indentified[21] with *Mahakshatrava Kusulua Padika* of the Mathurā Lion Capital, as referred to above, though Fleet differentiates between the two.[22] The designation Kusuluka used both by Patika and his father Liaka is *a priori* in favour of their identification.

The local ruler of Mathurā was *Mahākshatrapa* Rājula who was, no doubt, indentical with the *Mahākshatrapa* Rājūvula of the Brāhmī inscription on the Morā stone slab,[23] and with the ruler who issued coins bearing the Kharoṣṭhī legend *apratihata-chakrasa Kshatrapasa Rājuvulasa* on the obverse, as well as those bearing the Brāhmī legend *Mahākshatrapasa Rājuvulasa*. According to John Marshall, the stratification of finds at Taxila indicates the beginning of the Christian era as the date of this ruler.[24].

Konow says that the title *Mahākshatrapa* is seen for the first time on the Mathurā Lion Capital and on the coins of Rājula, and was introduced not long before the time of the said Capital. Prior to it, only the subordinate title of *Kshatrapa* was used as found with the names of Hagāna and Hagānmasha, the predecessors of Rājula and with that of Liaka Kusuluka. Konow, therefore, thinks that a period of about five to ten years must have intervened between the date of the Lion Capital

18. *CII*, II, p. xxxii
19. *ibid.*, p, xxxiii, fn. 2.
20. *ibid.*, p. xxxiii, Liaka, is evidently identical with the Liaka mentioned in the Mānsehrā Ins. of the year 68, which shows that the empire of Maues comprised Kipin, representing a good portion of Kashmir (*EI*, XXI, p. 257; PHAI, p. 444, fn. 3; *SI*, p. 16).
    According to Chinese sources, Ki-pin was under Yin-mo-fu even after 32 B.C. Maues, therefore, cannot be placed before that date. Thus, the Irānian Śakas migrated to India at about the close of the first century B.C. (*ŚI.*, *loc. cit.*)
21. *JRAS*, 1914, pp. 979 ff.
22. *JRAS*, 1907, p. 1035; 1913, p. 1001, Marshall, *ibid.*, 1914 p. 989
23. *CII*, II, p. xxxiii.
24. *ibid.*, xxxiv

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(when Śoḍāsa was *Kshatrapa* as subordinate to his father, the *Mahākshatrapa* Rājula) and A.D. 15, when he had succeeded his father as *Mahākshatrapa*. He also believes that the Taxila Copper Plate of the year 78 is not far removed from the date of the Lion Capital. The reason is that, then, it would not have taken a long time for Liaka to rise from *Kshatrapa* to *Mahākshatrapa*; and for his son Patika, from *Mahādānapati* to *Kshatrapa* and then to *Mahākshatrapa*.[25]

Again, according to Konow, palaeographical considerations make it impossible to accept the view that is sometimes held that the Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions, dated without any indication of an era, have all to be refered to the same reckoning. Most scholars, he says, are now agreed to the existence of at least two different eras here.[26]. He, therefore, believed that the old Śaka era could not have begun earlier than 88 B.C.[27]; and if the year 1 of this era fell in 84-83 B.C., Van Wijk's calculations showed that 5 Panemos, 78 of the Taxila Copper Plate corresponded to June 6, B.C.[28]

According to Percy Gardner, "...........the satrap in question (i.e., Liaka Kusuluka) may be Kozola Kadaphes, who probably reigned at the very beginning of the Christian era, and may well placed 78 years later than the accession of Maues, which must be placed not so late as the middle of the first century B.C.[22] But, of course, it is all but impossible that Maues could himself have reigned for 78 years. The reference must not be to the year of his reign but to an era established by him[30]".

Jayaswal refuted the view of Konow that Moga (Maues) lived in 10 B.C., by saying that both the following traditions lack foundation, *viz.*, (1) the Jain tradition, "according to which, the Śaka rule in Ujjayini lasted four years"; and (2) the Parthian tradition, from which Konow concluded that "Maues cannot be placed earlier than 88 B.C.[31]" The probable initial date of the old Śaka era, according to Jayaswal, is therefore, *c* 123 B.C. when the Seistān Śakas had risen in revolt against Artabanus and defeated him. In commemoration of their self-assertion, they probably started that era.[32] On this basis, the years of Liaka would be *c* 55-45 B.C.

Prof. Rapson was, however, of the opinion that since none of the known Indian eras seemed to be possible in this case, the era might be

25. *ibid.*, loc. cit.
26. *ibid.*, lxxxii.
27. *ibid*,, xl.
28. *ibid.*, xci.
29. From the Chinese sources, it appears that Maues can't be placed before 32 B.C.: vide *supra*, fn. 20.
30. *B.M.C.*, Introduction, xlix.
31. *CII.* pp. xxviii and xxxi.
32. *JBORS*, XVI, pp. 230 ff., esp. pp. 234-35 and p. 242.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of Parthian origin, as the name of the month (Panemos) in the inscription was Parthian, marking possibly the establishment of the new kingdom in Seistān after its incorporation in the Parthian empire by Mithradates I in *c* 150 B.C. This era, the Śakas, like other foreign invaders at all periods, might have brought with them into India. Thus, he thought, the date of this inscription should be 72 B.C.,—a year which could well have fallen into the reign of Maues.[33]

While editing later on, the Kalawān Copper-plate inscription of the year 134, Konow changed his former view and considered Rapson's conclusions to be not far from being correct. He wrote, "The Jihoṇika inscription (year 191) was found on a silver vase, which was much worn when it was buried at the sack of Sirkap. It may have been about 25 years old at that time. The Kuśāṇa conquest of Takśaśilā, which led to the destruction of Sirkap, can roughly be dated *c.* A.D. 65......... ... If we assume that the Jihoṇika vase was made about A.D. 40, the epoch of the era would be 191 minus 40 i.e., about 150 BC.[34]"

Now, from the numismatic data, J.N. Banerjea[35] considered Maues to be the earliest among the known Śaka rulers of the Punjab, and that he could never have flourished as early as 120-95 B.C. He must have come after Strato I, and before Azes I and Azilises who continued most of the coin types issued by Maues. Taking the first year, of Gondopharnes, who succeeded Azes II, to be A.D. 19, Banerjea assumed 70 years of the collective reigns of the three kings, Azes I, Azilises and Azes II, to have intervened between A.D. 19 and the last year of Maues, which comes to 51 B.C. (A.D. 19-70). Banerjea, therefore, thinks that "a date in the early seventies of the first century B.C. will not be probably far off the mark"[36] for Maues; and this, according to him, seems to support the chronology adopted by Rapson[37] on the basis of the Taxila Plate.

Tarn[38] refers the Taxila Plate of Patika to a Śaka era which, in his opinion, started in *c* 155 B.C. In fact, Tarn, Rapson and Ghirshman[39] assign all other older Khroṣṭhī records to the Vikrama era of 58 B.C., but try to assign a separate era to this single inscription. This is certainly highly improbable. Again Lohuizen de Leeuw[40] refers all the early records of the Scythians, including the Taxila Plate, to a Scythian (Yueh-chi-Śaka) era starting with the year *c* 129 B.C., when the Yueh-chis dispossessed the Greeks after crossing the Oxus.

33. *CHIR.* Vol. I, p. 514; also p. 570.
34. *EI*, XXI, pp. 257-58.
35. *CHIN*, p. 198.
36. *ibid.*, loc. cit.
37. *CHIR*, pp. 571 and 576.
38. *GBI*, pp. 494-502.
39. *Begram*, pp. 105-108.
40. *SP*, pp. 37, 64.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

D.C. Sircar[41], on the other hand, assigns all the old Kharoṣṭī records to the Vikrama era which he considers to be the same as the Drangian era, started to indicate the independent status of East Iran, and to oust the Parthian era of 248 B.C. According to him, the date of the Taxila Plate comes to A.D. 21.

Chattopadhyaya[42] also agrees with the date adopted by Sircar, approaching the problem in a different way. He makes the *Mahādānapati* Pattika a younger contemporary of Śoḍāsa by identifying him with the *Mahakṣatrava* Padika of the Mathurā Lion Capital inscription which mentions Rājula and his son Śoḍāsa as *Mahakṣatrava* and *Kṣatrava* respectively[43]. This Śoḍāsa is again indentical with the *Mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa of the Āmohinī Votive Tablet[44] that is assigned to the beginning of the first century A.D. by John Marshall[45] on the basis of the style of its carving. Padika, being a contemporary of Śoḍāsa, can, therefore, be safely assigned to the first quarter of the Christian era.

Thus, A.D. 21 as the date of Patika is based on the Vikrama era theory which certainly had already obtained in India before this period. It would, therefore, be nothing unnatural if the popular Vikrama era were used in this Copper-plate. But a serious objection has been raised by Tarn who says, "The Vikrama era of 58 B.C. can be ruled but; for apart from the impossibility of a Śaka king using an era established through a Śaka defeat, it would make Maues king in Taxila in A.D. 20, while it is a fixed point that Gondopharnes' reign there began in A.D. 19."[46] The Taxila Plate, he argues, if assigned to the Vikarma era, would make Maues a reigning king there in 20 A.D. But the first part of Tarn's objection, viz., that the Śakas could not have used the era of their enemies, is unfortunately based on a hopelessly late and corrupt account of the Jain legend *Kālakāchārya-kathānaka*,[47] the unhistorical character of which is fully demostrated by Prof. Raychaudhuri.[48] As to the second objection of Tarn, it may be urged that Gondopharnes had really come to power in some other parts of Western-north-western India, *i.e.*, in Eastern Iran, and conquered or occupied Taxila, the seat of Maues, only at a later date. Although, therefore, the Takht-i-Bāhi inscription[49] of the year 45 A.D., dated in his 26th regnal year, shows that he became king indeed in 19 A.D., it does not prove that his charge at that time included Taxila. In fact, according to Chattopadhyaya,[50] Gondopharnes occupied the Western Panjab sometime after 44 A.D.

41. *Sel. Ins.*, p. 120; *AIU*, p. 125, fn.
42. *EHNI*, p. 57.
43. *vide* supra, fn. 8.
44. *EI*, II, p. 199; IX, pp. 243-44; XXI, p. 257 n.
45. *CHIR*, p. 633.
46. *GBI*, p. 494.
47. *The Story of Kālaka (Texts, history, legend, etc.)*, By W.N. Brown, 1933.
48. *PHAI*, p. 433.
49. *EI*, XVIII, p. 282; *CII*, II, p. 62; *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 121-22.
50. *ŚI*, p. 17.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

An objection may,however, be raised that if the Āmohinī Tablet (saṁ. 72) referred to above and the Taxila Plate (saṁ. 78) were both to be referred to the same Vikrama era, there would arise the anomaly of Patika's becoming a *Mahākṣatrapa* first, and afterwards holding the subordinate rank of *Mahādānapati* under his father. But he should well remember that all the sections of the Mathurā Lion Capital were not executed at one and the same time[51]; and that the Section G which mentions Patika as *Mahākṣatrapa* was most likely to have been done after A.D. 20 when Patika had risen to that rank.

From the above discussion, it stands out clear that there are no insurmountable objections against assigning the Taxila Plate of Patika to the Vikrama era of 58 B.C. And until further light is thrown on this extremely knotty problem by relevant epigraphic or numismatic evidence, we would have to remain contented by tentatively accepting the above hypothesis.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

AIU : The Age of Imperial Unity (Ed. R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalker), Bombay, 1960.

ASI : Archæological Survey of India, Reports (Cunningham).

BMC : Catalogue of Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum—P. Gardner, London, 1886.

CHIN : Comprehensive History of India (Ed. by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri), Calcutta, 1957.

CHIR : Cambridge History of India, Vol. I (Ed. by E.J. Rapson), 1922.

CII : Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II (Ed. by S. Konow), Calcutta, 1929.

CS : Coins of the the Indo-Scythians, Śakas and Kushāṇas-Cunningham.

EHNI : Early History of North India (S. Chattopadhyaya), Calcutta, 1958.

EI : Epigrapha Indica.

GBI : The Greeks in Bactria and India—W.W. Tarn, 1951.

IA : Indian Antiquary.

JA : Journal Asiatique.

JBORS : Journal of the Bihar and Orrissa Research Society.

JRAS : Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britian and Ireland.

PHIA : Political History of Ancient Indian (H.C. Raychaudhrl), 6th Ed., Calcutta University, 1953.

Sel. Ins. : Select Inscriptions, Vol. I. (Ed. D.C. Sircar), Calcutta University, 1942.

ŚI : The Śakas in India(S. Chattopadhyaya),Viśva-Bhāratī,1953.

SP : The Scythian Period(Van Lohuizen de Leeuw),Leiden,1949.

51. *EI*, IX. pp. 133 ff.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Sadhu Ram

CHAMMAK COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF MAHĀRĀJA PRAVARASENA II REGNAL YEAR 18

PROVENANCE : Village Chammak, ancient Charmmāṅka, in Ilichpur district, Berar.

PUBLISHED IN : Bhagwanlal Indraji, *Notes on the Budha Rock Temples of AJANTA*, pp. 54ff. ; Buhler, *Archl. Survey of Werstern India*, IV, pp. 116ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, XII, pp. 239ff. ; Fleet, *CII*, III, No. 55, pp. 236ff. ; Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, pp. 418ff.

LANGUAGE : Sanskrit with a slight influence of Prākrit.

SCRIPT : Box-headed variety of Southern Brāhmī of 5th century A.D.

METRE : *Anuṣṭubh*, 1–3

OBJECT : To record the grant of the village Chammak to a thousand Brahmanas by Pravarasena II.

INTRODUCTION

This record is engraved on seven plates found from a field while ploughing it at Chammak (Charmmāṅka of the inscription), a village about four miles south-west of Ilichpur in east Berār. There is verse in four lines on the seal stating that the record is of Pravarasena, the ornament of the Vākāṭakas. Except this verse and the two benedictory and imprecatory verses in lines 36 to 39, the record is in Sanskrit prose and inscribed in the boxheaded variety of Southern Brāhmī of Central India. It contains symbols for the figures 8 and 10 in line 60, and for 800 in line 90.

The inscription is one of *Mahārāja* Pravarasena II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. The charter is issued in the 18th year of his reign. It is a non-sectarian inscription recording the grant of the village Charmmāṅka in the Bhojakaṭa kingdom (*rājya*)[1], to a thousand Brāhmaṇas by Pravasena II.

1. According to Dr. Sircar, "The territorial divisions in the Vākātaka Kingdom were called राज्य, either because they were still being ruled by local rulers under Vākāṭaka patronage, or because they retained their old name indicating a particular kingdom even after the Vākāṭaka occupation." (*Sel. Insc.*, 1965, p. 445, fn. 1.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

TEXT

SEAL

वाकाटक-ललामस्य
क्रम-प्राप्त-नृप-श्रियः [।*]
राज्ञ ≍ प्रवरसेनस्य
शासनं रिपु-शासनं (नम्) [।।*] [१*]

FIRST PLATE

१. दृष्टं (ष्टम्) [।।*] स्वस्ति [।।*] प्रवरपुरादग्निष्ठोमाप्तोर्य्यामोक्थ्य-षोडश्यातिरात्र-
२. वाजपेय-बृहस्पतिसव-साद्यस्क्र-चतुरश्वमेध-याजिनः (नो)
३. वि (वि) [ष्णु वृ]द्ध-सगोत्रस्य सम्रा[ड्]-वाकाटकानां महाराज-श्रृ(श्री)-प्रवरसेनस्य
४. सूनोः सूनोः अत्यन्त-[स्वा]मि-महाभैरव-भक्तस्य अ[ं*]स-भार-सन्ति(न्नि)वेशि-
५. त-शिव-लि[ङ्गो]द्वहन-शिव-सुपरितुष्ट-समुत्पादि[त]-राज-व[ं*]शा-

SECOND PLATE : FIRST SIDE

६. नाम्पराक्रमाधिगत-भागीरत्थ्या (थ्य) मल-जल-मूद्धर्ना (र्द्धा) भिषिक्ताननान्दशा-
७. श्वमेधावभृथ-स्नातानाम्भारशिवानां महाराज-श्री-भवनाग-दौ-
८. हित्रस्य गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य वाकाटकानां महाराज-श्री-रुद्रसे-
९. नस्य सूनोरत्यत्न (न्त)-माहेश्वरस्य सत्याज्र्जव-कारुण्य-शौर्य्य-विक्रम-न-
१०. य-विनय-माहात्म्याधिम(क)त्व-पात्रागत-भक्ती(क्ति)त्व-धर्म्म-बीजयीत्व(विजयित्व)-

SECOND PLATE : SECOND SIDE

११. मनोनैम्र्मा(र्म्म)ल्यादि-गुणैस्समुपेतस्य वर्ष-शतमभिवर्द्धमान-कोश-
१२. दण्डसाधन-सन्ना(न्ता)-पुत्र-पौत्रिणः युधिष्ठिर-वृत्ने(त्ते)र्वाकाटका-
१३. नां महाराज-श्री-पृथिवीषेणब्र्भस्य सूनोब्र्भगवतश्चक्रपाणे ≍ प्रसा-
१४. दोपार्ज्जित-श्री-समुदयस्य वाकाटकानां महाराज-श्री-रुद्रसेन-
१५. सूनोर्म्महाराजाधिराज-श्री-देवगुप्त-सुतायां प्रभाव-

THIRD PLATE : FIRST SIDE

१६. वतिगुप्तायामुत्पन्त(न्न)स्य शम्भो ≍ प्रसाद-धृति-कार्त्तयुगस्य
१७. वाकाटकानाम्परममाहेश्वर-महाराज-श्री-प्रवरसेनस्य वचना [द्*]
१८. भाजकट-राज्ये मधुनन्दि(न्दी)-तटे चम्माङ्क-नाम-ग्र [ा*[मः राजमानिक-भूमी(मि)-
१९. सहस्त्रैरष्टाभिः [परिमितः] ८००० शत्र(त्रु)घ्नराज-पुत्र कोण्डराज विज्ञाप्त्या नाना-गो-
२०. त्र-चरणेभ्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यः सहस्रायदत्तः [।।*]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

THIRD PLATE : SECOND SIDE

२१. यतो [ऽ*] स्मत्सन्तका [:*] सर्व्वाध्यक्षाधियोग-नियुक्ता आज्ञा-सञ्चारि-कुलपुत्राधिकृता
२२. भटाच्छा(श्छा)त्राश्च विश्रुत-पूर्व्वयाज्ञयाज्ञापयितव्या विदितमस्तुवोयथे-
२३. हास्माकम्मनो-धम्मायुंर्त्र्व(र्व्व)ल-विजयैश्वर्य्य-विवृद्धये इहामुत्र-हिता-
२४. र्थमात्मानुग्रहाय वैजे (जयि) के-धर्म्मस्थाने अ-पूर्व्व-दत्या (त्त्या) उदक-पूर्व्व-
२५. मतिसृष्टः [।*] अथास्योचितां पूर्व्व-राजानुमतां चातुर्व्वैद्य-ग्राम-म-
२६ र्य्यादान्वि(दां वि)तरामस्तद्यथा अ-करदायी अ-भट-च्छात्रप्रावेश्य [:*]

FOURTH PLATE : FIRST SIDE

२७. अ-पारम्पर-गो-बलिवर्द्द[:*] अ-पुष्प-क्षीर-सन्दो(न्दो)ह[:*] अ-च[ा*]रा-
२८. सन-चर्म्माङ्गार[:*] अ-लवण-क्लिन्न-क्रेणि-खनक[:*] सर्व्व-वे(वि)ष्टि-परि-
२९. हार-परीहृ(हृ)तः स-निधिस्सोपनिधि स-क्लिप्तोपक्लिप्तः (स-क्लृप्तोपक्लृप्तः)
३०. आ-चन्द्रादित्य-कालीयः पुत्र-पौत्र[ा*]नुगमकः [।*] भु[.*]जतां न के-
३१. नचि[द्*] व्याघातं(तः) कर्त्तव्यस्सर्व्व-क्क्रियाभिस्स[.*] रक्षितव्य ≍ पर(रि)वर्द्धयि-
३२. तव्यश्च[।*] यश्चायं (श्वेदं) शासनमगणयमानो(नः) स्वल्प[ा*]मपि परिबाधा[*]

FOURTH PLATE : SECOND SIDE

३३. न्कु(कु)र्य्यात्कारयिता वा तस्य ब्राह्मणैर्व्वेदितस्य स-व(द)ण्ड-निग्रहं कुर्य्या-
३४. म ।। अस्मि[*]श्च धर्म्मावर-करणे अति(ती) तानेक-राज-दत्न(त्त)-सञ्चित्न(त्त)न-
३५. परिपालनं कृत-पुण्यानुकीर्त्तन-परिहारार्त्थं न कीर्त्तयामः [।।*]
३६. व्यास-गीतौ चात्रश्लोकौ प्रमानि (णी) कर्त्तव्यौ [।*] स्व—दत्ना (त्ता) म्पर—दत्नां (त्तां)
३७. व्वा (वा) यो हरेत वसुन्धरां (राम्) [।*] गवां शत-सहस्रस्य हन्तु-

FIFTH PLATE : FIRST SIDE

३८. र्हरति दुष्कृतं (तम्) [।।*] [२*[षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्रानि (णि) स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भू-
३९. मिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति [।।*] [३*] श्शा(शा)सन-
४०. स्थितिश्चेयं ब्राह्मणैरीश्वरै श्चानुपालनीया तद्यथा राज्ञां स-
४१. प्ताङ्गे राज्ये अद्द्रोह-प्रवृन्ता(त्ता)नां [अ-*] ब्रह्मघ्न-चौर-पारदारिक-राजा-
४२. पथ्यकारि-प्रभृति(ती)नां [अ-*] सङ्ग्र[ा*]म-कुर्व्वतां अन्य-ग्रामेष्वन-।।

FIFTH PLATE : SECOND SIDE

४३. पर[ा*]द्धानां आ-चन्द्रादित्य-कालीयः [।*] अतो [ऽ*]न्यथा कुर्व्वतामनुमोदतां वा
४४. राज्ञः भु(भू)मि-च्छेदं कुर्व्वतः अ-स्तेयमिति [।।*] प्रा(प्र)तिग्राहिणश्चात्र

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

४५. वार-नियुक्ताः [।*] शाट्यायनः गणार्य्यः वात्स्य-देवार्य्यः भारद्वाज-

४६. कुमार शर्म्मार्य [:*] पाराशर्य्य-गुहशर्म्मा काश्यदेव[ा*]र्य्यः महेश्वरार्य्य[:*]

४७. मात्रार्य्य[:*] कौण्डिन्यरुद्रार्य्य[:*] सोमार्य्य[:*] हरिशर्म्मार्य्य[:*]

SIXTH PLATE : FIRST SIDE

४८ भारद्वाज-कुमारशर्म्माय्य(र्म्मार्य्यः) कौण्डिण्य(न्य)-मातृशर्म्मा वरशर्म्मा

४९. गोण्डशर्म्मा नागशर्म्मा भारद्वा[ज*]-शान्तिशर्म्मा रुद्रशर्म्मा वात्स्यः

५०. भोजकद(दे)वार्य्य[:*] मघशर्म्मा देवशर्म्मा भारद्वाज-मोक्षशर्म्म[ा*]

५१. [ना*]गशर्म्मा रेवतिशर्म्मा धर्म्मार्य्य[:*] भारद्वाज-शर्म्मार्य्य[:*]

५२. नन्दनार्य्य[:*] मूलशर्म्मा । ईश्वरशर्म्मा । वरशर्म्मा

SIXTH PLATE : SECOND SIDE

५३. चात्स्य (वात्स्य)-स्कन्दार्य्य[:*] भारद्वाज-बप्पार्य्य[:*] धर्म्मार्य्य[:*] आत्रेयस्कन्दार्य्य [:*]

५४. गौतम-सोमशर्म्मार्य्य[:*] भतृ(र्तृ)श्मर्म्मा रुद्र [शर्म्मा*]र्य्य[:*] मघार्य्य[:*] मातृ-

५५. शर्म्मार्य्य[:*] ईश्वरशर्म्मार्य्य[:*] गौतम-सगोत्र-मातृशर्म्मा-

५६. र्य्य[:*] कौण्डिण्य(न्दे)-देवशर्म्मार्य्य[:*] वरशर्म्मार्य्य[:*] रोहार्य्य[:*]

SEVENTH PLATE

५७: गौतम-सगोत्र-स्वामिदे[वा*]र्य्य[:*] रेवतिशर्म्मार्य्य[:*]

५८. ज्येष्ठशर्म्मार्य्य[:*] शाण्डिल्य-कुमारशर्म्मार्य्य[:*] स्वातिशर्म्मा-

५९. र्य्य[:*] श[ा*]ट्यायण(न)-काण्ड[ा*]र्य्य-प्रभृतयः [।।*] सेनापतौ

६०. चित्रवर्म्मणि संव्वत्सरे [ऽ*]ष्टादश(शे) १० ८ ज्येष्ठ-मास-शुक्ल-

६१. पक्ष-त्रयोदश्या[.*] शासन लिखितमितिः(ति) [।।*]

TRANSLATION

(The Seal)

A charter of king Pravarasena, the ornament of the Vākāṭakas, who has attained glory by his own valour, (is) the chastiser of the foes !

FIRST PLATE TO THIRD PLATE : FIRST SIDE

1. Seen ! May it be well with all ! From (the town of) Pravara. (17) At the command of the staunch devotee of Maheśvara, the *Mahārāja* of the Vākāṭakas, *Śrī* Pravarasena (II), (16) born of Prabhāvatīguptā ; who through the favour of Śambhu revived the age of *Kṛta* (15) who is the son (14) of the *Mahārāja* of the Vākāṭakas, *Śrī* Rudrasena (II), who acquired an abudance of fortune (13) through the favour of the divine

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Viṣṇu,......who was the son of the *Mahārāja* (12) of the Vākāṭakas, (13) *Śrī* Pṛthivīṣeṇa, (9) who was extremely devoted to Maheśvara; (11) who was endowed with the virtues of truthfulness, straightforwardness, compassion, heroism, valour, (10) political wisdom, modesty, exuberance of highmindedness, devotion to the worthy people and guests, the condition being victorious through piety. (11) purity of mind, etc. ; (12) who has sons and grandsons and possesses vast resources of military strenth and (11) revenue which had been increasing for a hundred years ; (12) who conducted himself like Yudhiṣṭhira ;.. (9) who was the son (8) of the *Mahārāja* of the Vākāṭakas, *Śrī* Rudrasena (I), (4) who was extremely devoted to Svāmī-Mahābhairava ; (8) who was the daughter's son (7) of *Śrī* Bhavanāga, the *Mahārāja* of the Bhāraśivas, (5) whose royal line owed its origin to the great satisfaction of Śiva, won by carrying *liṅga* of Śiva, (14) as a load on on their shoulders, and (6) who were anointed as king by their valour with the pure water of Bhāgīrathī (Gaṅgā) ; (7) who had performed ablution after the performance of ten *Aśvamedha* sacrifices; (8) who was the son of Gautamīputra;..(4) who was the grandson (3) of the *Mahārāja* of the sovereign Vākāṭakas, *Śri* Pravarasena (I), (2) who had performed (1) the *Agniṣṭoma. Āptoryāma*, *Ukthya*, *Soḍaśin*, *Atirātra*, (2) *Vājapeya*, *Bṛaspati-sava*, *Sādyaskra*, sacrifices and four *Aśvamedhas*, and (3) was of Viṣṇuvṛddha *gotra*;...(18) The village named Charmmāṅka on the bank of Mahānadī, in the Bhojakaṭa territory, (19) (measured) by eight thousand, 8000, (18) according to the royal measure, is, (19) at the request of Koṇḍarāja, the son of Śatrughnarāja, (20) given to one thousand Brāhmaṇas (19) of various *gotras* and (20) *charaṇas*.

THIRD PLATE : SECOND SIDE

(21) Wherefore, our obedient and high-born officers, employed in all the offices of Superintendents, (and our) (22) regular soldiers and umbrella-bearers (? or, irregular troops), should be directed with a command previously announced thus : "Be it known to you that, (23) in order to increase our intelligence, virtue, life strength, victory and prosperity, and (24) for the sake of our welfare (23) in this world and the next, (and generally) for our benefit (25) (this village) is granted, (24) in our victorious office of justice, with libation of water, as a grant (15), the usual usage, such as has been approved of by former kings, of a village belonging to a community of Chaturvedins, (26) namely, it is not to pay taxes ; it is not to be entered by regular troops or by the the umbrella-bearers (or irregular troops),

FOURTH PLATE : FIRST SIDE

(27) it is immune from the obligation of furnishing cows and bullocks in relays of transport ; it is immune from the burden of supplying flowers and milk (to the king's officers), also from supplying fodder, (28) skin-seats and charcoal (to them) ; it is not to allow the purchace of the salt and moist commodities and digging of mines (by outsides) (29) it is exempt

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(28) from supplying all kinds of forced labour ; (29) it has the privilege of acquiring hidden treasures and natural deposits, and of enjoying fixed and unfixed taxes, (30) it is (to be enjoyed) for the same time as the moon and the sun endure, and is to follow (the succession of) sons and grandsons.... (30) While they are enjoying, nobody (31) should cause hindrance (to them) It (i.e. the gift) should be protected and increased by all means. (32) Whosoever, disregarding this charter, (33) will offer or cause to be offered, (32) even the slightest obstacle.

FOURTH PLATE : SECOND SIDE

(33) on him, on being reported by the Brāhmaṇas, we will inflict punishment together with a fine, (34) and in this act of showing regard for religion, (35) we do not refer to (34) our care and (35) protection (34) of grants made by many past kings (35) in order to avoid proclaiming of our religious merit....(36) And two verses,—sung by Vyāsa, are to be cited as authority on this point ;—(7) Whosoever confiscates land (36) that has been given, whether by himself or by another, (38) he incurs the guilt (37) of a slayes of a hundred thousand cows.

FIFTH PLATE : FIRST SIDE

(39) The giver of land (38) enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years, (39) but the confiscator (of a grant), and he who assents to (its confiscation), shall dwell for the same number of years in hell... (40) And this condition of the charter should be maintained by the Brāhmṇas and by (future) lords : namely, (43) (the enjoyment of it is to belong to the Brāhmṇas) as long as the moon and the sun endure, (41) provided that they commit no treason against the kingdom consisting of seven constituent parts, (40) of successive kings, (41) that they are not slayers of Brāhmaṇas, nor are thieves or adulterers, (42) nor doers of wrong (41) to the king, (42) that they do not wage a war, or (43) commit crimes, (42) in other villages.

FIFTH PLATE : SECOND SIDE

(43) But, if they act otherwise, or assent to (such acts), (44) the king will commit no rapacity in taking the land away (from them). The recipients (45) appointed for this occasion (44) in this matter are :—(45) Gaṇāryya of Śakaṭāyana *gotra* ; Devāryya of Vātsya *gotra*, (46) Kumāraśarmmāryya (45) of Bhāradvāja *gotra*, (46) Guhaśarmman of Pārāśaryya *gotra*, Devāryya of Kāśyapa *gotra*, Meheśvarāryya, (47) Mātrāryya, Rudrāryya of Kauṇḍinya *gotra*, Somāryya, Hariśarmmāryya.

SIXTH PLATE : FIRST SIDE

(48) Kumāraśarmmāryya of Bhāradvāja *gatra*, Mātṛśarmman of Kauṇḍinya *gotra*, Varaśarmman, (49) Goṇḍaśarmman, Nāgāśarmman, Śāntiśarmman of Bhāradvāja *gotra*, Rudraśarmman, (5) Bhojakadevāryya

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(49) of Vātsya *gotra*, (50) Maghaśarmman, Devaśarmman, Mokṣaśarmman of Bhāradvāja *gotra*, (51) Nāgaśarmman, Revatīśarmman, Dharmāryya, Śarmmāryya of Bhāradvāja *gotra*, (52) Nandanāryya, Mūlaśarmman, Īśvaraśarmman, Varaśarmman.

SIXTH PLATE: SECOND SIDE

(53) Skandāryya of Vātsya *gotra*, Bappāryya of Bhāradvāja *gotra*, Dharmmāryya, Skandāryya of Ātreya *gotra*, (54) Somaśarmmāryya of Gautama *gotra*, Bhartṛśarmman, Rudraśarmmāryya, Maghāryya, Mātṛśarmmāryya, (55) Iśvaraśarmmāryya, Mātṛśarmmāryya of Gautama *gotra*, (56) Devaśarmmāryya of Kauṇḍinya *gotra*, Varaśarmmaryya, Rohāryy.

SEVENTH PLATE

(57) Svāmidevāryya of Gautama *gotra*, Revatiśarmmāryya, (58) Jyeṣṭhāryya, Kumāraśarmmāryya of Śaṇḍilya *gotra*, Svātiśarmmāryya, (59) Kāṇḍāryya of Śaṭyāyana *gotra*, and so forth. (61) This charter has been written, (60) while Chitravarmman (59) is the general, (60) in the eighteenth year, 10 (and) 8, (61) on the thirteenth lunar day (60) of the bright (61) fortnight of the month Jyeṣṭha.

NOTES

1. प्रवरपुरात् (line 1)—None of the previous editors of these plates had tried to identify Pravarapura since the time the plates were discovered in 1868. Kielhorn also could not offer any suggestion about its location, Jayaswal[2] thought it to be a new capital of the Vākaṭakas founded by their king after his name. But he failed to identify it. It was K.N. Dikshit[3] who, for the first time, conjectured that Pavnār in the Wardhā district (6 miles from Wardhā, on the right bank of Dhām) was very probably the ancient Pravarapura, but the identification remained uncertain owing to the absence of indications about the antiquity of the place. In 1949, V. V. Mirashi[4] visited the place and found several panels depicting scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* along with many other sculptures displaying the restraint and simplicity which are characteristic of the Gupta art. According to him, the *Rāmāyaṇa* panels show that there was at Panvār a magnificent temple in the 4th century, in whose walls these panels were fixed. The temple was dedicated to Rāma, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, and was probably erected at the instance of his mother Prabhāvatīguptā by king Pravarasena II.

2. अग्निष्टोम (line 1) A sacrifice forming one of the chief modifications of Jyotiṣṭoma performed by a Brāhmaṇa who maintains the

2. *HI* (A. D. 150-350), p. 70.
3. Vide *JPASB*, N.S., XXIX, 1937, fn. 2 on T.A. Wellsted's article on The Vākāṭakas of C. P. and Berār, p. 159.
4. *St. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 273ff.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

sacred fire. The offering is the Soma, the deities to whom the offering is made are Indra. etc., the number of priests required is 16, and the ceremonies continue for 5 days.

3. आप्तोर्याम (line)—A particular way of offering Soma forming a part of Jyotiṣṭoma.

4. उक्थ्य (line)—A litergical ceremony forming part of Jyotiṣṭoma.

5. षोडशिन् (line)—One of the *Saṁsthās* (modifications) of the Soma ceremony forming part of Jyotiṣṭoma.

6. अतिरात्र (line 1)—An optional part of Jyotiṣtoma.

7. वाजपेय (line 2)—One of the seven forms of Soma sacrifice offered by kings aspiring for the highest position, and preceding the Rājasūya and the Bṛhaspati-sava.

8. बृहस्पति-सव (line 2)—A festival lasting one day said to confer the rank of a Purohita on those observing it.

9. साद्यस्क्र (line 2)—Performed with Soma brought on the same day.

10. अवभृथ-स्नातानाम् (line **2**)—of those who have bathed after the *avabhṛtha*, which is a purification or ablution of a sacrificer and sacrificial vessels after the completion of a sacrifice.

11. कोश-दण्ड (lines 11-12)—'Revenue and military strength.' Daṇḍa is not merely army, but capacity to attack and punish the foes as well as the enforcement of the penal laws. Kośa means 'revenue' or the regular annual income of the State.

साधन-सन्तान (line 12)—'Vast extent of resources.' Fleet translates the expression as 'treasure and means of government', and takes *sādhana* with the following *putra-pautriṇaḥ*[5], rendering it by 'uniterrupted succession of sons and sons 'sons'.[5] Some render *sādhana* by 'war materials', and *santāna* by 'continuous supply.' But *sādhana* means all kinds of resources and means including ammunition and other war materials.

12. शम्भो-प्रसाद-धृति-कार्त्तयुगस्य (line 16)—It is rather difficult to dissolve the compound. *Dhṛti* probably stands for *dhṛta*, then it would mean *Śambhoḥ prasadāt dhṛtaṁ kārtyugaṁ yena, tasya*, 'of him who has established (or revived) the conditions of the *Kṛta* age.' Sircar explains *dhṛti* by *dhāraṇa*,[6] 'maintaining.'

13. °सन्तकाः (line 21)—This word and *satka* are used in the inscriptions in the sense of 'belonging to.'

5. CII, III, p. 241.
6. *Sel. Ins.*, 1965, p, 444, fn. 12.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

14. अ-करदायी: (line 26)—'Immune from paying general taxes.'

15. अ-भट-च्छात्र-प्रावेश्य : (line 26)—Some scholars translate the word *chhātra* as 'umbrella-bearers'[7] (of the king). But the expression *bhaṭa-chhāṭra* is more probably identical with the usual expression *chāṭa-bhaṭa* which means 'irregular and regular troops.' *Chhātra* may be the Sanskritized form of *chāta*, in which case, the immunity implied would refer to the 'prohibition of entrance of the regular or irregular troops' into the village.

16. अ-पारम्पर-गो-बलिवर्द : (line 27)—It refers to 'immunity from supplying cows and bullocks in rclays of transport.' It appears to have been the practice of king's officers in those times to get a fresh supply of cattle to replace the tired ones from the villages.

17. अ-पुष्पक्षीर-सन्दोह : (line 27)—From the expressions *a-dugdha-dadhi-grahaṇam* and *a-haritaka-śāka-puppha-gahaṇaṁ*, in the Śivaskanda-svāmin's grant,[8] we may infer that a similar prohibition is intended here, viz., 'not to supply flowers and milk to the king's officers.'

18. अचारासन-चर्म्माङ्गार : (lines 27-28)—Fleet takes *chārāsana* to mean 'pasturage[9]'. But *chāra* from √*char*, to walk, may be taken to mean 'moving about', and *āsana* from √*as*, 'to sit', to mean 'encamping'. Thus the expression may be taken to mean 'king's agents' who go around the villages and encamp at various places. The prohibition would imply the 'immunity from supplying hides and charcoal to such agents.' According to Mirashi, however, *āsana-charmma* means 'hides for seats', and *aṅgāra*, 'charcoal for cooking', and the phrase may denote 'immunity from supplying fodder, (*chāra*) skin-seats and charcoal to the king's officers'.[10]

19. अ-लवण-क्लिन्नक्रेणि-खनक: (line 28)—*Lavaṇa* means 'salt', and *kreṇi*, 'purchase', *klinna-kreṇi*, therefore, may mean 'moist commodities' which were marketable. The sap of certain trees, according to Dr. Sircar, was tapped for obtaining *udbhijja* salt, liquor and sugar which could be sold in the market.[11] The export of such sap was therefore prohibited from the villages donated. *Khanakaḥ* means 'digging mines' from which outsiders were prohibited.

20. सर्व-विष्टि-परिहार-परीहृत: (lines 28-29)—*Viṣṭi* means 'corvee or forced labour', the expression meaning 'exemption from supplying all kinds of forced labour.'

21. सनिधिस्सोपनिधि: (line 29)—According to the *Viṣṇusaṁhitā* (iii. 36-39), nidhi is wealth, the owner of which is known. As the words *nidhi*

7. Cf. Fleet, *CII*, III, p. 242.
8. *Sel. Ins.*, 1965, p. 464, First Plate, lines 31, 34.
9. *CII*, p. 242.
10. *Sel. Ins.*, 1965, p. 438, fn. 1.
11. *ibid.*, *loc. cit.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

and *upanidhi* are mentioned separately in the records, Sircar thinks that *nidhi* would be 'more valuable of the unclaimed wealth[12]'. In our opinion *nidhi* may be taken to denote 'buried treasures' or 'treasure-trove', and *upanidhi* to 'natural wealth', *i.e.*, that contained in the mines and hidden under the earth.

21. सक्लृप्तोपक्लृप्तः (line 29)—According to *Arthaśāstra*, one of the seven sources of income is the fixed tax called *kḷpta*. Since the *kḷptika* means 'purchased', *kḷpta* may be taken to signify 'sale-tax'. The donee is thus granted the privilege of collecting and putting it to his own use the fixed and unfixed taxes. Mirashi, however, equates the expression with *sodraṅga* and *soparikara*, *i.e.*, 'with major and minor taxes'.[13]

HISTORY OF THE VĀKĀṬAKAS

Home of the Vakāṭakas :

In the chaos that followed the collapse of the Sātavāhana power, the Vākāṭakas, too, found a favourable opportunity for establishing a powerful kingdom in the Deccan. The name Vākāṭaka occurs nowhere in the literature, and the Purāṇas, too, do not mention any dynasty bearing that name in their genealogical lists. It is difficult to determine the locality of original home of the family, and the region of the early exploits of its members. Cunningham[14] identified Vākāṭaka with Bhandak in Chanda district, and Fleet with Waktpur in the Rewa region.[15] But both these identificatlons do not seem to be correct. According to Jayaswal's suggestion, the Vākāṭakas belonged to the village Bajaur-Bāgāṭ in the former Orchha State near Jhansi. He finds remarkable similarity between Vākāṭaka and Bāgāṭ in which village the Brāhmāṇas of the same Viṣṇuvṛddha *gotra* as that of the Vākāṭakas are found. Further, in support of the Bundelkhaṇḍ origin of the family, he says that on a pillar at Durehā in Bundelkhaṇḍ the expression *Vkāṭakānām* is inscribed. Again, the Purāṇas connect Vindhyaśakti the founder of the family, with Kilakila country of Bundelkhaṇḍ, and the find-spot called Nachnā of an inscription of the Vākāṭaka feudatory Vyāghradeva is also in Bundelkhaṇḍ. He identifies Nachnā with the Vākāṭaka capital Chaṇakā during the region of Pravarasena I.

Though admitting the plausibility of the phonetic resemblance of Vākāṭa with Bāgāṭ, A.S. Altekar does not consider Jayaswal's arguments to be convincing. According to him, the reading on the Durehā pillar is *vaṅkatrakānām* and not *Vākāṭakānām*. The Purāṇas merely state that Vindhyaśakti came after the Kilakila king, and do not connect him with

12. *ibid.*, p. 438, fn. 3.
13. *ibid.*, *loc. cit.*
14. *ASI*, IX. pp. 121ff.
15. *CII*, III, p. 234.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

that country, and the identification of Nachnā with Chaṇakā is questionable. Altekar himself, however, is uncertain about the situation of the Vākāṭaka home-land, but is inclined to place it in the South. He refers to 3rd century inscription from Amarāvatī in Āndhra mentioning a certain pilgrim named Vākāṭaka who came there to visit a Buddhist *stūpa* and make votive donation. He thinks that some place called Vākāṭa might have been somewhere near Amarāvatī, for, it is highly improbable, though not impossible, for a pilgrim from Bajaur-Bāgāṭ to undertake a long and arduous journev to make a votive offering. According to Sircar, also there are "several other characteristics such as the striking similarity of the Sanskrit and Prākrit expressions of their (*i.e.*, Vākāṭaká's) records with those used in the Pallava grants, their assumption of the title *Dharma-Mahārāja* like the Pallavas and the Kadambas, and the adoption of the appellation *Hārītaputra* for themselves like the Sātavāhanas, Chālukyas and Kadambas of the South, however, go to point to their southern origin."

But the term, Vindhya in the name of Vindyaśakti of the Founder of the dynasty, and also in the hamonymous king Vindhyasena or Vindyaśakti of the Basīm branch of the family, strongly favour the hypothesis of the Vākāṭaka home being somewhere in the Bundelkhanḍ region of the Vindhyas. Moreover, it is flimsy ground to connect the designation of a stray pilgrim with that of a dynasty, and suppose the pilgrim as well as the dynasty to belong to the South. We are, therefore, inclined to agree with the plausible suggestion of Jayaswal rather than with that of Altekar. There was nothing impossible for a daring adventurer of the North to go to the South with a band of his dare-devil followers and make a conquest and establish a kingdom there in troubled times. Once the family got a sound footing in the South, the local characteristics were bound to creep in and influence its social and political life.

VINDHYAŚAKTI

Vindhyaśakti, the founder of the Vākāṭaka royal house, must have been a daring adventurer as stated above who, finding the newly formed mushroom states of the Ikṣvākus in Āndhra, and of the Ābhīras in Northern Koṇkan to be incapable of assuming imperial powers, took advantage of the disturbed political conditions, and founded a new royal house in the Deccan about the middle of the 3rd century A.D. Unfortunately, he has left no record of his own. His descendants, too, do not mention his name in their epigraphs, and begin the genealogy of the family with his son Pravarasena I. His name is known from a Vākāṭaka inscription of the time of Hariṣeṇa in the Ajanta Cave XVI[20], in which he is

16. *HI* (A. D. 150-350), pp, 66-68, App. A.
17. *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 267. It read *gāme vāthavasa gahapatisa Vākāṭākasa.*
18. *EHD,* I-VI, pp. 154-55.
19. *CA*, p. 218.
20. *Hydrabad Aachaeological Servies*, No. 14.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

called a *doija* (*dvija*) or a Brāhmaṇa, and the founder of the family, but nothing is stated about his ancestory. The Purāṇas, too, expressly mention him to be the founder of the family and assign him a reign of 96 years, mistaking probably the span of his life with the period of his regin. "The Purāṇas," says Altekar, "mention him among the kings of Vidiśā, the capital of Eastern Mālwā. We may, therefore, safely conclude that the warlike achievements of Vindhyaśakti resulted in the annexation of the districts of Betul and Itarsi and Hoshangābād to his kingdom, which probably comprised a portion of Berār only in the beginning.[21]" His capital Purikā in Madhya Pradesh somewhere remains unidentified.

Vindhyaśakti was neither formally consecrated as a king, nor did he assume a royal title. He stuck to his Brāhmaṇic traditions and devoted himself to the performance of Vedic sacrifices and the construction of works of public welfarelike the temples, wells and rest-houses, and making endowments to schools and colleges. The end of his reign may be placed about A.D. 270 or 275, *i.e.*, about 20 to 25 years of his coming to power.

PRAVARASENA I

Vindhyaśakti was succeeded by his *Mahārāja Hārītīputra* Pravarasena (I). In the Purāṇas, his name is given as Pravīra. He, too, has left no epigraph of his own, and the account of his achievements is known from the records of his family which, like the Purāṇas, extol him more for the performance of the sacrifices than for his victorious campaigns, which earned him alone among the rulers of his line, the title of *Samrāt.* This honour raised the dignity of the family which came to be styled as *Samrāṭ.* Vākāṭaka in many subsequent records.

Pravarasena's position was very much strengthened by the marriage of his son Gautamīputra to the daughter of the powerful king of the Nāgas of Central India. This alliance must have been of great help to Pravarasena in extending his sway over Central India and the Deccan. According to Altekar, Pravarasena's heritage was not very big, and comprised only a few districts of Madhya Pradesh and Berār. But, by conquering the various petty states, he was able to annex northern Mahārāṣṭra, a major portion of the former Hydrabad state and the eastern districts of Madhya Pradesh. He also annexed the territories north of the river Kṛṣṇā, which were neither under the Kadambas of Karṇāṭak nor under the Pallavas of Kāñchī.

Pravarsena also seems to have acquired Western Mālwā and obtained occasional tribute from the new ruler Rudrasiṁha II of the Western Kṣatrapas of Gujarāt and Kāṭhiawār in return for the help he gave him in ousting Bhartṛdāman. Very likely, some territories in the Āndhra country,

21. *EHD*, pp 157-58.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Chhatisgarh and Baghelkhaṇḍ must also have come under his influence during his life-time owing to the absence of resistance from any power in those regions.[22]

"The patrimony which Pravarasena had inherited included only a few districts; he expanded it into an empire which covered practically the whole of Deccan between the rivers Narmadā and Kṛṣṇā. The northern Mahārāṣṭra, Berār, Madhya Pradesh and Hydrabad state were certainly included in his empire. His sphere of influenec extended over Mālwā and Gujarāt, Āndhradeśa and Southern Kosala. He gave to Deccan the political unity which it had lost since the downfall of the Sātavāhans, and welded it into a state whose strength and resources were much greater than those of any other contemporary kingdom, whether in the north or the south. It was but natural that he should have assumed the title Samrāṭ, emperor, to which no contemporary of his is known to have laid a claim[23]".

The Purāṇas mention that Pravarasena had four sons. Of these, the eldest Gautamīputra predeceased his father without succeeding to the throne which passed to the grandson Rudrasena I. The other son, Sarvasena, who was the viceroy of Southern Berār and north-western parts of Hydrabad state, later on, founded a branch of the family at Vatsagulma or Basim. Nothing is known of the remaining two sons whose territories, if any, were either absorbed in the main branch or lost to the Vākāṭakas.

After Pravarasenas death, the empire was divided into two branches, the main branch with its capital at Purikā, and the other at Vatsagulma in Akolā district.

RUDRASENA I

Rudrasena succeeded his grandfather about A.D. 330 or 335, and became the ruler of the main branch of the family. He was a devotee of the lord Mahābhairava, the terrific form of Śiva. Since his mother belonged to the powerful Nāga family of the Bhāraśivas of Padmāvatī, his devotion to Śaivism might have been due to the influence of his maternal relations. In the Vakāṭaka epigraphs, usually occurs the name of Bhavanāga, Rudrasena's maternal grandfather. "In Indian dynastic genealogies", according to Altekar, "a maternal grandfather is introduced either when his kingdom happens to be inherited by his daughter's son, or when he happens to have offered material assistance to his grandson at a critical period[24]". As Rudrasena did not inherit the Nāga territory he must have received valuable help from his maternal relations, most probably at the time of the division of the empire with his uncle Sarvasena.

22. *EHD*, p. 161.
23. *Ibid.*, loc. cit.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Since there are no records of his reign; it is not possible to say anything about his achievements or the extent of his kingdom. The later records of the family do not give to him or his descendants the imperial title of *Samrāt*, which was so deservedly and proudly held by his father. The relinquishment of this title by the family is attributed by some to the defeat and death of Rudrasena at the hands of Samudragupta, but the identity of Rudrasena with Rudradeva of the Allahabad *praśasti* is based merely on a superficial resemblance of the names and therefore untenable. For, Rudradeva is enumerated among the nine kings of Āryāvarta (Northern India), while the Vākāṭaka Rudrasena was the king of the Deccan. Moreover, had Samudragupta defeated a king of the Vākāṭakas who were the most powerful emperors of the South, there would have been a vivid description of this glorious victory in Samudragputa's *praśasti*. As a matter of fact, there is absolutely no evidence of a direct clash of Samudragupta with the Vākāṭakas during his southern campaign. The kings of Kosala and Āndhra country had already shaken off their vassalage of the Vakāṭakas after the death of Pravarasena I. The king Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra in Deccan, who was subdued by Samudragupta, too, cannot be identified with Vyāghradeva of the Nechnā and Gañja inscriptions who owed allegiance to the Vākāṭakas and ruled in Bundelkhaṇḍ. Moreover, if Samudragupta had killed Rudrasena I, and brought the Vākāṭaka feudatory Vyāgharadeva under his own vassalship, Rudrasena's son Pṛthivīṣeṇa would never have married his own son, Rudradeva II to the grand-daughter, Prabhāvatīguptā, of the inveterate enemy of his family.

Now, as to the abandonment of the title *Samtāṭ* and the assumption of the simple title *Mahārāja* by the successors of Pravarasena I, it may be said that the epithet *Mahārāja* was considered a feudatory title only in Northern India, and the other imperial title *Mahārājādhirāja* had not become popular in the Deccan till about A.D. 660 when the Chālukyas began to assume it from the time of Vikramāditya I. Before that, even the Ikṣvākus and Chāntamūla, the Viṣṇukuṇḍin Mādhavavarman I, who had performed several *Aśvamedhas*, and even the Chālukya emperor Pulaheśin II, were content with the simple title of *Mahārāja*. According to Altekar, the reason for the drooping of the title *Samrāṭ* was twofold —both religious and political. As the Brāhmaṇas were required to perform the *Samrāṭ-sava Vājapeya* before assuming the imperial title *Samraṭ*, it was replaced by the simple title *Mahārāja*, because none of Pravarasena's successors performed that sacrifice. Their Brāhmaṇa orthodoxy debarred them from infringing this religious injuction. The political reason for relinquishing the title must have been due to the division of the empire after the death of Pravarasena I, and consequently the reduction of the empire and its resources. The rise of the strong imperial power of the Guptas in the North and the matrimonial alliance which made Prabhāvatīgupta, the daughter of the Gupta emperor, their

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

queen must have eliminated all feelings of jealousy and rivalry between the two dynasties.[25]

Whatever the reasons might have been for discontinuation of the imperial title, the fact remains that the Vākāṭaka power continued to flourish with increasing prosperity after Rudradeva I as is evident from the expression *varṣa-śatābhivarddhamāna-kośa-daṇḍa-ṣādhana-santāna* in the present inscription.

The weekness resulting from the split of the empire had resulted in the rulers of the Āndhra country and Southern Kosala having become independent, and the *Kṣatrapa* Rudradāman II assuming the imperial title *Mahākṣatrapa* and flouting the Vākāṭaka authority from *c.* A.D. 340.

PṚTHIVĪṢEṆA I

Pṛthivīsena I who succeeded his father Rudrasena I, was a devotee of the god Maheśvara (Śiva) and in virtue comparable to Yudhiṣṭhira. He had quite a long reign of about quarter of a century which was marked by peace and prosperity. The present record describes him as having sons and grandsons and possessing vast resources of military strength and revenue which had been increasing for a century (lines 11-12). Like Yudhiṣṭhira, who is known as *Dharma-rāja*, Pṛthivīiṣeṇa was called *Dharma-vijayin*, 'victorious through righteousness or virtue'. This shows that he did not make use of his rich financial and military resources for any aggressive design like war. But, he might have helped king Vindhyasena of the Basīm branch, with whom his relations were cordial, with men and money in the conquest of Kuntala which was probably under the Kadamba king Kaṅgavarman. As the Vākāṭakas are generally described as 'the lords of Kuntala[26]', they must have annexed some part of it. Since the rulers of the main branch also are called the 'Lords of Kuntala', the glory of victory came to be shared by them probably on account of the assistance given by Pṛthiviṣeṇa in the conflict.

The increase of power and prestige of the Vākāṭakas by the conquest of Kuntala may have been one of the reasons for Chandragupta II to offer the hand of his daughter Prabhāvatīguptā to prince Rudrasena II and seek matrimonial alliance with the Vākāṭakas, expecting their help in his contemplated expedition against the Western Kṣatrapas of Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwār.

Some scholars attributed the total eclipse of the Western Kṣatrapas for 13 years (A.D. 351-64) to the aggressive designs of the Vākāṭakas, but lack of evidence makes this view untenable.

Two inscriptions of a Vākāṭaka feudatory Vyāghradeva have been

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 169-70.
26. S.K. Aiyangar, *ABORI*. IV, p. 49.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

discovered from Nachnā in the old Jasso State, and Gañja in the old Ajaygarh State in Bundelkhaṇḍa, who acknowledges the Vākāṭaka king Pṛthivīṣena to be his suzerain. There is a controversy regarding the identity of both the overlord Pṛthivīṣeṇa and the feudatory Vyāghradeva.

IDENTIFICATION OF PṚTHIVĪṢEṆA OF VYĀGHRADEVA'S RECORDS

Fleet, and following him Sukthankar, have identified Pṛthivīṣeṇa with the first Vākāṭaka monarch of that name who was known at that time. Subsequently, the name of another Pṛthivīṣeṇa, the great-great-grandson of Pṛthivīṣeṇa I, came to light from certain plates discovered at Bālāghāṭ,[27] who ruled about a century later. Prof Dubreuil suggested that Vyāghradeva of the Bundelkhaṇḍ records should be identified with the Uchchakalpa king Vyāghra whose son Jayanātha issued grants from the same region in Gupta years 174 and 177 (A.D. 493 and 496). He therefore identified his suzerain with Pṛthiviṣeṇa II[28] who flourished during the time of Jayanātha's father Vyāghra in *c.* A.D. 475 (Pṛthivīṣeṇa is said to have flourished from A.D. 470 to 490).[29] Against this assumption, Altekar once wrote, "This however is very improbable. All territories between the Jumnā ana the Narmadā were under Gupta lordship in *c* A.D. 465. Even the Parivrājakas, who were the western neighbours of the Uchchakalpas and thus nearer to the Vākāṭaka capital, were acknowledging the Gupta sovereignty. It is therefore very improbable that Pṛthivīṣeṇa could have exercised overlordship over the Uchchakalpa king Vyāghradeva in *c.* 465 A.D."[30] According to Dr. Raychaudhuri also, the Guptas exercised sovereignty over the rulers of Bundelkhaṇḍ down to A.D. 528.[31] To these arguments Dr. Sircar adds the palaeographical evidence of the greater antiquity of the triangular *v* and the old form of *t* and *j* of the Nachnā and Gañja inscriptions than those found in the Basīm grant of Vindhyaśakti II, a grandson of Pṛthivīṣeṇa I. He is therefore surprised at the identification of Pṛthivīṣeṇa with his name-sake who flourished a century later.[32]

V.V. Mirashi has tried to refute the palaeographic argument of Sircar by citing the continuation of the use of the triangular *v* even after Pṛthivīṣeṇa I in the Udayagiri and Sāñchī Railing inscriptions of Chandragupta II and in the record of the last Vākāṭaka king Hariṣeṇa in Ajanta Cave XVII. He has also shown the use of the old form of *t* in the word *jitaṁ* (line 1) in Poḍagarh inscription, and of *j* in the word *doija* in the

27. Vide Kielhorn. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 267ff.
26. S.K. Aiyangar, *ABORI*, IV, p. 49.
27. vide Kielhorn, *Ep. Ind*, IX, p. 267ff.
28. *IA*, LV, p. 103.
29. *IHQ*, XXI, pp. 14ff.
30. *VGA*, pp. 109–110, fn. 4.
31. *PHAI*, 5th ed., p. 541.
32. *CA*, p. 179, fn. 1.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

record in the Ajanta Cave XVI. As to the argument of Altekar, Mirashi remarks that though the Parivrājaka *Mahārājas*, and may be the earlier Uchchakalpa rulers also, acknowledged Gupta sovereignty, the later Uchchakalpa rulers Jayanātha and Śarvanātha did not do so even in general terms like the Parivrājakas, and had transferred their allegiance probably to the Vākāṭakas. They used the Gupta era owing to its well-established usage and not for their submission to the Guptas. Again, Suraśmichandra's rule over the Jumnā-Narmadā Doab[33] does not necessarily imply the inclusion of the whole of Baghelkhaṇḍ and Bundelkhaṇḍ in the Gupta empire in the 5th century which is evident from the submission of the rulers of Mekala and Mālwā to the Vākāṭaka king Narendrasena.[34] No wonder if Narendrasena's son Pṛthivīṣeṇa II had pushed towards the North and made the Uchchakalpa Vyāghra his vassal during the political conditions prevailing in Bundelkhaṇḍ in the last quarter of the 5th century.

Other objections against accepting the identity of Pṛthivīṣeṇa with Pṛthīvīṣeṇa I arise from the absence of evidence to prove the spread of the Vākāṭaka power to the north of Narmadā in that period and the difficulty of identifying the feudatory Vyāghradeva of Nachnā with the Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, the ruler of Dakṣiṇāpatha. Thus, according to Mirashi, there is nothing to stand in the way of identifying Pṛthivīṣeṇa of Nachnā and Gañja reeords with the Vākāṭaka Pṛthivīṣeṇa II.[35]

Dr. Altekat, too, later on, seems to have relaxed his rigid opinion in reiterating his earlier view. He says, "Yet it is possible that the overlord of Vyāghrarāja (?-deva), his feudatory may not be Pṛthivīṣeṇa I but Pṛthivīṣeṇa II, who ruled from *c*. 460 to 480. In that case, Vyāghrarāja (?-deva), his feudatory, may be the Uchchakalpa ruler of that name. The Uchchkalpas were certainly Gupta feudatories at this time and were using the Gupta era. It is therefore more likely that Vyāghrarāja (?-deva) of the above records was a feudatory of Pṛthivīṣeṇa I. If such was the case, it will follow that Bundelkhaṇḍ was in the Vākāṭaka shpere of influence during the reign of Pṛthvīṣeṇa I."[36]

In our opinion, the question of the identity of both the overlord and his feudatory of the Nachnā and Gañja inscriptions has not been finally settled, and the scholars are holding divergent views. Dr. S.K. Aiyangar,[37] Jayaswal,[38] Altekar[39] and Raychaudhuri[40] are the advocates of Fleet's

33. Eraṇ Pillar Inscription of Budhagupta, *CII*, III, pp. 88ff.
34. *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 271.
35. *St. Ind.*, II, pp. 167ff.
36. *EHD*, p. 173.
37. *IA*, LV, pp. 223ff.
38. *HI*, (A.D. 150-350), p. 60, fn. 2.
39. *VGA*, 1960, p. 109, and fn. 4.
40. *PHAI*, 1953, p. 541.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

view, while N.N. Dikshit[41], Majumdar[42], and Mirashi are the supporters of Dubreuil's view.

RUDRASENA II

Pṛthivīṣeṇa I was succeeded by his son *Mahārāja* Rudrasena II. He inherited a rich and prosperous kingdom with strong millitary and financial position. The glory earned by the conquest of Kuntala was further enhanced by Rudrasena's marriage with Chandragupta's daughter Prabhāvatīguptā. According to Dr. Sircar, Chandragupta probably ousted the Vākāṭaka king from his Central Indian dominion, and the latter in order to check his advance further South, entered into a matrimonial alliance by asking the hand the conqueror's daughter for his son. But this hypothesis does not carry conviction. For, it would be impertinent on the part of a defeated monarch to make a proposal for the marriage of his son with the victor's daughter. According to Altekar, the proposal seems to have come from Chandragupta II, who being impressed with the increasing power and prestige of the Vākāṭakas required their help in his contemplated invasion of the Kṣatrapa kingdom of Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwār. Rudrasena, being young and energetic, also acquiesced with the proposal with the hope of sharing a part of the conquered Kṣatrapa territory.[43] If the latter view be accepted, Sircar's hypothesis of the loss of the Vākāṭaka possessions in Central India to Chandragupta becomes untenable.

Anyway, it has to be admitted that the influence of Chandragupta and Prabhāvatīguptā was so great that Rudrasena changed his ancestral faith in Śaivism, and became a devotee of Viṣṇu (Chakrapāṇi), to whose grace and protection he attributed all his success and prosperity.

Unfortunately, Rudrasena died young after about a reign of five years.

PRAVARASENA II

From the Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, it appears that after the death of her husband, Rudrasena II, she acted as regent of her minor son Divākarasena who was the crown-prince (*yuvarāja*). In her Rithpur grant issued in the 18th year of the reign of her son Pravarasena II,[44] she calls herself the mother of Dāmodarsena-Pravarasena. According to Sircar, Rudrasena had left three minor sons, Divākarasena, Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena. Since there is no mention of Divākarasena subsequent to the Poona grant, Sircar presumes that he died early. As there is no evidence to show that Divākarsena ever ascended the throne, Sircar says that he

41. *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 362.
42. *JRASBL*, XII, 1947, p. 4.
43. *EHD*, pp. 174-75.
44. *JASB*, XX, pp. 58 ff.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

was not made a *Mahārāja* even when he had passed his sixteenth year.[45]" Again, Dāmodarasena, who succeeded the throne after Divākarasena's death, may also "have died earlier and may havebeen succeeded by his younger brother Pravarasena.[46]" Later on Sircar writes. "As Prabhāvatīguptā was more than hundered years old when the charter was issued. *Mahārāja* Dāmodarasena must have enjoyed a fairly long reign in the intervening period between her (*i.e.* Prabhāvatī's) own rule in the early period of her life and the accession of Pravarasena II during its later part.[47]" which precludes the possibility of the two brothers reigning simultaneously in the different parts of the empire. But this view suggesting the succession of Pravarasena after a fairly long reign and early death of Dāmodarsena does not seem to be very conistent and credible. In our opinion, Dr. Aletkar's view is more convincing and perhaps correct also. According to him, the order of the names in the expression *Dāmodarasena-Pravarasena-jananī* in the Rithpur plates suggests that, if there were two brothers, the former would be the elder of the two and should have been the ruler at the time when the plates were isssued. Since the plates were issued in the 18th regnal year of Pravarasena, this clearly points to the two names being of the same person, the second being his coronation (*abhiṣeka*) name. The use of the title *Mahārāja* in a compound would qualify both the names, which is not possible, because in a kingdom, there is only one *Mahārāja* or ruler at the time.[48]

PRAVARASENA II

Setubandha, a poem in Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛit, was written by a poet called Pravarasena, who is identified with Pravarasena II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. Kielhorn identifies the author with the Kashmir king of that name.[49]. Since the poem describes the victory of Rāma and Rāvaṇa and is a Vaiṣṇava work, Sircar, too, doubts its attribution to Pravarasena II who was a Śaiva.[50] Dr. Mirashi believes in the genuineness of the attribution to Pravarasena II who composed it at the behest of his mother Prabhāvatī-gupta, a staunch devotee of Viṣṇu in his Rāma incarnation, the Lord of Rāmagiri. She also had a temple of Rāma erected at the new capital Pravarapura (builts by Pravarsena after his own name), the ruins of which have been discovered at Pavnār. The discription of Pravarasena as the

45. *CA*, p. 180 and fn. 4; also cf, *JASBL*, XII. pp. 71 ff.
46. *Sel. Ins.*, 1965, p. 440, fn. 2. Altekar, however, admits the possibility of Divākarasena having ascended the throne soon after the 13th year of regency and died issueless after a short reign (*EHD*, p. 177 fn. 1).
47. *CA*. p. 181. fn. 3.
48. Altekar. *EHD*, p. 177. fn. 1.
49. *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 97.
50. *CA*, pp. 183-84.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

king of Kuntala in the *Bharatacharita*, too supports the identification of the author of *Setubandha* to Pravarasena II.[51]

As Pravarasena is called *Parama-Māheśvara* in all his records, the Gupta influence over the Vūkāṭakas seems to have waned after the death of Chandragupta II in A.D. 414. From a verse quoted in Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* and Bhaja's *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa* it has been inferred that Pravarasena, in the early years of his reign, was addicted to a life of pleasure and entrusted the reins of his government to someone else.

From Pravarasena's copper-plate grants numbering about a dozen, ranging from his regnal year 2 to 27, though it is possible to reconstruct the history of his predecessors, yet nothing is known about his own political and military achievements. This shows that he did not engage himself in any war, and continued to rule his empire with the help of his generals and feudatories. From the present inscription, it appears that his feudatories did not have the power to make grants of land without his permission. The administration seems to have run smoothly and very efficiently. At the end of his grants, the name of a *Senāpati* is always given. In this grant, Chitravarmman is the *Senāpati* whose name also occurs in an incomplete charter issued in the 11th year of his reign. According to Altekar, "The manner in which the names of generals are mentioned at the end of the copper-plates suggests that their importance was next to the king himself."[52] Was such prominence given to them because they werethe Prime Ministers or *Sarvādhyakṣas*. Military skill and leadership were some of the necessary qualifications for minis-terial appointments in those times.

CAPITAL AND THE EXTENT OF EMPIRE

The earliest capital of the Vākāṭakas was Purikā which has not been definitely located so far, but is supposed to be some-where in Berār or western part of the Madhya Pradesh. At least from the time of Rudrasena II, we find that the capital had been shifted to Nandivardhana, either the modern Nandardhan (near Rāmṭek, about 13 miles north of Nāgpur) or Nandpur (aoout 34 miles north of Nāgpur). The extensive ruins of

51. According to Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* and *Sarasvatīkanṭhābharaṇa*, the verse is the report of Kālidāsa to his patron Vikramāditya who had sent him as an ambassador to the king of Kuntala. Kṣemendra in his *Aucityavicāracarcā*, attributes the verse to Kālidāsa's Kuntaleśvara *dautya*. Baṇa's *Harṣacarita* ascribes *Setu* or *Setubandha* to Pravarsena. But a later work, *Bharatacarita*, attributes the the authorship to Kuntleśa (king of Kuntala). According to Rāmadāsa's *Rāmasetu-pradīpa* on *Setubandha*, it was written by the newly installed king Pravarasena who was the same as Bhojadeva because Vākāṭakas were a branch of the Bhoja people. In early years Pravarasena left charge of administration to Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya (*CA*, pp. 182-83).

52. *EHD*, p. 195.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

fortifications near Nandpur suggest that the old capital was most probably situated there. Pravarasena founded a new city, called Pravarapura after his own name, and shifted his capital there some time before the date of this grant. Dr. Mirashi has identified it with modern Pavnār in the Wardha district. From the sites where the Vākāṭaka epigraphs have been found and from the geographical names occurring in the grants, Buhler inferred that Ilichpur district in which the village Chammak is situated corresponds with the province (*rājya*) Bhojakaṭa, and the Madhu on which Charmmāṅka lay is one of the tributaries of Pūrṇā. He fixed the boundaries approxvimately between the Mahādeva hills on the north and Godāvarī on the south, the Ajaṇṭā hills on the west, and the sources of Mahānadī in the east.[53] According to Sircar, "Pravarasena must have ruled for, at least, 27 years, and over practically the whole of Berār, with the exclusion of its southern portion, but together with western districts of Madhya Pradesh.[54] The chaters of Pravarasena clearly show that the districts of Amarāvatī, Wardhā, Betul. Chhindwārā, Nāgpur, Bhaṇḍārā and Bālāghāṭ were under the direct administration of the main branch. Besides these, a major part of Madhya Pradesh, Berār, Khāndesh, Bombay, Mahārāṣṭra and a considerable portion of the former Hydrabad state must also have been included in his empire, out of which South Berār, North-western Hydrabad and Southern Mahārāṣṭra were under the Basīm branch.[55]

CHRONOLOGY OF THE VĀKĀṬAKAS

The chronology of the Vākāṭakas is a somewhat vexed problem of Indian history. K.P. Jayaswal propounded the theory that the Chedi era of 248–49 marked the establishment of the Vākāṭaka dynasty.[56] But this theory is untenable because the Vākāṭakas have not used this era in any of their records. All their epigraphs are dated in their regnal years. We have therefore to rely on some contemporary event of known date in order to determine the broad outlines of Vākāṭaka chronology. Starting from the time of Prabhāvatīguptā, the daughter of Chandragupta II (*c.* A.D. 375-414), who was married to the forth Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena II, Altekar assumed that she was widowed in *c.* A.D. 390, and that her son could have acceeded to the throne only in A.D. 410. He placed the reign of Pṛthivīṣeṇa I between A.D. 360 and 385. From the expression *varṣa-śatam abhivarddhamāna-kośa-daṇḍa-sādhanasantāna-putra-pautriṇaḥ*, he concludes that the family was ruling for about a hundred years before him, *i.e.*, before A.D. 360. He therefore placed the reign of Vindhyaśakti, the founder of the dynasty, between *c.* 255 and 275 A.D. Allowing 60

53. *IA*, XII. pp. 239 ff.
54. *CA*, pp. 181-82.
55. *VGA*, 1960, p. 114.
56. *HI.* (A.D. 150-350), pp. 108-111; *JIH*, XIV, pp. 184 ff.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

years to the reign of his son Pravarasena on the authority of the Purāṇas, he assigned the period of A.D. 275 to 335 to him, and 335 to 360 to Rudrasena I, the grandson of Pravarasena I[57] From the same starting point of Prabhāvatīguptā, Dr. Sircar assigns third quater of the 4th century to Pṛthivīṣeṇa I (*i.e.*, A.D. 350-375). Calculating backwards for four generations at an average of 25 years per generation., he places Vindhyaśakti in the 3rd quarter of the 3rd century (*i e.*, 250 to 275 A.D.). From the last reference to the Vākāṭakas in the grants of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, he fixes the lower limit of the dynasty in the middle of the 6th century A D., *i e.*, about 550 A.D.[58]

R.C. Majumdar, referring to the correct meaning of the expression *sāgra-varṣa-śatā di* (*jī*) *va-putra-pautrā*, occurring in the Rithpur grant of Prabhāvatīguptā,[59] he assumes that she was more than a hundred years old at the time when the grant was made, *i.e.*, on the 19th year of the reign of Pravarasena II, and she survived her brother Kumāragupta I who was considerably younger to her. He therefore, feels justified in holding that Prabhāvatīguptā passed her 100th year *after* and *not before* A D. 455, when her brother died. Therefore the 19th year of her son's reign would also fall *after* and *not before* A.D. 455, and that he could not have ascended the throne on becoming major (of 21) before A.D. 437. This gives rise to a further assumption of Majumdar that the Regency period of Prabhāvatīguptā for both Divākarasena (who died) and his younger brother could not be earlier to 417 to 436 A.D., which shows that she did not become widow till after the death of her father Chandragupta II. This cuts at the very root of Altekar's reconstruction of Vākāṭaka chronology, to support which he assigned a life of only 75 years to Prabhāvatīguptā, in spite of the express statement in her Rithour grant.

Again, assuming Chandragupta to have been a young man of not more than 40 at the time his accession so as to win the heart of his brother's widow Dhruvadevī, Majumdar considers his date of birth to be not later than (375−40=) 335 A.D., and the birth of Prabhāvatīguptā not before (335+20=) 355 A.D. Majumdar goes on a step further and says that it is more probable for Chandragupta to have ascended the throne at about the age of 30; for, otherwise he would be believed to have led an active military life at 65 in his campaigns in Western India in about A.D. 400. He also carries the birth of his daughter 10 years later to A.D. 365.

Apart from this, Majumdar says that if Dāmodarasena and Pravarasena were the names of the same person, then in his 19th regnal

57. *VGA*, 1960, p. 95.
58. *AIU*, p. 219.
59. *AIGM*, p. 114.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

year, Pravarasena would be 40 years of age and his mother more than a hundred years, and more than 60 years when Pravarasena was born. This being unusual, he presumes the liklihood of Prabhāvatīguptā having three sons, Divākarasena. the eldest; Dāmodarasena, the middle one; and Pravarasena, the youngest; and gives the chronology of the dynasty as shown in the following table, side by side with those proposed by Altekar and Sircar. The figuress show the probable date of accession of each monarch. (M. for Majumdar, A. for Altekar and S. for Sircar).

Vindhyaśakti (M. 250 A. D., A. 255, S. 250)

Pravarasena I (M. 270 A. D., A. 275, S. 275)

Gautamīputra (died)

Rudrasena I (M. 330 A. D., A. 335, S. 335)

Pṛthivīṣeṇa I (M. 375 A. D., A. 360, S. 350)

Rudrasena II (M. 400 A. D., A. 385, S. 375)

Pravarasena II (M. 450 A. D., A. 410, S. 400)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

than a
. This
g three
e; and
asty as
Altekar
of each

ENGLISH LITERATURE

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

G.L. Narang

THE INFLUENCES BEHIND YEATS'S DRAMATIC THEORY

> "to think like a wise man, but express oneself like the common people"
>
> —*Aristotle, often quoted by Lady Gregory to Yeats.*

"One day when I was twenty-three or twenty-four," says Yeats in an important piece of autobiography in his "If I were Four-and-Twenty," "this sentence seemed to form in my head, without my willing it, much as sentences form when we are half-asleep: 'Hammer your thoughts into unity'." Of course this should be pertaining to the time around 1888, when he was living with his father, the earliest of the formative influences on him, producing his early pastorals and learning from the Pre-Raphaelite painter to integrate his beliefs into an outlook of a cultivated man. He goes on, more significantly, to outline the peculiar manner of this development upto the time of his writing of this essay (1919) :

> I had three interests: interest in a form of literature, in a form of philosophy, and a belief in nationality. None of these seemed to have anything to do with the other, but gradually my love of literature and my belief in nationality came together. Then for years I said to myself that these two had nothing to do with my form of philosophy, but that I had only to be sincere and to keep from constraining one by the other, and they would become one interest. Now all these are, I think, one, or rather all three are a discrete expression of a single conviction. I think each has behind it my whole character and thereby has gained a certain newness.[1]

In the light of this, any serious student of Yeats's dramatic theory would find it of interest, necessity and profit to put together the events and influences leading upto his intellectual creed of his maturer years over the crucial middle period of his making. I shall attempt to do this from a study of his prose assertions, with a view to assessing the impact of these influences on his views on drama and the theatre.

By 1889 Yeats was working on "Countess Cathleen"—he had seen "The Shadowy Waters" through. Soon his plays started appearing on the

1. W.B. Yeats, *Explorations*, 1962. London: Macmillan, p. 263.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

stage. "The Land of the Heart's Desire" was put up as a curtain-raiser to Shaw's "Arms and the Man" as a part of Florence Farr's 1894 session of plays. Though already regarded as a fairly promising progressive at knowledgeable hands, Yeats was, himself, quite dissatisfied with his achievement: he was conscious of the rather hybrid quality of his work, and uneasy on account of his imperfect metre. But he was fast developing the ingredients of his conviction and their unity. In 1900 we find him a self-conscious artist asserting his subjective predilection in literary theory :

> All writers, all artists of any kind, in so far as they have had any philosophical or critical power, perhaps just in so far as they have been deliberate artists at all, have had some philosophy, some criticism of their art; and it has often been this philosophy, or this criticism, that has evoked their most startling inspiration, calling into outer life some portion of the divine self, or of the buried reality, which could alone extinguish in the emotions what their philosophy or their criticism would extinguish in the intellect.[2]

He had been greatly handicapped because of the lack of a playhouse to suit his plays. Fortunately in 1904 a generous English lady, Miss Horniman, who had financed his earlier ventures, rearranged and in part rebuilt, at a huge expense, the old Mechanics' Institute Theatre into the Abbey Theatre. Now he could go on to develop a theatre that should be both "subjective" (non-naturalistic) and national. His opportunity lay in establishing that in fact it could be one, if it could be the other.

Yeats had for long been deriving his patriotic inspiration from John O' Leary. In his essay "A General Introduction for my Work" he admits: "It was through the old Fenian leader John O' Leary that I found my theme."[3] He is extremely significant in his references of grateful acknowledgement of the debt he bore to this great man. It was to him that he owed his introduction to the tradition of nationalism. A little later he was advised to read Standish O' Grady. particularly his interpretation of Irish legends. O' Grady had worked laboriously at the British Museum translating Gaelic heroic tales. From him Yeats picked up his acquaintance with the stories of Cuchulain, and of the ghosts and apparitions from the history and legend of the Irish provincial kings and queens. Lady Gregory should be mentioned here as another of the important influences on him in this connection. He had met Lady Gregory, the widow of Sir William, as early as 1896, and it was while he lived with her at Coole Park after his defeat in love, that he received the impact of her work and personality. Lady Gregory had played a notable part in the

2. "Symbolism of Poetry," *Essays and Introductions,* 1961. London:Macmillan, p. 154.

3. *ibid.*, p. 510.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Irish Literary Movement by collecting heroic folklore in an Anglo-Irish dialect, a dialect of the cottages with partly Tudor vocabulary and syntax from Gaelic, in her *Cuchulaine of Muirthemne* and *Gods and Fighting Men.* She was later to collaborate with Yeats in nine of his twenty-five plays. Yeats's association with Synge also fired his nationalism, and he exploited the Deirdre legend in 1904-5. Thus Yeats's nationalism came to be one of the two prominent factors in the determination of his dramatic theory, the other one being his subjective nature.

Now about Yeats's subjective leanings. Yeats was greatly confirmed in his view of drama by his extensive readings in Platonism, Jewish Kabbalistic literature, and, though a little later in his career, in Budhism and the Upanishadas. All these and other literatures, he believed, are one in the significance of their symbolisms. He read Madame Blavatsky's *Secret Doctorine* and was greatly influenced by her theory of a single parent doctrine, an identity of various symbolic systems. He supported his dramatic theory on faith in archetype, race memory and the phenomenon produced in certain minds of symbol patterns in the sleeping, waking, or sleeping-waking states, even when the person concerned could not have had a first-hand acquaintance with them before. These patterns, he stipulated, could only be lying embedded in the race culture. He was supported in his hypothesis by his reading of the Upanishadas.[4] Also, a nation could, for the aforementioned reason, best feel its equality with other free and dignified nations by identifying its symbolism with their symbolisms, as another member and sharer of the unbroken tradition and heritage of human congregations.[5] To appreciate Yeats's plays fully the knowledge of a number of orders of mythological and folk literatures which he has packed in his symbolism is indispensable. For example in "The Only Jealousy of Emer" there is a good bit of Byzantium as well as Ireland in the Woman of the Sidhe, the Ghost lingering by its abode is a commonplace of tradition in a number of particular cultures, and the waves that man fights signify the malevalence of the world. Probably it

4. In his paper on the Mandukya Upanishada, for example, he divines that Bhagwan Shri Hamsa's evocation of "the conscious" and of "the unconscious" depended in part on this kind of race memory : "I have read somewhere that the Aryan race, afterwards the creator of the Vedas and the Upanishadas, lingered long, perhaps for many generations, in the country about Kailas, or Mount Meru, as it is called in the Vedas, certainly longer than the Children of Israel about Sinai. Who knows what beginning, what act of creation, is commemorated in the legend of a golden phallus rising once in every year from the waters of Manas Sarowar...?" (*Essays and Introductions*, p. 485)

5. It is in *this* sense that Yeat's theatre was to be national, and not in the commonplace, narrow one. The latter is clearly precluded by the poet's denial in "A General Introduction for my Work" : "I am no Nationalist, except in Ireland for passing reasons; State and Nation are the work of intellect, and when you consider what comes before and after, then they are, as Victor Hugo said of something or other, not worth the blade of grass God gives for the nest of the linnet." (*Ibid.*, p. 526.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

is because the critics of this poet have not always been able to go to the proper sources of his symbols that the subjective aspect of his dramatic work has not been fully judged so far.

Yeats believed that the greatest play is not the one that gives the sensation of an external reality, but a play in which there is the greatest abundance of the reality that is within us. This fits in well with his larger religious conception, confirmed by his study of oriental thought, that men have within themselves something immortal and imperishable that does not inhabit our common imagination. This is why his was a voice of protest against "the theatre of commerce", the product of the movement towards externality in life, thought and art.

To serve the ends of the subjective tradition, Yeats introduced poetry in his plays. The peculiar character of the language of this poetry he has himself defined in one of his essays :

> I tried to make the language of poetry coincide with that of passionate, normal speech. I wanted to write in whatever language comes most naturally when we soliloquise, as I do all day long, upon the events of our own lives or of any life where we can see ourselves for the moment.... I began to make it when I discovered some twenty years ago that I must seek, not as Wordsworth thought, words in common use, but a powerful and passionate syntax.[6] (1937)

In the same place he goes on to say that he wanted a poetic drama in which every speech was short and concentrated, knit by dramatic tension. His language was to be something mid-way between prose and poetry, the sort of thing Sir Thomas Browne and the translators of the Bible made their own.

Furthermore, Yeats wanted to variate blank verse with traditional lyric metres. Speaking only blank verse meant to him having been cast up out of the current of the past, or to use his own metaphor, out of the whale of the tradition of the ancient minstrel poetry. He planned employing the rhythms that have been "developed with the language," natural, leisurely rhythms, rhythms that are meditative. He looked for a diction that was simple enough to stir the deepest, the primitive, level of consciousness of his readers and audiences, and that would make his theatre truly "a people's theatre"[7], one that would lend his rhythms an appropriate form—"for, you can expound an opinion, or describe a thing when your words are not quite well-chosen, you cannot give a body to something

6. *Ibid.*, p. 521

7. "A People's Theatre : A Letter to Lady Gregory," *Explorations*, p. 244. See also the fn. in which Yeats explains that "a people's theatre" (a term borrowed from a book by Romain Rolland) does not mean quite the same thing as "a popular theatre."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

that moves beyond the senses unless your words are as subtle, as complex, as full of mysterious life, as the body of a flower or of a woman."[8]

For another thing, Yeats favoured gestures to be not spatially exhaustive or realistically depictive, but evocative of images and emotions by suggestion. He was certainly drifting more and more away from crude realism on the stage sets. Compare the descriptions of the scenes in the original editions of "Countess Cathleen" and "The Shadowy Waters" with those in the revised versions and the shift towards simplicity and suggestiveness seems only too obvious. When transferred to the domain of character, Yeats's philosophy would make him prefer personal energy by way of psychological realism, rather than bodily depiction or representation of attributes. In fact, in anything physical on the sets, Yeats exercised calculated economy and austerity, for, in any case, his main end was dramatisation.

In the interest of dramatisation, he never liked to turn his plays into commentaries, or rhetoric-heavy theses: "I hated and still hate with an ever growing hatred the literature of the point of view."[9] The play was to proceed to a psychological climax without an excessive use of poetic expedients, to tend with a passionate intensity to that single moment of mental equipoise and calm.

All this implied a multiplicity of strenuous conditions imposed by the poet himself on the exercise of his vocation, but at the same time a certain amount of gain in terms of sureness of design. "As a drawing is defined by its outline, a taste by its rejections, I too must reject and draw an outline about the things I seek," says Yeats in his "Controversies". He hastens to "define" his aspiration: "I seek not a theatre, but the theatre's anti-self." This has been generally taken to mean the poet's yearning for the counter-energy corresponding to the logical development of objective energy in the theatre, a counter-energy that adds to an ever deepening, unanalysable longing. Yeats's own explanation is this: "I desire a mysterious art always reminding and half-reminding those who understand it of dearly loved things, doing its work by suggestion, not by direct statement, by a complexity of rhythm, colour, gesture which is not space-pervading like the intellect but a memory and a prophecy."[10]

Now, Yeats's eventual thought was influenced by at least three happy accidents in his life. The most important of these seems to have been his listening to Ezra Pound's reading to him out of the Japanese Noh plays of Earnest Fenollosa in 1913 and their publication in 1916 by the Caula Press (owned by Yeats's own two sisters). It was in 1912 that Mrs. Fenollosa had given Yeats her husband's papers, and in 1913 that Yeats

8. "The Symbolism of Poetry," *Essays and Introductions*, pp. 163-64.
9. "A General Introduction for my Work," *Essays and Introductions*, p. 511.
10. The quotations in this passage are all from *Plays and Controversies*, 1923. London: Macmillan, pp. 212-15.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

spent the winter with Pound in the same Sussex cottage. The second fortunate accident was Pound's discovery in a café in 191: of an extremely talented Japanese student, Ido. This youngman studied books on Noh in Japanese and learned dancing in the regular native tradition in order to be useful to Yeats by joining his theatre group. The first of Yeats's plays in, and the closest to, the Noh convention was "At the Hawk's Well" (1917), played at Lady Islington's place at Chesterfield Gardens. A year earlier it was tried in a drawing-room of a gracious hostess in Cavendish Square. T. S. Eliot admitted that viewing of the performance had changed altogether his conception of Yeats's art. More plays were to follow in this line, some of them dance plays. One of them, "The Only Jealousy of Emer," was a Cuchulain play, first staged in Holland using Hildo Krop's wonderful masks, and later playad at Amsterdom in 1926. Yeats was quite excited at its success, rewrote the whole thing, and staged it himself (again with Krop's masks[11]).

Another great accident, one of far-reaching consequence to Yeats's thought, and therefore also to his dramatic theory, was his meeting with Shri Purohit Swami in 1931. If Lady Gregory had not said, when they passed the old man, that he might know the secret of the ages, Yeats should never have talked with the Indian monk. This man of fifty was later to acquaint him with a great deal of the Indian occult lore, and to lend a framework to his thoughts :

> When Shri Purohit Swami described his journey up those seven thousand steps at Mount Girnar, that creaking bed, that sound of pattens in the little old half-forgotton temple, and fitted everything into an ancient discipline, a philosophy that satisfied the intellect, I found all I wanted.[12]

Yeats jumped at the suggestion of the Noh method, not simply because it was something novel, but because he was startled to find in it the element that he himself had been consistently bringing up. In the Noh he had at last found a form he had been looking for. A Noh play has a primacy of words, the scenery is cut to the bare minimum, and it is played on a sort of proscenium stage open on three sides and with just a symbolic motif on a plain background of the rear wall. The stage-properties are suggestive rather than realistic. The characters speak with a half-chant, as men of the old times did. This need not necessarily imply monotony. Yeats's expectations of an actor were, at any rate, pretty high : "An actor must so understand how to discriminate cadence from cadence, and to cherish the musical lineaments of verse or prose, that he delights the ear with a continually varied music."[13] The chorus is there

11. Beautiful pictures of Ido wearing the hawk mask in "At the Hawk's Well" and of a replica of Krop's Cuchulain mask obtain in D.J. Gordon's book *W.B. Yeats : Images of a Poet.*

12. "An Indian Monk," *Essays and Introductions*, p. 429.

13. "Samhain : 1904," *Explorations*, p. 173.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

but the presence of the device is not recognised or felt by other characters on the stage. Yeats adopted all these elements into his plays. He particularly liked the idea of masks, not only because they were fool-proof but also because they exalted the effect. A mask never seemed to Yeats altogether ugly, and though the movement of features was lost to the audience, a deep emotion could be expressed by the actor by movement of the whole body.

Yeats least minded going by models. In fact, he abhorred the word "originality" in its usual connotation. Talking of his verse, he says in one of his prose papers : "...even what I alter must seem traditional. I commit my emotion to shepherds, herdsmen, camel-drivers, learned men, Milton's or Shelley's Platonist, that tower Palmer drew. Talk to me of originality and I will turn on you with rage.[14] But he never followed anything blindly or slavishly. It was his individuality of treatment, for instance, through which he was able to make his Cuchalain plays doctrinal to the nation as well as subjective without turning them into commentaries.

Not withstanding his early comparative failure and all the modifications he had to make in his thought through his career, his sheer genius as a dramatic theorist eventually made him live in his plays. His plays, even as his creed and vocation, exemplify the necessary connection between the transient and the intransient ; he is an artist-critic whose end is the ecstasy awakened by the presence in an everchanging world of what is permanent in it; and the summit of his achievement is that he has, through his profundity and simplicity, lifted drama out of its isolation to throw it back into social life.

14. "A General Introduction for my Work," *Essays and Introductions*, p. 522.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

S. P. Ahluwalia

RELIGION AND EDUCATION*

The problem of relationship of religion and education has baffled educational administrators and theoreticians far too much and far too long. Etymologically speaking, the term "religion" is derived from "religare" which means "to bind back", "to hold together". Historically, religion has been a source of social unity, but oddly enough, today it is often a cause of disunity.

On the one hand there are stalwarts like Bertrand Russel who considers religion as the "source of the sense of social obligation" and Mahatma Gandhi who declares that "life without religion is life without principle". On the other hand there are some intellectuals such as Marx who considers religion as the "opiate of the people" and Lenin who describes it "as a kind of spiritual moonshine, by which the slaves of capitalism lose their human personality, their aspirations for something more dignified as human beings". The former plead for spiritualizing the secular instruction as the words of Mahatma Gandhi: "But if India is not to declare spiritual bankruptcy, religious instruction of its youth must be held to be as necessary as secular instruction" still remind his countrymen. The latter advocate for waging a war of changing intensity and of changing methods at times violent and vulgar, at times more "persuasive" and "scientific" against religious prejudice as such a war according to the protagonists of this view "is an integral part of the fight for the communist education of the working class".

The educational theorists and practitioners in India, it is obvious, cannot toe the line indicated by enthusiasts of Communism. It may be known that "though we have no state religion, we cannot forget that a deeply religious strain has run throughout our history like a golden thread". Mere intellectual education cannot, hence, deliver the desired goods. That's why Dr. Bhagwan Dass, a great Indian thinker, observed: "We have heard of the three R's long enough. This fourth R of genuine religion is more important than them all." By religion, which is inseparable from ethics for an average Indian, is meant not doctrines or dogmas, forms or ceremonies, but the manifestation of the innate divinity in man, his sense of purity, sympathy for fellow-beings, idea of true freedom, and also awakening of divine consciousness.

*A paper read at the All-India Seminar on "Major Problems of Indian Education in the Historical Perspective" held at Chandigarh (March 6-12, 1967) under the auspices of the NCERT on Wednesday the 8th March, 1967.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Since the days of the Vedas, education continues to have an association with religion though the nature of relationship has varied from time to time according to the tone and temper of the prevailing circumstances. The succeeding paragraphs present a brief running commentary on religion and education in order to bring to the forefront the historical perspective and pinpoint the emergent difficulty.

Ancient and Medieval Period :

In the hoary past, it is said religion and education were close to one another. There hardly existed a gap between the two as the religious fervour permeated the educational scene. "A singular feature of ancient Indian or Hindu Civilization", remarks Dr. R. K. Mookerji, "is that it has been moulded and shaped in the course of its history more by religious than by political, or economic, influences." Pointing out to the close relation existing between religion and education he observes : "Learning in India through the ages had been prized and pursued, not for its own sake, if we may so put it but for the sake, and as a part, of religion. It was sought as the means of salvation or self-realization, as the highest end of life, viz. Mukti or Emancipation. The result is that it is Religion that creates Literature in India and wields it as an instrument for its own purposes, a vehicle of its expression". In fact, the society and state encouraged and inspired religious rites and rituals which were considered healthy. Education was "not to stop with the development of intellectual powers but must provide the student, for the regulation of his personal and social life, a code of behaviour based on fundamental principles of ethics and religion". An effort was often made to enable a man to be emotionally stable and competent enough to "endure the conflicts and tensions that life is almost certain to bring." The hold of religion upon education and upon the lives of the people did not get loose after the Muslim invasion. This peculiar incursion, however, gave a jolt. Preaching and popularization of Islam became the order of the day. Some fanatic rulers tried to spread Islam through education though kings like Akbar followed a rationalistic approach. Some rulers encouraged learning and established and financed Maktabs and Madrassahs which continued to flourish in the proximity of the mosques. Though the Pathshalas and tols were in a state of neglect yet they thrived on private philanthropy.

There was no substantial change in the nature of association between religion and education. The mental make-up, discretion and personality of the ruler guided the educational policies and programmes of some selected institutions of learning.

MODERN PERIOD :

Religion and Education under the British Rule (1600—1946) :

The existent system of indigenous schools, which prospered before the advent of the Europeans decayed and gradually disappeared due to the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

neglect and indifference of the British rulers. The East India Company, which was established in 1600, for nearly 200 years i.e. till 1813 did next to nothing to educate the people. Mere political expediency led the Company to take interest in the promotion of educational activities though reluctantly for conciliating the people to the foreign rule and for securing a class of cheap servants. That's why, interestingly enough, upto the beginning of the eighteenth century, the early entrepreneures of educational activity conceived education "not as an end in itself but as a means to evangelization". Their motivating belief was that English education would be inevitably followed by conversion to Christianity and would lead to cultural conquest.

For seeing their long cherished desire achieve fruition, in the Charter of 1698 the famous "missionary clause" was inserted according to which the Company was required to maintain a priest, in each garrison, who was to instruct all its servants—whether European or Indian—in the Christian religion. Simultaneous with this, attempts were made by missionaries and Company officials such as Duff, Macaulay and others to impress upon the natives that Christianity alone was the true religion and the Indian cultural heritage need be disdained. But gradually, people's resentment against the proselytizing activities of the missionaries and the government grew wild and violent. That's why the Wood's Despatch desired that the government institutions should be secular in nature though it observed, "The Bible is, we understand, placed in the libraries of the Colleges and Schools and the pupils are able freely to consult it. This is as it should be, and moreover, we have no desire to prevent or discourage, any explanations which the pupils may, of their own free will, ask from the masters upon the subject of the Christian religion provided that such information be given out of school hours".

(The ideology of cultural conquest and its aftermath, to my mind, is largely responsible for the emergence of the hostile attitude of the people towards any and every sort of religious education. Such an attitude persists even today though circumstances and situation have undergone a change with the advent of freedom in India.)

As Macaulay expressed interest only in rearing "a class of men, Indian in blood and colour but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect," the ideology of cultural conquest was shorn of its pre-eminently religious inspiration. So, the slogan of religious neutrality was coined by the aliens with a view to meeting boldly the undesirable political repercussions of proselytizing activities and stabilizing and consolidating their hold. The Charter Act of 1723 raised the question of acceptance and adoption of religious neutrality as a policy of the Government while the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 provided a further assurance to this effect.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Hunter Commission of 1882 considered the ticklish issue of religion and education. It was alive to the importance of moral instruction and wanted that it should be imparted but withheld the strict religious instruction from the portals of government institutions. It reiterated what the Woods Despatch had said about religious education in Government institutions. In regard to private schools, however, it stated :

"(a) That private schools should be permitted to impart such instruction as they chose ;

(b) That Government should just ignore such religious education ; and

(c) That it should pay grants-in-aid on the basis of the secular education imparted in them".

The Commission thus recommended that the educational institutions run by the Government were to be strictly secular and the private schools were to be free to impart religious education. (An effort was made to provide for CONSCIENCE CLAUSE on the line of the British Education Act of 1870). Thus the Commission of 1882 revived the question of religious and moral instruction. The policies in this connection upto 1911, it may be noted, bore the impress of the Indian Education Commission of 1882. In 1911 the Central Government raised the issue and invited the local governments to set up committees to consider the provision for moral and religious instruction. The result was that with some variation here and there, a latitude was given for religious instruction to be imparted in educational institutions. The Hartog Committee (1928) gave a patient, thought to the idea of secular education and realised difficulties in providing for religious education in a system of common schools for all. The Committee was of the opinion that such arrangements should be made for all the communities.

The Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE) since 1938 has been discussing this issue. A brief survey of its deliberations brings revealing facts to light.

The CABE in its third meeting held in January, 1938 while discussing the Report of its Women's Education Committee (1937) on the curriculm of girls' primary schools in India considered the issue of religious teaching and noted that "the question of religious teaching was more contentious though there was general agreement that education without a religious background is sterile and incomplete". On account of the difficulties and differences of opinion, however, the Board preferred to make no specific recommendation on this matter.

The CABE in its 4th meeting held in December, 1938 discussed the Report of its Sub-Committee on the Wardha Education Scheme. One of the recommendations of the aforesaid committee was : "The state should

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

provide facilities as at present for every community to give religious teaching, when so desired but not at the cost of the state."

The CABE in its 10th meeting held in January, 1944 gave careful consideration to the question of religious instruction in educational institutions and appointed a special committee (with Rev. G.D. Barne, Bishop of Lahore as Chairman) to lay down certain general principles for guidance as to the best way in which the whole question of religious education should be approached.

The CABE in its 11th meeting held in January, 1945 considered an interim report of its special committee on religious education and noted that the committee had not been able to arrive at any agreed decisions on some of most important issues. In view of the importance of the subject, however, the Board asked the Committee to pursue the matter further and continue their investigation.

The CABE in its 12th meeting held in January, 1946 carefully considered the views of the reconstituted special committee appointed to examine the desirability and practicability of providing religious instruction in educational institutions and noted that their conclusions showed a wide divergence from those of the interim report. After fully considering all the aspects of the question, the Board resolved that "while they recognise the fundamental importance of spiritual and moral instruction in the building of character the provision for such teaching, except in so far as it can be provided in the normal course of secular instruction, should be the responsibility of the Home and the Community to which the pupil belongs".

The foregoing survey makes clear that the question remained unanswered as it evaded solution whenever such an attempt was made.

Religion and Education in the Era of Freedom (1947-1966) :

Pandit Nehru, while inaugurating the 14th meeting of the CABE (the first after the attainment of freedom) held on January, 1948, said: "...For our country this question (of religious education) has a special importance...So far as India is concerned, the problem presents itself in an entirely different shape". "Europe and America", he reiterated, "felt the need of religious education as it was observed that without religious influences people become over-rationalistic. But in so far as they are working in Indian life we have to face the other side of the medal. We have no fear that people will become ultra-rationalists. On the other hand we are surrounded by over-religiosity." "Our present difficulties, unlike those of Europe," he reaffirmed' "are not creations of materialistic zealots but of religious fanatics. If we want to overcome them, the solution lies not in rejecting religious instruction in elementary stages but in imparting sound and healthy religious education under our direct supervision so that misguided credulism may not affect the children in their

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

plastic stage." He made a strong case for religious and moral education in the following words :

"It is obvious that millions of Indians are not prepared to see that their children are brought up in an irreligious atmosphere and, I am sure, you, too, will agree with them. What will be the consequence if the government undertakes to impart purely secular education ? Naturally people will try to provide religious education to their children through private sources. How these private sources are working today or are likely to work in future is already known to you. I know something about it and can say that not only in villages but even in cities the imparting of religious education is entrusted to teachers who though literate are not educated. To them religion means nothing but bigotry. The method of education, too, is such in which there is no scope for broad and liberal outlook...... If we want to safeguard the intellectual life of our country against this danger, it becomes all the more necessary for us not to leave the imparting of early religious education to private sources. We should take it rather under our direct care and supervision. No doubt, a foreign government had to keep itself away from religious education. But a national government cannot divest itself of undertaking this responsibility. To mould the growing mind of the nation on right lines is its primary duty. In India, we cannot have an intellectual mould without religion."

The educationists have taken a lead from the exhortation made by the then Prime Minister. This is reflected in the reports of various Commissions and Committees that touched this elusive query. The University Education Commission (1948-49) discussed and deliberated on this problem quite exhaustively. As each one, constitutionally speaking, is at liberty to approach the unseen as it suits his capacity and inclination, and it is the basis of the Secular State, spirit of true religion should permeate and pervade the entire educational scene. That's why the report observes: "To be secular is not to be religiously illiterate. It is to be deeply spiritual and not narrowly religious." As practical measures the Commission suggested that :

"1. all educational institutions start work with a few minutes for silent meditation;

2. in the first year of the Degree course lives of the great religious leaders like Gautama the Buddha, Confucius, Zoroaster, Socrates, Jesus, Samkara, Ramanuja, Madhva, Mohammed, Kabir, Nanak, Gandhi, be taught;

3. in the second year some selections of a universalist, character from the scriptures of the world be studied; and

4. in the third year, the central problems of the philosophy of religion be considered."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Acknowledging that religious and moral instruction is an important requisite for the training of character, the Secondary Education Commission (1952-53) suggested that inspiring talks given by suitable persons can drive home the lessons of morality and that religious instruction, which is not more important than the influences of the environment of home, school and public, "should be given to the children of the particular faith and with the consent of the parents and the managements concerned."

The Shri Prakasha Committee on Religious and moral Instruction (1959), which was constituted to make a study of the question of the Moral Instruction in educational institutions in the country, felt that many ills in the educational world to-day were mainly due to the disappearance of the hold of religion on the growing population. Among other measures, the Committee suggested that :

1. Suitable text-books should be prepared for all stages of education describing the basic ideas of all religions;

2. Special stress should be laid on teaching good manners, and virtues of reverence and courtesy should be promoted;

3. Silent meditation before starting the school work should be a matter of daily routine.

The Education Commission (1964—66) seeing things in the perspective of modernization declares that: "Modernization, if it is to be a living force, must derive its strength from the strength of the spirit." Endorsing the recommendations of the Committee on Religious and Moral Instruction, 1959 and those of the University Education Commission (1948-49), laments at the poor response of the educational institutions towards them. It further suggests that some periods should be set apart in the time-table for introducing education in moral, social and spiritual values in all Government and private institutions.

The views of these Commissions and Committees, evidently speaking, need be judged and viewed in relation to the Constitutional implications of religious education. The articles of the Indian Constitution that deal with this question are : 19, 21, 22 (1) and (2).

Article 19 entitles every Indian to "freedom of conscience and the right freely to profess, practise and propagate religion." Article 21 lays restriction to compel any person to pay taxes, the proceeds of which are to be appropriated for the use of any particular religion. Article 22 (1) places restriction to impart religious instruction in state-managed institutions provided "that nothing in this clause shall apply to an educational institution which is administered but has been established under an endowment or trust which requires that religious, instructions shall be imparted in such institution. Article 22 (2) safeguards an

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

individual, receiving education in stateowned or state-aided institution, against attending religious worship or getting religious instruction.

It is interesting that whereas educational opinion is in favour of the religious and moral instruction in all eductional institutions, the Constitution prohibits the imparting of religious instruction in state-managed institutions. Does it mean that the citizens who are to be out of these institutions are of different nature or are to serve different ends in the larger society ? After all, institutions have no meaning in themselves. They are just instruments for social regeneration and societal reconstruction. It does not indicate any inclination towards root from which it is derived *i.e.*, religare (to bind). The interests of national integration and international understanding can be served by truly religious education alone. It is only the narrow religion which "gives courage to the stupid to resist the authority of the educated few". It is only this type of religion, to which Lord Bryce refers, which has been responsible for "half the wars of Europe, half the internal troubles that have vexed European states." If religion is considered to be "a permeative influence, a quality of life, an elevation of purpose", it must find an important place in the curricula of schools and colleges. "What we need", to quote the "Radhakrishnan Commission Report, "is not the imparting of instruction but the transmitting of vitality. We must civilise the human heart. Education of the emotions and discipline of the will are essential parts of a sound system of education."

Dr. Kothari Commission (1964-66) while stressing the need to pay attention to the inculcation of right values in the students at all stages of education, noted with happiness that an awareness of such a responsibility has been growing in India since Independence. Dr. Radhakrishnan Commission (1948) and Sri Prakasha Committee (1959) considered this question in both its philosophical and practical aspects and made many valuable proposals for reform but it is regrettable that response from educational institutions has been neither active nor enthusiastic. Pointing out that such an attitude is creating an undesirable effect on the character of rising generation, the Commission has urged to adopt active measures to give a value-orientation to education. As it is necessary for a multi-religious democratic State to promote a tolerant study of all religions so that its citizens can understand each other better and live amicably together. Some of the major recommendations of the Commissiou on this issue are :

(a) the Central and State Governments should adopt measures to introduce education in moral, social and spiritual values in all institutions under their (or local authority) control on the lines recommended by the University Education Commission and the Committee on Religious and Moral Instruction;

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(b) the privately managed institutions should also be expected to follow suit;

(c) apart from education in such values being made an integral part of school programmes generally, some periods should be set apart in the time-table for this purpose. They should be taken, not by specially recruited teachers but by general teachers, preferably from different communities, considered suitable for the purpose. It should be one of the important objectives of training institutions to prepare them for it;

(d) the university departments in Comparative Religion should be specially concerned with the ways in which these values can be taught wisely and effectively and should undertake preparation of special literature for use by students and teachers ;

(e) Organized attempt should be made for imparting moral education and inculcating spiritual values in schools through direct and in direct methods with the help of the ethical teachings of great religions.

(f) One or two periods a week should be set aside in the school time-table for instruction in moral and spiritual values. The treatment of the subject should be comprehensive and not divorced from the rest of the curriculum.

The foregoing recommendations of the Commission make a bold attempt to resolve the ticklish tangle ! The practising teachers and prospective educational practioners may discuss this question and deliberate on the leads given by the report. Such explorations will help in arriving at ways of resolving the knotty problem which has escaped solution for long.

SUGGESTED READINGS

1. Central Advisory Board of Education.
   Silver Jubilee Souvenir (1935–1960)
   (New Delhi ; Ministry of Education, Government of India, 1960)

2. Ministry of Education.
   Report of the Committee on Moral and Religious Edacation (1959)
   (New Delhi : ME, GOI, 1961).

3. Ministry of Education.
   Education and National Development : Report of the Indian Education Commission (1964-66)
   (New Delhi : ME, GOI, 1966).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

M.R. Tewari

THE ODES OF JOHN KEATS

The interest of Keat's poetry centres round the heroic struggle he waged against his own tendency towards excessive preoccupation with the self. Without referring to his letters, which would be injecting extraneous matter into art proper, the reader will get ample evidence of this in the poetry itself. His last great work, *The Fall of Hyperion*, must be the starting point in this exploration. The poet himself reviews his past performance, and the dialogue with Moneta is, in fact, a dramatic way of presenting what was happening in the depths of the poet's being. Moneta asks him a disturbing question :

> ..."Art thou not of the dreamer tribe ?
> The poet and the dreamer are distinct
> Diverse, sheer opposite, antipodes.
> The one pours out a balm upon the world
> The other vexes it."*

Obviously, Keats is seriously concerning himself with the function and the problems of a poet. There is ample evidence in the opening canto of *The Fall of Hyperion* from which the reader may legitimately infer that he had come to realise that his previous attempts at poetry were nothing better than the outpouring of a man who is suffering from the *fever* of the self. The year 1819 was spent by him trying to cast aside the fever which would certainly involve an escape from the *self*. This is a peculiarly *romantic* malady. At any rate, the romantic poets are not escapists in the wrong sense of the term. They are escapists in the sense that they would like to run away from their selves: and this is precisely what makes them representatives of the modern predicament. Keats for one was fascinated by the Shakespearean impersonality and objectivity, but to emulate Shakespeare was nothing less than swimming against the current. The effort had dim chances of success. The attempt that he was to make implied another pressing necessity on the part of Keats. He had to seek emancipation from a too narrowly personal involvement with the things around. The pressure of greatness forced him to seek avenues which would make him get away from himself. The odes draw an interesting curve of this process towards what T.S. Eliot has called "the extinction of personality."

*Quotations are from John Keats, *The Poems*, Edited with an Introduction by E. De Selincourt, (Methuen & Co., London, 1961).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The poet had indulged a great deal in the luxury of sensuous pleasures, which he seems later to have considered a weakness and a failure. There is, therefore. a conscious effort to accommodate the uglier and less pleasant side of life within the framework of his earlier preferences. *Ode On Melancholy* marks a step forward in that direction. Although Keats does not succeed in disengaging himself, yet the consideration of melancholy embodies a positive extension of awareness which brings in what had previously been left out. But melancholy is still a matter of sensation :

For shade to shade will come too drowsily,
And drown the wakeful anguish of the soul.

And when the melancholy fit falls, he recommends that you "glut thy sorrow on a morning rose," or

...if thy mistress some rich anger shows,
Emprison her soft hand, and let her rave,
And feed deep, deep upon her peerless eyes.

A peculiar king of sadistic indulgence, it still involves a close participation in an experience which is obvisusly of a sensuous kind :

Ay, in the very temple of Delight
Veil'd Melancholy has her sovran shrine,
Though seen of none save him whose strenuous tongue
Can burst Joy's grape against his palate fine;

The condition of intimate participation in those joys which the young poet must be reluctant to forego is implied in the statement. In one of the finest images in his poetry, the strenuous tongue bursting joy's grape against the palate, the poet betrays a certain amount of conscious effort at linking together of sensuous joy with melancholy. This underlines Keat's continuing preference for his older love. Only thus does he think

His soul shall taste the sadness of her might,
And be among her cloudy trophies hung.

There is an element of naïvete involved in the attitude. But there is a sure indication of two opposite pulls working on the poet. As yet they are of equal force, and the poet holds a stable though precarious balance. Even in the *Ode To A Nightingale*, which only shows how difficult it is to secure the desired end, illusion and disillusionment are delicately poised. The *escape from self* is not merely a matter of imaginative overstretching. It is a much more arduous business which would entail a dismantling of attitudes which had run into a rigid mould.

Ode To A Nightingale records a more conscious and deliberate effort to escape from the self. The first two stanzas merely enumerate the possible diverse ways by which the poet may

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

...leave the world unseen,
And with thee fade away into the forest dim :

The happy song of the bird brings the sad state of his own mind sharply into focus by contrast. The poet would only wish to be able to seek exemption from this painful self-awareness by getting out of the frame of mind which only lets him take cognizance of the dark side life by linking it with his own personal grief. This is very different from what the poet had always aspired for :

...a nobler life,
Where I may find the agonies, the strife
Of human hearts :

—*Sleep And Poetry* : 123–125

Keats is guilty in the *Ode To a Nightingale* of confusing his state of mind with the world around. The *ache* of his heart gets projected into the world of externality; so that with the help of the song of the bird he would seek to leave the narrow world of his personality, and

Fade far away, dissolve, and quite forget
What thou among the leaves hast never known,
The weariness, the fever, and the fret
Here, where men sit and hear each other groan;
Where palsy shakes a few, sad, last gray hairs,
Where youth grows pale, and spectre-thin, and dies:
Where but to think is to be full of sorrow
And leaden-eyed despairs,
Where Beauty cannot keep her lustrous eyes,
Or new Love pine at them beyond to-morrow.

The nightingale becomes the symbol of the poet's aspiration to escape into a world unattended by the disadvantages listed in the stanza above :

Away ! away ! for I will fly to thee,

the poet says. This imaginative over-reaching will turn out to be an uncertain gain. At the moment, however, this imaginative effort is attended with success. He is *already* with the nightingale. From this imaginative height, and consequent upon the identification with the bird, the view of the world is in sharp contrast to what had been described :

.. tender is the night,
And haply the Queen-Moon is on her throne,
Cluster'd around by all her starry Fays;

This is followed once again by a stanza in the older Keatsian vein where sensuous details are piled on one another with very little meaning added to the total impact of the poem. Nevertheless this imaginative excursion is

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of a short duration. The ache of self-consciouness makes the poet wish for death, although death itself is wished for the luxury of the sensation of dying. Death alone seems for the moment to provide an escape from the agony of self-awareness. The thought of death, however, brings the thought of the continuity of life to mind. In fact, the bird is now used to stand for the unending process of life to which it had stood witness.

In this poem there is a tendency on the part of the poet to view the personal life of the individual against the background of eternal life. The temporary, evanescent existence is placed against the permanently enduring drama of life. The thought provides an escape from the narrow personal existence into the vaster panorama which has been from the beginning of time and will last to the end of it. But the thought that the world will continue undisturbed after one has left it is never a very consoling throught. The poet derives whatever comfort he can from this thought although it is a poor consolation for it is not unattended by thoughts of personal sadness which is a binding factor and does not let the poet seek a fuller escape from his inner world into the vaster world of externality symbolized by the nightingale :

> Thou wast not born for death, immortal Bird !
> No hungry generations tread thee down ;
> The voice I hear this passing night was heard
> In ancient days by emperor and clown :
> Perhaps the self-same song that found a path
> Through the sad heart of Ruth, when, sick for home,
> She stood in tears amid the alien corn;
> The same that oft-times hath
> Charm'd magic casements, opening on the foam
> Of perilous seas, in faery lands forlorn.

The attempt is not altogether successful. The imagination is coiled round by the mood of wretched self-contemplation, which colours the entire viewpoint and circumscribes any effort that may be made to cast off the slough of selfhood. The drowning self catches at the first straw and is able to swim afloat :

> Forlorn ! the very word is like a bell
> To toll me back from thee to *my sole self !**

Very appropriately the poet is tolled back to his *sole* self, for the imagination is still a slave of the mind governed by the mood of wretched self-awareness with which the poem had started, and with which it must end. The poet aptly bids farewell to his imaginative efforts at escape—

> Adieu ! the fancy cannot cheat so well
> As she is fam'd to do, deceiving elf.
> Adieu ! adieu ! thy *plaintive anthem fades*

*Unless otherwise stated the italics are mine.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The effort at escape had actually resulted in projecting his own heartache into the outside world. It turned out to be merely an extension of pain until the happy song of the nightingale is turned into a plaintive anthem. The extension had not meant a dissolution of his *sole* self into the surrounding word of abiding permanence, only it had expanded and become co-extensive with the larger outside world. It was no escape; it was an extension of pain—a contamination of the outside world with his own diseased sensibility. The poet flies with the song :

> Past the near meadows, over the hill stream,
> Up the hill-side; and now 'tis buried deep
> In the next valley-glades:

—a last vain effort at flying away, for the next moment he is back home perched securely in the nest of his self. The puzzled poet asks:

> Was it a vision, or a working dream?
> Fled is that music:— Do I wake or sleep?

Drowned in personal anguish, the poet did not even know that he had made a desperate effort to run away from himself and had failed.

The effort, however, had not to end there. The protean and volatile figure of the nightingale had not given rest to his aching consciousness. He had sought rest by participating in the larger life, and had failed. The poet will now seek rest in the less changeful and more constant and even petrified world of art. *Ode On A Grecian Urn* is the poem in which Keats tries to seek what comfort he may in the world of art, which is a world of constants and invariables, and therefore to his restless soul a more stable comfort. Along with, it makes a strong plea for seeking extra-sensuous pleasures which cater to the deeper needs of the spirit. The ode opens with the lines which build the impression of the mystery which surrounds the work of art :

> Thou still unravish'd bride of quietness,
> Thou foster-child of silence and slow time,

—and it is further strengthened by the questionings with which the stanza ends. Keats indirectly answers the questions he had raised by pointing out that the superiority of art lies in its appeal to the spirit. The curiosity of the inquisitive mind does not take one very far. One has to go beyond the merely rational and the sensuous. The addiction to sensuousness had only fed the self, and now it must be starved :

> Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard
> Are sweeter; therefore, ye soft pipes, play on;
> *Not to the sensual ear, but, more endear'd,*
> *Pipe to the spirit ditties of no tone* :

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

This is a strong plea for pure imaginative pleasures which makes for a completer break with the world of eye and ear and the here and the now. The poem is a make-belief, a faith that the world of art is free from all those disadvantages which attend life from day to day. To the imagination of the poet art provides the purest kind of activity mainly because it deals with the world of the extra-sensuous. The poet is in a fit of revulsion from sensuous contact which only lacerates the tender heart:

> Ah, happy, happy boughs! that cannot shed
> Your leaves, nor ever bid the Spring adieu;
> And, happy melodist, unwearied,
> For ever piping songs for ever new;
> More happy love! more happy, happy love!
> For ever warm and still to be enjoy'd,
> For ever panting, and for ever young;
> All breathing human passion far above,
> That leaves a heart high-sorrowful and cloy'd,
> A burning forehead, and a parching tongue.

The emphasis falls on *happiness* which lasts. The poet would only perpetuate the desired state of sensuous enjoyment, although he would somehow derive these pleasures without direct participation. The plea may be for a freer exercise of the imagination, yet the pleasures contemplated are still of a sensuous kind. The heart has not yet changed preferences; the young poet will still have all the warm enjoyment provided it was not accompnied by exhaustion, nausea and the hangover. The experience with the bird and its song had been a rather painful experience; therefore the poet would rather, for once, go into the world which is more abiding in its appeal and offers a firmer foothold to his sick imagination.

The next stanza paints a desolate picture of a deserted town:

> Who are these coming to the sacrifice?
> To what green altar, O mysterious priest,
> Lead'st thou that heifer lowing at the skies,
> And all her silken flanks with garlands drest?
> What little town by river or sea shore,
> Or mountain-built with peaceful citadel,
> Is emptied of this folk, this pious morn?
> And, little town, thy streets for evermore
> Will silent be; and not a soul to tell
> Why thou art desolate, can e'er return.

The scene of desolation and sacrifice once again brings *La Belle Dame Sans Merci* to one's mind. The sacrifice of the attitude of passionate concern with life is fraught with the danger of reducing the world to a desolate place. If *la belle* may be taken to stand for Keats's preference

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

for the sensuous things of life, her disappearance from the scene only deprives the landscape of the creative warmth and reduces it to a bleak picture of desolation and desertion. However, Keats realises that the path to great creative passion lies through a certain indigence of the self. To be poor in spirit, one will have to discard the luxuries of the self. And yet this involves a certain loss in the appearance of the world. The quietness of the "silent form" may

...tease us out of thought
As doth eternity :

yet it only deprives the object of art of the warmth of life and invests it with a certain coldness. The poet, therefore, addresses the urn as "Cold Pastoral !" and in so addressing it has perhaps a double meaning, in his mind. Not only is art above the *warm* panting, it also becomes a symbol of the artist's unconcern which keeps him away from involvement in life. The poem is really a manifesto of the artist's serious occupation. An artist has to be something like the object of art—cold, dispassionate and aloof, a mere spectator who has abstracted his self from life's passionate concerns and equated truth with its apprehension as beauty. The process involves a surrender of the self—nay, a sacrifice, a complete annihilation which is needed for that freedom in which creation takes place by equating truth with beauty. An artist is one who deals with mysteries and converts them into objects of beauty. "Beauty is truth, truth beauty" means that the essence of things which is truth comes to an artist by getting transformed into beauty. The proximity of art to metaphysics is thus established. An artist is also concerned with the fundamental problems of primordial interest, only his approach is through the experience of beauty : which, as indicated by the poet, is the synonym of truth. The ode is concerned with the vital problems of relationship of the artist with life, of art with truth, and, lastly, of art providing an escape from that close and immediate participation in life through the medium of self which only

...leaves a heart high-sorrowful and cloy'd,
A burning forehead, and a parching tongue.

But the paradoxical character of the ode lies in the fact that although it centres in an awareness of the inferiority of sensuous experience, by equating truth with beauty Keats is acutally emphasising the necessity of experience for the artist. For beauty is nothing if not a matter of *experience*, and for Keats things had to be "proved on the pulses." And the excellence of the artist lies in the fact that what he deals with is something that he has "felt in the blood, and felt along the heart." But there is perhaps nothing wrong with experience : all that matters is the *quality* of experience. There is one experience which enslaves, there is another which emancipates. Keats knew that he had been concerned so far with the enslaving experience ; and that was no source of pleasure to him.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

But the rapid speed with which he grew in that year was amazing. *To Autumn* deals with experience of the emancipating kind. The detatched contemplation, even of a sensuous kind, takes the poet miles away from his former involvement. The attitude is of calm contemplation, the feelings are entirely under control,—the preoccupation, however, remains the same—*sensuous* :

> Season of mists and mellow fruitfulness,
> Close bosom-friend of the maturing sun ;
> Conspiring with him how to load and bless
> With fruit the vines that round the thatch-eves run ;
> To bend with apples the moss'd cottage-trees,
> And fill all fruit with ripeness to the core ;
> To swell the gourd, and plump the hazel shells
> With a sweet kernel ; to set budding more,
> And still more, later flowers for the bees,
> Until they think warm days will never cease,
> For Summer has o'er-brimm'd their clammy cells.

That is the kind of fruition Keatsian imagination could wish for, or lead to. Even in the last analysis, Keats remained essentially a sensuous poet. His maturing imagination could fructify only by entering into conspiracy with the beauty of the surrounding world. But there is ample indication provided by the last great ode that Keats could contemplate this beauty by standing apart, and by taking an objective view of reality. *To Autumn* is the product of the mellowed imagination. It starts on a note of calm serenity, and may at first sight appear merely a catalogue of sensuous detail. But behind this harvest of eye and ear is the perceptive imagination which contemplates unaffectedly the process of maturing that takes place. The ode may be the last prepartion on the part of Keats to meet death with poise and equanimity—life ripens, and a poets's life too, and then it severs connection with the tree of life. The ode is certainly the product of the mood of acceptance and the resignation which always goes with acceptance. To Keats however this resignation meant a certain rejection, and that brings the note of sadness in. The poem is certainly written by a sad poet who perhaps intuitively knows that his time is over. So that the quality of his resignation is suspect. It is not so much resignation as it is indifference—an insouciance born out of loss of hope. The time is almost over and what shall anything avail. Even the choice of subject—*autumn*—justifies such an assessment. Autumn is not only a season of "mellow fruitfulness", it is also the time of harvest when a phase of life completes its circle. Keats is overwhelmed by the mood of elegiac quiet. The season fills :

> ...all fruit with ripeness to the core ;

and gives expression to a fallacious hope that

> ...warm days will never cease,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

This expresses that strong impulse which saves the poem from being overwhelmingly pessimistic and depressing. Therein lies the chief strength of the poem and therein Keats indicates his preference for life. He is not giving expression to a defeatist mentality : and yet the truth is that he is finding solace in a paradox. The hope of "warm days" crontinuing *is* fallacious. The very ripeness indicates that the warm day are over. In the last analysis autumn is the "season of incipient decay."

The second stanza, again, is an example of Keats's joy in the contemplation of life in all its pictorial charm. The poet who had started in imitation of Spenser is, perhaps, once again conceiving life in the manner of the old master. Even the first stanza makes for a good background painting against which autumn is personified and shown doing different works which go with it :

> Who hath not seen thee oft amid thy store ?
> Sometimes whoever seeks abroad may find
> Thee sitting careless on a granary floor,
> Thy hair soft-lifted by the winnowing wind ;
> Or on a half-reap'd furrow sound asleep,
> Drows'd with the fume of poppies, while thy hook
> Spares the next swath and its twined flowers :
> And sometimes like a gleaner thou dost keep
> Steady thy laden head across a brook ;
> Or by a cyder-press, with patient look,
> Thou watchest the last oozing hours by hours.

The reaper's hook sparing "the next swath", and autumn as seen sitting by the cyder-press watchching with patient look

> ...the last oozings hours by hours

bring the idea of death or decay to mind. The phrase "last oozings" and the "patient look" with which they are watched again underlies the idea of indifference or even of *indolence*, which causes no pain ; and this strengthens the impression of the young poet having given it up. That, nevertheless, is not altogether defeatism. With deep spiritual distress at his back, and the struggle that it had involved, Keats is chastened and perhaps not so much isolated in the turmoil of his own experience as *La Belle Dame Sans Merci*, *The Fall Of Hyperion* and the other odes had shown. He had sought emancipation and is a freer man, and yet not altogether. The opening of the third stanza again shows him uncertain in the certainty of autumn. "Where are the songs of Spring?" the poet asks,

> ...Ay, where are they?

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

This "irritable reaching" after what is not there brings in the note of nostalgia, but the mood is helpful for once, and the poet dismisses the question by saying,

Think not of them, thou hast they music too,—

which, however, does ot turn out to be much. It is merely the noise, a "wailful choir" of gnats, hedge-crickets mixed with the more familiar and less disconcerting noise of lambs, swallows and the red-breast. The ear catches the sad note against the background of the sinking sun which again strengthens the impression that it is an elegy, a veritable poet's epitaph:

While barred clouds bloom the soft-dying day,
And touch the stubble-plains with rosy hue ;

against which

...in a wailful choir the small gnats *mourn*
Among the river sallows, borne aloft
Or sinking as the light wind lives or dies;

That provides the veritable drop scene, and settles like a *hush* on the disenchanted reader of Keats. All in all, it is a very over-powering poem which leaves you a little tired and disillusioned. It does not depress, and it does not provoke; it soothes. This points to the strength of the ode, its beauty and its power of evoking the mood in which you are able to contemplate life from a maturer viewpoint, and you are the wiser for it. Life is a sad affair, but beautiful nevertheless—and that thought makes up a lot on the positive side.

To Autumn must bring *On Indolence* to one's mind. Keats wrote:

...Ripe was the drowsy hour;
The blissful cloud of summer-indolence
Benumb'd my eyes; my pulse grew less and less;
Pain had no sting, and pleasure's wreath no flower :

The lines sum up the mood which is in complete conformity with the contemplation of the autumn scene. *To Autumn* does not describe the mood, and what it does not do, *On Indolence* does by providing for the deficiency. In fact, it may be doing more by indicating the state of Keats's mind in the year 1819. In that mood the poet does not seem to have been concerned with anything as he had been before. He was encountered with the sad facts of destiny which was to foil all his great designs by cutting short his eventful career. Keats says :

A third time pass'd they by, and, passing, turn'd
Each one the face a moment whiles to me;
Then faded, and to follow them I burn'd
And ached for wings. because I knew the three;
The first was ā fair Maid, and Love her name;
The second was Ambition, pale of cheek,

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

And ever watchful with fatigued eye;
The last, whom I love more, the more of blame
Is heap'd upon her, maiden most unmeek,—
I knew to be my demon Poesy.

In a last flicker of enthusiasm the poet "wanted wings." But the very next moment the poet questions the wisdom of his yearning :

O folly ! What is Love ? and where is it ?

'Love', the poet does not find it around. And

...that poor Ambition ! it springs
From a man's little heart's short fever-fit;

And as to Poesy,

...no,—she has not a joy, –
At least for me, – so sweet as drowsy noons,
And evenings steep'd in honied indolence;

This sudden drop in interest in the three most significant things is a symptom of a deeper malady from which Keats suffers. The poet is successful in being cool and indifferent, and says :

And once more came they by; – alas ! wherefore ?
My sleep had been embroider'd with dim dreams;
My soul had been a lawn besprinkled o'er
With flowers, and stirring shades, and baffled beams :

That is a graphic treatment given to the state of being of the poet in the mood of indolence. The poet is far above any concern with whatever had been important and had previously held his interest. With a fatigued eye he watches these three Ghosts, as he calls them in the last stanza. The poet is sick, sick beyond cure, and *On Indolence* is the last stock-taking, a reviewing of the whole past—a closing the account. He says :

So, ye three Ghosts, adieu ! Ye cannot raise
My head cool-bedded in the flowery grass ;
For I would not be dieted with praise,
A pet-lamb in a sentimental farce !

That may not be altogether a healthy man's attitude. It expresses the feelings of one who has given up. If it is resignation, it is the resignation born on the death–bed, and therefore it lacks the positive quality of resignation which is not born of despair but of acceptance. Keats gives the impression that it is too late for him to have anything to do with Love, Ambition and Poesy :

Fade softly from my eyes, and be once more
In masque-like figures on the dreamy urn;
Farewell ! I yet have visions for the night,
And for the day faint visions there is store ;

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The poet has "visions for the night" that has descended on him—the dark night of despair born of the sickness of the soul. *On Indolence* is not a healthy man's resignation, but a sick man's rejection. What is left for the day are the "faint visions" and they would suffice. He literally banishes them and all that goes with them :

> Vanish, ye Phantoms ! from my idle spright,
> Into the clouds, and never more return !

The poet had already had a premonition that it would be over before he is able to finish his task. In the sonnet *When I have Fears* he had voiced this apprehension :

> When I have fears that I may cease to be
> Before my pen has glean'd my teeming brain,
> Before high-piled books, in charact'ry,
> Hold like rich garners the full-ripen'd grain;
> When I behold, upon the night's starr'd face,
> Huge cloudy symbols of a high romance,
> And think that I may never live to trace
> Their shadows, with the magic hand of chance;
> And when I feel, fair creature of an hour !
> That I shall never look upon thee more,
> Never have relish in the faery power
> Of unreflecting love !—then on the shore
> Of the wide world I stand alone, and think,
> Till Love and Fame to nothingness do sink.

This idea of death which might overtake him is actually what feeds the egotistic self, for it betrays the importance that the poet attaches to *personal* death. That indicates that the self is still important. The poet has not yet fully died to his self, nor willed it away; and the vicious circle still binds him in its coil and would not let him escape. There is no doubt, however, that this indifference is also a symptom of health in so far as it points to the poet's awareness of the necessity of seeking exemption from those things which bind one to one's self. The fact nevertheless remains that as yet they are merely binding, and the poet is not a free man. Art is the artist's worship in the "depth of things", where beauty and truth coincide. To attain to that depth one has not to find but lose one's life, which implies a surrender of the self. Yet it was not for nothing that Keats had dedicated himself to be the priest of Psyche. *Ode To Psyche* was a renewal of promise on the poet's part to sing of Beauty :

> Yes, I will be thy priest, and build a fane
> In some untrodden region of my mind,
> Where branched thoughts, new grown with pleasant pain,
> Instead of pines shall murmur in the wind :

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Far, far around shall those dark-cluster'd trees
Fledge the wild-ridged mountains steep by steep;
And there by zephyrs, streams, and birds, and bees,
The moss-lain Dryads shall be lull'd to sleep;
And in the midst of this wide quietness
A rosy sanctuary will I dress
With the wreath'd trellis of a working brain,
With buds, and bells, and stars without a name,
With all the gardener Fancy e'er could feign,
Who breeding flowers, will never breed the same :
And there shall be for thee all soft delight
That shadowy thought can win,
A bright torch, and a casement ope at night,
To let the warm Love in !

That gives a fair idea of his commitment of a sensuous kind that must go with the worship of Beauty. Keats was a committed poet, and all conscious attempts to go back on his commitment were bound to end in failure because it would mean a going against the grain. It is a matter of no small consequence that the *Ode To Psyche* was written even while Keats was taking up more serious tasks in the spring of 1819.

These then were some of the vital problems with which the young poet was chiefly concerned. He knew that there was a complete extinction of personality in Shakespeare, and this was the condition which he aspired for. As it turned out however, it was nothing less than a fight against his own temperament. And the lesson one learns is that one does not become a Shakespeare like that. The quality of genius is a given thing. There may even be an element of pre-destination in it. Keats turned out to be a redoubtable warrior against the romantic obsession with the self. There is nevertheless a note of frustration that is sometimes sounded even in his best poetry and that is for want of any solid foothold. The romantic poets had wilfully demolished the sanctuary of faith wherein their lonely souls could have found a haven of peace. The blind Milton had found peace in the faith that he was born to. Keats's bid to fly from his self involved, as it did in the case of other romantic poets, a search for faith which would fill the void in the soul : and the inescapable conclusion is that the search remained unfulfilled.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

HINDI

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

छविनाथ त्रिपाठी

लोक-साहित्य की मध्यकालीन कृति : वीसल देव रासो

तेरहवीं शताब्दी के पूर्वार्ध की रचना वीसलदेव रासो का कवि नाल्ह काव्य-रचना-मर्मज्ञ नहीं है। अनेक आलोचक इस कृति को काव्य-कोटि का भी नहीं मानते। आचार्य रामचन्द्र शुक्ल के कथनानुसार, 'यह कोई काव्य-ग्रन्थ नहीं है, केवल गाने के लिए रचा गया था।'[1] 'इसका विशेष साहित्यिक मूल्य नहीं है।'[2] डा० उदयनारायण तिवारी की दृष्टि से 'न तो इसमें किसी प्रकार का साहित्यिक सौष्ठव है और न वर्णनों में किसी प्रकार की रोचकता मिलती है।'[3] यदि इन विचारों के साथ मोतीलाल मेनारिया का यह कथन और जोड़ लिया जाय कि 'वीसलदेव रासो गीत-काव्य नहीं है। यह राजस्थान में कभी गाया नहीं गया, न आज गाया जाता है और न इसमें गीत-काव्य के कोई लक्षण मिलते हैं' तो आलोचकों की समन्वित दृष्टि में यह न तो काव्य ठहरता है न गीत-काव्य; फिर भी इसे पृथ्वीराज रासो के बाद एक महत्त्वपूर्ण स्थान प्राप्त है और प्रत्येक हिन्दी-साहित्य का इतिहास इसके परिचय के लिए कई पृष्ठ रंग डालता है।

अन्त: साक्ष्य के आधार पर वीसलदेव रासो का रचयिता नाल्ह, हिन्दू एवं निम्नकुल[4] का है। वह न तो भांट या चारण है न ब्राह्मण। 'भाट', 'बाभण'[5] का प्रयोग वह बड़ी उपेक्षा से करता है। वह गणेश और सरस्वती की वंदना करते हुए स्वयं अपने आपको 'कवीसर'[6] (कवीश्वर) कहता है; परन्तु साथ ही सरस्वती से अक्षर जोड़ने की प्रार्थना भी करता है। केवल इस कथन से ही नहीं अपितु वीसलदेव रासो के कई पदों से भी उसकी छन्द-सम्बन्धी ज्ञान-शून्यता का आभास मिलता है। ऐसे 'कवीसर' से किसी उच्चकोटि के काव्य के सृजन की आशा भी नहीं की जा सकती।

नाल्ह की इस काव्य-रचना का कोई महान उद्देश्य भी नहीं है। वह तो लोक-गाथाओं में भी अति सामान्य प्रयोजन (क) उलगाणां का गुण-वर्णन और (ख) स्त्री का चरित्र प्रस्तुत करने की इच्छा लेकर इसकी रचना करता है।[7] स्त्री के वचन का एक ही अक्षर विनाश का कारण बन जाता है, जैसे एक ही अक्षर, वाक्य को विकृत कर सकता है। दावाग्नि का जला वृक्ष फिर से अंकुरित हो सकता है, परन्तु वाणी का जला मनुष्य फिर हरा नहीं हो सकता है - लोक-व्यवहार ही कवि का प्रयोजन है और यही जानकारी लोक-साहित्य का भी मुख्य आधार प्रस्तुत करती है।

नाल्ह ने 'जूठउ किरत कहइ कुलहीण' कह कर यह संकेत कर दिया है कि उसकी यह काव्य-कथा नवीन नहीं है; या तो वह लोक-परंपरा से प्राप्त हुई है अथवा उसके

१. हिन्दी साहित्य का इतिहास—पृ० ३०
२. सत्यजीवन वर्मा संपादित—वीसलदेव रासो—पृ० ४३
३. वीर काव्य—पृ० ११६
४. द्रष्टव्य—वीसलदेव रासो—तारक नाथ अग्रवाल संपादित—छन्द ४
५. वही—छन्द १४
६. वही—छन्द १७
७. वही—छन्द ५

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

काव्य-नायक की कीर्ति-कथा का वर्णन अन्य कवियों द्वारा किया जा चुका है । कीर्ति तो जूठी हो नहीं सकती, कीर्ति-कथा अवश्य हो सकती है । चंद ने भी 'जिनै सेस उच्छिष्ट कवि चंद छंदं' अवश्य कहा है, पर उन्होंने इस कथन से पूर्व जिन कवियों का नाम गिनाया है, उनमें से किसी ने भी पृथ्वीराज की कीर्ति का वर्णन नहीं किया है, वे सभी उनके पूर्ववर्ती भी हैं अतः वहां 'गिरा सेष बानी कवी कव्वबधं' कह कर उक्ति और काव्य-बंध की उच्छिष्टता का ही संकेत किया है । यहाँ नाल्ह ने 'जूठउ कीरति' द्वारा कीर्ति-कथा की उच्छिष्टता का ही संकेत किया है । संस्कृत, प्राकृत या अपभ्रंश में ऐसी कोई रचना उपलब्ध नहीं है जो वीसलदेव रासो में वर्णित कथा का स्रोत सिद्ध हो सके । पति-पत्नी के कलह-वर्णन से यह स्पष्ट रूप में कहा जा सकता है कि इसका कथानक लोक-प्रचलित दन्त-कथा का ही एक रूप है, जो वीसलदेव (नायक) और राजमती (नायिका) पर आरोपित कर लिया गया है । इसकी कथावस्तु के विश्लेषण से भी इसी तथ्य की पुष्टि होती है ।

मेनारिया जी के इस कथन को सत्य मान लेने पर भी कि यह राजस्थान में गाया नहीं जाता, यह सिद्ध नहीं हो जाता कि यह विगत सात सौ वर्षों में भी कभी नहीं गाया गया । मौखिक साहित्य में लोक-गीत (विशेषतः प्रबन्धात्मक) गुरु-शिष्य या श्रवण-परंपरा से ही जीवित रहते हैं । इस परंपरा के टूट जाने पर न केवल वे काल के गर्भ में विलीन हो जाते हैं अपितु उनके अस्तित्व की साक्षी देने वाले तथ्य भी विशेष नहीं रह जाते । महलों के खंडहर भी एक निश्चित काल-सीमा तक ही अपने अतीत की साक्षी बने रहते हैं । यदि ऐसे प्रबन्धात्मक लोकगीत लिपिबद्ध न हो जायं तो बिखरी इंटों की भांति उन गीतों की कड़ियां भी धीरे धीरे अपना अस्तित्व खो बैठती हैं । वीसलदेव रासो भी लिपिबद्ध हो जाने के कारण ही शेष रह गया है, गाने वालों की परंपरा आज भले ही टूट गई हो । वीसलदेव रासो गेय रास है । 'नाल्ह रसायण रस भरी गाइ' द्वारा कवि ने यह संकेत कर दिया है कि उसने इसे गाया है । रास, रासउ और रासा की भांति ही 'रसायण' भी यहां रासो के अर्थ में ही प्रयुक्त हुआ है । पूर्व प्रचलित या किसी कवि द्वारा वर्णित कथा को आश्रित कर लिखे गये अनेक गेय रासकों, रास या रासो की परंपरा आज उपलब्ध है । भरतेश्वर बाहुबली रास, चंदन बाला रास, जंबू स्वामी रास, गय सुकुमाल रास आदि रास, पूर्व परंपरा से प्राप्त कथाओं को आश्रित कर ही लिखे गये हैं । इस पृष्ठभूमि में 'जूठउ कीरति' और 'रस भरी गाइ' को देखा जाय तो यह स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि बीसलदेव रासो गेय रास है और उसकी कथा नाल्ह को लोक-परंपरा से प्राप्त हुई है । 'दुसरो कडवउ गणपति गाइ' कह कर भी उसने संकेत कर दिया है कि 'कडवकों में निबद्ध होने पर भी यह गेय ही है । 'पउम चरिउ' जैसे विशाल-काय प्रबन्ध-काव्य में भी कडवक-निबद्ध एवं गेय, स्थल उपलब्ध है जो अपभ्रंश में 'गेय रासो' के सृजन का पथ-प्रदर्शक सिद्ध हुआ है ।[८]

'संदेश रासक' के कवि ने 'तेम पढंत सुणंत यह जयउ अणाइ अणंतु' कह कर अपनी कृति के अंत में उसे पाठ्य-रासक घोषित कर दिया है, पर 'बीसलदेव रासो' के कवि ने लोक-गाथाओं में प्रचलित परंपरा का अनुसरण ही भारतवाक्य में किया है—'जिउं राजा राणी मिल्या । त्यउं नाल्ह कहइ मिलिज्यो सहु कोइ', अर्थात् जैसे राजा-रानी मिले वैसे सब (बिछुड़े हुए) मिलें । वाणी की कटुता भी विरह या प्रिय-वियोग का कारण बन जाती

८. द्रष्टव्य—'सप्तसिन्धु' मार्च १९६६ के अंक में मेरा लेख—'महाकवि स्वयंभू की काव्य-दृष्टि', पृ० ५३

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

है यह कथा अपने प्रभाव द्वारा इस कटुता के निराकरण में सहायता देती है। लोक-कथाओं या कथात्मक लोकगीतों के अन्त में भी ऐसी भावना प्रकट कर दी जाती है। कथा भले ही राजा रानी की हो पर श्रोता तो सामान्य-जन ही होते हैं, अतः उनके प्रति शुभकामना की अभिव्यक्ति गायक की सदाशयता तो सिद्ध करती ही है इससे 'भरतवाक्य' की परंपरा का पालन भी हो जाता है।

छन्द-प्रयोग की दृष्टि से भी वीसलदेव रासो उच्च-साहित्य की कृति सिद्ध नहीं होती। सारा रासो एक ही प्रकार के छन्द में निर्मित है। प्रत्येक चरण की मात्राओं की संख्या में साम्य का अभाव[९], इसे विषम छन्द सिद्ध करता है। वैसे प्रत्येक चरण में मात्राओं की संख्या ३२ से अधिक नहीं है। विषम छन्दों में भी एक नियमितता रहती है। वीसलदेव रासो में इस नियमितता का कहीं दर्शन नहीं होता। वस्तुतः नाल्ह छन्द शास्त्र का ज्ञाता था ही नहीं। लोक-गायक यदि छन्द की मात्राओं का मूल्य नहीं जानता तो वह जिस विषम वृत्त का सृजन करता है उसे छन्दःशास्त्र के किसी भी विषम छन्द से तुलना के लिए उपस्थित नहीं किया जा सकता। वह मात्राओं की खींच तान से वृत्त-विषमता को गाते समय दूर कर लेता है। मात्रा-साम्य और यतिबन्धता के अभाव में भी वीसलदेव रासो इसी प्रकार का गेय है। डा० तारक नाथ अग्रवाल ने भी यह माना है कि 'संगीत की दृष्टि से भी यह लोकगीत के भीतर आता है।'[१०] डा० माता प्रसाद गुप्त के कथनानुसार 'सम्पूर्ण रचना गेय है यह स्वतः प्रगट है। रचना के प्रारंभ में ही केदारा राग के अन्तर्गत इसके गीतिबद्ध होने का निर्देश किया गया है। यह रचना नृत्यगीत के साथ प्रस्तुत भी की जाती रही है, इसका प्रमाण हमें इसके एक प्रक्षिप्त छन्द में मिलता है।'[११] यह काशी नागरी प्रचारिणी सभा द्वारा प्रकाशित वीसलदेव रासो का ग्यारहवां छन्द है।

वीसलदेव रासो केदारा जैसे पक्के राग में गाया जाता रहा हो अथवा लोकगीतों के अपने राग में, उसमें काव्य के अनुकूल छन्द-प्रबन्ध का प्रयोग नहीं किया गया है। गीत छन्द, डिंगल साहित्य में अपनी विशेषता रखता है। डिंगल रीति ग्रन्थों में इसके पचासी प्रकार के लक्षण एवं उदाहरण मिलते हैं।[१२]

वीसलदेव रासो में प्रायः वे ही अलंकार मिलते हैं जो स्वाभाविक वर्णन-प्रक्रिया में एक अप्रौढ़ कवि की रचनाओं में भी उपलब्ध हो जाते हैं। लोक गीतों में भी सादृश्यमूलक अलंकार ही अधिक मिलते हैं। नाल्ह ने निम्न लिखित अलंकारों का प्रयोग किया है—उपमा (छन्द १), वस्तूत्प्रेक्षा (छन्द १२८), अतिशयोक्ति (छन्द १४२), रूपक (छन्द १४१)। ये अलंकार चमत्कार-प्रदर्शन के लिए नहीं प्रयुक्त हुए हैं।

नाल्ह के कथनानुसार उनकी वाणी सरस है और उनका यह 'रसायण' रस से भरा है।[१३] 'उलगाणा गुण व्रनवउ' से स्पष्ट है कि इसमें श्रृंगार, विशेषतः श्रृंगार रस की ही

९. द्रष्टव्य एवं तुलनीय—गवर का नन्दन त्रिभुवन सार।१।१॥ सोलह मात्रायें॥
राजा जी उतरया नगर मझारि।१।२५॥अट्ठारह मात्रायें॥
इसके कडवक भी कहीं ६ चरण के (३१८) कहीं ८ चरण के (२३४) हैं। कुछ दोहे भी हैं (६८)॥
१०. वीसलदेव रासो की भूमिका में डा० अग्रवाल, पृ० ६४
११. पृथ्वीराज रासउ की भूमिका, पृ० १७६
१२. जैसे 'रघुबर जस प्रकाश' में—वीसलदेव रासो भूमिका पृ०, ८६।
१३. वीसल० छन्द ४,५,२४५

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

अभिव्यंजना हुई है। यद्यपि अपनी वाणी को इस 'कवीसर' ने सरस और अमृतमय कहा है, पर यह रस, काव्य का नव रस न होकर लोक-जीवन का रस 'प्रेम की सरसता' ही है। वस्तु भी लोक-जीवन से गृहीत है। पिता को कन्या-विवाह की चिन्ता, वर की खोज, ब्राह्मण द्वारा लग्न भेजना, तिलक, बारात की तैयारी, यात्रा, अगवानी, कन्यादान, भांवरी, दान-दहेज, बधू की विदाई, जन्मान्तर कथा, पत्नी की कटूक्ति, पति का प्रवास, पत्नी की विरह-व्यथा, संदेश, पति का प्रत्यावर्तन, योगी की पत्नी द्वारा सेवा, पत्नी का नैहर जाना पति द्वारा उसको वापस लाना आदि वर्णित घटनायें लोक-जीवन की व्यापक और सामान्य घटनायें हैं। नायक वीसलदेव और नायिका राजमती राजकुल से सम्बद्ध हैं। संभवतः विवाह के उत्सव और दान-दहेज के वर्णन को अतिशयोक्तिपूर्ण बनाने के लिए ही कवि ने इन्हें राजकुल से ले लिया है, अन्यथा ये जन-जीवन के अन्य पात्रों की भांति ही होते तब भी वर्णन के स्वरूप में कोई अन्तर नहीं पड़ता। विवाह और संभोग ही लोक-जीवन की अधिक सरस और रमणीय घटनायें हैं। वैसे भी सम्पूर्ण उत्तरी भारत के लोक-जीवन में विवाह के अवसर पर राम और सीता तथा शिव और पार्वती के विवाह के गीत गाये जाते हैं। लोक-गीतों का सर्वाधिक मार्मिक पक्ष प्रिय के प्रवास से उत्पन्न विरह सम्बन्धी भावों की अभि-व्यंजना ही है। 'रस' से वीसलदेव रासो के कवि का उद्देश्य भी यही है।

दाम्पत्य-जीवन के निर्माण से लेकर उसकी खट्टी-मीठी कुछ घटनाओं को आधार बना कर इसकी कथा का निर्माण हुआ है। प्रवास-हेतुक विप्रलम्भ का वर्णन पहले है और संयोग-पक्ष का वर्णन बाद में। नायकारब्ध-संभोग-शृंगार का वर्णन भी वीसलदेव रासो के एक छन्द में मिल जाता है।[१४]

ऋतु-वर्णन विप्रलंभ शृंगार का एक आवश्यक अंग माना जाता है। डा० अग्रवाल ने नरपति नाल्ह को ही षड्ऋतु वर्णन की परंपरा को हिन्दी साहित्य में आरंभ करने का श्रेय दिया है[१५]। यह एक विवादास्पद निष्कर्ष है। स्वयंभू से लेकर चंद तक कई कवि इसके दावेदार बन सकते हैं। वीसलदेव रासो की गणना लोक गीतों के प्रबंधात्मक रूप को ही ध्यान में रख कर की जानी चाहिए। नाल्ह ने बारहमासा का वर्णन किया है जो कातिक महीने से प्रारंभ होता है :—

चाल्यउ उलगाणउ कातिग मास
छोड्या मंदिर थरिक विलास ॥ ८६ ॥
बारह मास वउलाविया नारि ।
दैव भेलउ दीयउ कइ घणि भारि ॥ ९५ ॥

षड्ऋतु वर्णन और बारहमासा वर्णन में पर्याप्त अन्तर होता है, यद्यपि बारह महीने, छः ऋतुओं में समाहित हो जाते हैं।

संगीत में शास्त्रीय-विधान की रक्षा का आग्रह तो होता ही है, वह स्वर-प्रधान होता हैं। स्वर का आरोह अवरोह ही उसके मुख्य चमत्कारिक तत्व हैं। लोक गीतों में न तो स्वर-विधान का शास्त्रीय आग्रह होता है, न उसके लिए वाद्य-यन्त्रों की आवश्यकता होती है। इनमें अर्थ-विस्तार और भावाभिव्यंजन को ही प्रमुखता प्राप्त रहती है। वीसलदेव रासो

---

१४. वही छन्द २३६
१५. वी० रासो भूमिका, पृ० ७४

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

वस्तु-चयन, उसके विन्यास और छन्द-विधान की दृष्टि से ही नहीं, भाव-संकलन और उसकी व्यंजना की दृष्टि से भी लोकगीत ही सिद्ध होता है। इसके कई अंश[16] तो स्वतन्त्र लोकगीत प्रतीत होते हैं :—

(१) असी जनम कभइ दीयउ रे महेस।
अवर जनम थारह घणा रे नरेस॥
वनहि सिरजी रोझड़ी।
धणिहीन सिरजी धवलीय गाइ।
वनिन सिरजी कोइली।
हउ बइसंती आंबानइ चपा की डाल।
भषती दाष विजोरडी।
तइ तउ काइ सिरजी उलगाणा की नारि ॥छन्द १३४॥

(२) दूध कटोरइ पाइसुं।
आछा चावल घणीय निवात।
सुसतउ जीमे वीरा जोगिया।
हिवइ हसि हसि कहउ, म्हारा पीय की बात ॥छन्द २२६॥

भाव-माधुर्य के लिये लय, और लय के लिए उपयुक्त वर्णों और मात्राओं की योजना आवश्यक है, पर लोकगीतों में भाव-माधुर्य का सृजन, कथा-प्रवाह और पात्रों की आत्माभिव्यंजना पर अधिक निर्भर करता है। उसकी सूक्तियां और उपमान भी लोक जीवन से अधिक लिए जाते हैं, साहित्यिक परंपराओं से कम। नाल्ह ने यही किया है—

एक ही अक्षर वचन विणास ॥५॥
जीभ का दाधा नवि पाल ॥७५॥
आँगुलिया को मूँदड़ी, ढलि करि आवइ हो धण कीय बांह ॥१४२॥
मरण हुवउ जगनाथ दुवारि ॥४५॥
जोगणि होइ सेय वणवास ॥७०॥
दिन गिणंता नह घस्या ॥१४३॥
मुगफली[17] जिसी आगुलि ॥ दव दाधी जिम लाकड़ी ॥१५०॥
घाणा अक्षर गुपति लिषी ॥१॥
म्हां की आंगुली काढ़ता निगल जाय बाह ॥९०॥
दुधू किमउ बरइ मंजारि कइ फेरि ॥१४१॥

आदि उक्तियां लोक-व्यवहार में सामान्य रूप से प्रचलित हैं।

लोकगीत साहित्यिक रूढ़ियों की मर्यादा नहीं स्वीकार करते, इसीलिए वे काव्य के उपयुक्त प्रयोगों पर कम ध्यान देते हैं। औचित्य की उनकी अपनी सीमा होती है, अपनी

१६. अन्य स्थल—छन्द ७०,२२५
१७. डा० तारक नाथ ने 'मुगफली' को हास्योत्पादक मान लिया है। यहां मुगफली का अर्थ मूंगा है। पतली और लाल उंगलियों के लिए लोकगीतों में यह सहज ग्राह्य उपमान है। इस का अर्थ खाद्य मूंगफली नहीं है।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

मर्यादा होती है। राजा बीसलदेव ने राजमती के सौन्दर्य की उपेक्षा कर 'भैंस के पागुर' वाली बात की—

> म्हारिउ राउ न जाणए बात।
> तडवड उपरि भयंस पीड़ाड़ ।।६६।।

साहित्यिक दृष्टि से यह रसाभास है, पर लोक जीवन या लोक-गीत तो इसे भी ग्रास्वाद्य मान लेता है।

प्रबन्धात्मक लोक गीत की इसी पृष्ठभूमि पर वीसलदेव रासो की परख होनी चाहिए। 'संयोग ग्रौर वियोग के गीत ही कवि ने गाये हैं'।[१८] यही उसका उद्देश्य भी है। जन-मन-रंजन शृंगार भी जब लोक-साहित्य की सीमा में चला जाता है तब उसकी तरंगों का ग्राकलन पर्वतीय उपत्यकाग्रों में प्रवाहित निर्झरों की लोल लहरों से ही करना उचित है जिसमें ऊंचाई कम, परन्तु वेग अधिक होता है। शिष्ट-साहित्य की मर्यादित किन्तु उत्ताल तरंगों से उसकी तुलना करना उचित भी नहीं है। मध्ययुग की उपलब्ध रचनाओं की संख्या सीमित होने के कारण पृथ्वीराज रासो के बाद इसे सर्वाधिक महत्त्व प्राप्त हो गया। सहित्य के ग्रनुसंधान की विविध दिशाग्रों में लोक-सहित्य के अनुसंधान ने अपना एक विशिष्ट मार्ग निश्चित कर लिया है। लोक-संस्कृति से परिचय के लिए उसका महत्त्व भी स्वीकार कर लिया गया है। वीसलदेव रासो भारतीय लोक-साहित्य की ग्रविच्छिन्न ग्रौर लम्बी शृंखला की एक मध्यकालीन सुदृढ़ कड़ी है।

१८. हिन्दी साहित्य का इतिहास-शुक्ल, पृ० ८३।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

राज कुमार शर्मा

काव्यात्मक प्रतीक : सृजन एवं प्रभाव-प्रक्रिया

सामान्य परिभाषा में प्रतीक एक विशिष्ट चिह्न प्रयोग है जिसमें अपने सामान्य प्रचलित अर्थ से इतर अर्थ-सन्दर्भ में प्रयुक्त किसी मूर्त वस्तु के माध्यम से गूढ़, अमूर्त, आन्तरिक सत्य की अभिव्यंजना द्वारा प्रमाता के मन में भावों या विचारों को उद्बुद्ध करने की शक्ति निहित होती है। इस प्रकार प्रतीक का सीधा सम्बन्ध जटिल अनुभूति के सम्प्रेषण की समस्या से है। काव्य में प्रतीक के प्रयोग की आवश्यकता ही उस स्थिति में पड़ती है जब अनुभूति इतनी गहन और जटिल हो कि उसे अभिव्यक्ति के सामान्य प्रचलित माध्यमों से सम्प्रेषित न किया जा सके। जहां शब्द अपने परिचित अर्थ-सन्दर्भों सहित उस अद्वितीय अनुभव को वहन करने में स्वयं को अक्षम और असमर्थ पाते हैं वहीं कवि की सृजनात्मक क्षमता उनकी प्ररम्परागत अर्थ-सीमाओं को रौंद कर उन्हें नये सन्दर्भों से युक्त कर, उनकी सोयी अर्थ-ऊर्जा जगा कर प्रतीक गढ़ती है और उनसे प्रसंग के अनुकूल प्रभावात्मकता की सिद्धि करती है। जैसा कि श्री लैंगर ने कहा है, "भाषा की सीमाएं हमारे अनुभव की अन्तिम सीमाएँ नहीं हैं। जो वस्तु सत्य भाषा द्वारा अनभिगम्य है, सामान्य भाषा के प्रयोग की पकड़ के बाहर हैं......वे स्वयं को प्रतीकात्मक रूपों के माध्यम से व्यक्त करते हैं।"[१] क्रिश्टन मिलर का भी स्पष्ट मत है कि 'वास्तविक प्रतीक सहज अनुभूत्यात्मक आन्तरिक संवेदन की अभिव्यंजना है, जिसकी किसी अन्य रूप में स्पष्ट अभिव्यक्ति नहीं हो सकती।"[२] इस प्रकार प्रतीकों के प्रयोग की प्रक्रिया वस्तुत: कवि मन की अछूते अनुभव-सत्यों को सम्प्रेषित करने के लिए नये अभिव्यक्ति-माध्यमों को तलाश करने यानी अभिनव अर्थ-सम्प्रेषण की समस्या से व्यक्तिगत स्तर पर जूझने की प्रक्रिया है।

अपने सामान्य अर्थ में प्रतीक मूर्त आधार है जिसके साथ कोई अमूर्त गुण, अनुभूति या संवेगात्मक अर्थ सम्बद्ध रहता है। वह मूर्त माध्यम है जो किसी अमूर्त वस्तु सत्य को सम्प्रेषित करता है। यहां 'सम्प्रेषण' का यह गुण ही प्रतीक को सामान्य मूर्त चिह्न-प्रयोग से पृथक् करता है। वह (प्रतीक) किसी वस्तु का प्रतिनिधित्व मात्र नहीं करता या भाषा प्रयोग में उसे केवल कह नहीं देता बल्कि उसकी सार्थक गतिशीलता को इस तरह व्यंजित करता है कि वह प्रमाता पर अपने वाञ्छित प्रभाव की सिद्धि कर सके। इसी सन्दर्भ में प्रतीक के वस्तु सत्य और सामान्य भाव या विचार-सत्य का अन्तर भी स्पष्ट हो जाता है। प्रतीक का वस्तु सत्य एक विशिष्ट अनुभव होता है जिसे सामान्यत: कहा नहीं जा सकता पर जिसे विशिष्ट माध्यम से सम्प्रेषित ही किया जा सकता है। लारेन्स ड्रेल के शब्दों में इस सत्य को बहुत थोड़ी दूर तक ही कहा जा सकता है— उससे आगे उसे सम्प्रेषित ही करना पड़ता है।"[१] केवल कह देने मात्र से सत्य यानि अनुभूति की विशिष्टता या संवेदन की अपूर्वता काफी अंशों में चुक जाती है। इस प्रकार

१. (clia) Faber Ed. p. 44. श्री रामस्वरूप चतुर्वेदी द्वारा 'भाषा और संवेदना' पृ० ७ पर उद्धृत।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

के सत्य को व्यक्त करने के लिए सम्प्रेषण-माध्यम के रूप में प्रतीक-प्रयोग की आवश्यकता पड़ती है। वास्तव में, प्रत्येक कलाकार के व्यक्तित्व की अपनी वक्रताएं होती हैं तथा उसके संवेग, संवेदन और क्षण की (उपयुक्त दशा अथवा आसंग की दृष्टि से) निजी विशिष्टताएं होती हैं। अत: प्रत्येक कलाकार अपने व्यक्तित्व और अनुभूतियों की विशिष्टता के अनुरूप अभिव्यक्ति के विशेष मार्ग का अन्वेषण और निर्धारण करता है। इसी विशेष मार्ग के अनवेषण में उसे नूतन प्रतीकों के प्रयोग की अनिवार्यता से गुजरना पड़ता है।

दृश्य और व्यंजन वस्तुओं के रूप में ये प्रतीक निर्देशित प्रत्ययों से सम्बद्ध तीव्र भावनाओं को जगाने में सक्षम होते हैं। वस्तुत: संवेगात्मक प्रत्यर्थताओं (इमोशनल रेस्पान्सेज़) को जगाने की यह क्षमता ही प्रतीकों को—विशेषत: काव्य और कला में--विशिष्ट महत्त्व से मण्डित करती है। चूंकि वे अपनी विशिष्ट चेतन-क्षमता से युक्त गोचर आधार से निर्मित होते हैं जो कल्पना को अधिक शक्ति एवं सक्रियता से नियोजित करते हैं और भावों और विचारों के गुम्फ को, प्रभावात्मकता की किंचित क्षति के बिना, वहन करने में सक्षम होते हैं। प्रतीक की इस क्षमता का एक बहुत सुन्दर उदाहरण शेक्सपीयर के नाटक 'एण्टनी एन्ड क्लियोपेट्रा' में मिलता है। क्लियोपेट्रा मृत्यु को वरण करने का संकल्प करके कहती है कि वह अपने इस निश्चय पर दृढ़ रहेगी :

Now from head to foot
I am marble-constant,
Now the fleeting moon
No planet of mine.[2]

शेक्सपीयर ने यहां 'चन्द्रमा' को उसकी नित्य परिवर्तनशील कलाओं के कारण अविश्वस्तता और अनिश्चय के प्रतीक के रूप में प्रयुक्त किया है, इसीलिए क्लियोपाट्रा उसे अपने दृढ़ निश्चय के उस क्षण में अनुपयुक्त समझती है। 'चन्द्रमा' के इस प्रतीक ने निश्चय ही सम्पूर्ण मन:स्थिति के इष्ट प्रभाव को साथ जिस सफलता से सम्प्रेषित कर दिया है, वह किसी अन्य विधि से संभव नहीं थी। इसी प्रकार श्री अज्ञेय की इन पंक्तियों में—

हम नदी के द्वीप हैं
किन्तु हम हैं द्वीप हम धारा नहीं हैं,
स्थिर समर्पण है हमारा
× × ×
किन्तु हम बहते नहीं हैं, क्योंकि बहना रेत होना है।[3]

यहां 'नदी का द्वीप' व्यक्ति जीवन की स्थिरता की कामना एवं अस्तित्व आस्था का प्रतीक है। इस एक प्रतीक-प्रयोग द्वारा कवि ने द्वीप की समस्या के माध्यम से आज के व्यक्ति के अस्तित्व की केन्द्रीय समस्या को उपस्थित कर दिया है। द्वीप जलधाराओं से घिरा रहने पर भी अपना स्वतंत्र अस्तित्व बनाए रखने का प्रयास करता है उसी प्रकार व्यक्ति भी समाज की विराटता में अनास्था, अस्थिरता एवं निराशाओं के बावजूद भी अपना स्वतंत्र अस्तित्व बनाए रखने की सतत चेष्टा करता है। आज के मानव की आत्म

२. Quotet by Jacob Corg : 'An Introduction to Poetry' p. 14.
३. हरी घास पर क्षण भर. पृ० ६६।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

चेतनात्मक स्वतंत्रता की रक्षा के प्रयास की सम्पूर्ण मनःस्थिति इस एक प्रतीक द्वारा बड़ी सफलता से व्यंजित हो गयी है।

हम प्रतीक-सृजन के उद्देश्य के सम्बन्ध में विचार कर चुके हैं अब उसकी सृजन प्रभाव-प्रक्रिया पर कुछ विचार आवश्यक है। काव्य में प्रतीक की सृजन-प्रक्रिया वास्तव में किसी शब्द के अपने प्रचलित सामान्य अर्थ के रूपात्मक प्रभाव से सामान्येतर अर्थ के अरूपात्मक प्रभाव में परिणत हो जाने की क्षमता प्राप्त करने की प्रक्रिया है। वह मूर्त के माध्यम से अमूर्त की प्रक्रिया है। आधुनिक मनोवैज्ञानिकों का निष्कर्ष है कि प्रारंभिक अवस्था में हम मन द्वारा जो कुछ भी सोचते हैं चित्रों में सोचते हैं। धीरे धीरे चित्रों के रंग और रेखाएँ समाप्त होती जाती हैं और केवल विचार रह जाते हैं। प्राथमिक स्तर पर हमारे अधिकांश विचार या अनुभव मन में चित्रों के रूप में उद्भासित होते हैं। बाहय जगत की वस्तुओं एवं क्रिया-व्यापारों से हमारा सम्पर्क होता है—ऐन्द्रिक अनुभवों से हम उनका बोध प्राप्त करते हैं। जब हम कार्यवश पुनः उन वस्तुओं और क्रिया व्यापारों के सम्बन्ध में सोचते हैं तो पूर्व अनुभवों के चित्र हमारे मानस में उदित हो जाते हैं। इस प्रकार हमारे सभी अनुभव अनगढ़ चित्रों के रूप में संचित रहते हैं, कोई उत्प्रेरक तत्त्व या घटना सामने आने पर उससे सम्बधित दृश्य स्मृति द्वारा उद्दीप्त हो उठते हैं। आग जलाने, पानी पीने, कमलों से युक्त सरोवर देखने, मित्र से मिलने आदि सभी क्रियाओं के सम्बन्ध में सोचने पर उनसे सम्बन्धित चित्र सामने आ जाते हैं। इस प्रकार हम वस्तुओं और व्यापारों को चित्रों के रूप में स्मरण रखते हैं और मूर्त वस्तुओं और व्यापारों के ये मानस-चित्र हमारे तद्विषयक अनुभूत भावों और विचारों को प्रेरित करते हैं। प्रारंभ में हम ने इन वस्तुओं और व्यापारों को संकेतित करने के लिए उनके चिन्हों के रूप में कुछ निश्चित शब्दों में उनके नाम रख लिए। शुरु-शुरु में इन शब्द नामों को सुनने या पढ़ने मात्र से उन वस्तुओं और व्यापारों के चित्र ही उभरते थे। तब हम शब्दों को वस्तुओं से अलग देखने की चेतना नहीं रखते थे।[४] परन्तु धीरे-धीरे ज्यों-ज्यों उन वस्तुओं और व्यापारों से हमारा परिचय बढ़ता गया हमारी चेतना विकसित हुई—मानवीय चेतना के विकास के साथ हमारा चिंतन अमूर्त होता गया।[५] साधारण उपयोग में शब्द केवल तर्काश्रयी अर्थों के वाहक मात्र बन गए अनवरत प्रयोग से उनकी बिम्बविधायिनी

४. प्रारम्भिक अवस्था में मानव शब्दों को वस्तुओं से पृथक् करने की चेतना नहीं रखता था, इसके अनेक प्रमाण उपलब्ध होते हैं। सापिर ने यूटाह के पायूट इण्डियनों की भाषा से "शब्द–वाक्य" का एक उदाहरण दिया है। वी-टी कु चु म—पुनकू—रुगानी—युगवी—युगवी—वा–नतू-म (यू), जितका अर्थ है वे जो बैठने और चाकू से काली गाय (या बैल) काटने जा रहे हैं। शब्दशः अनुवाद है—"चाकू, काला—भैंस—बच्चा—कटा हुआ—बैठेंगे।"

E. Sapir, Language, New York-1921. pp. 32-33.

५. **ए० सी० हैड़न ने** सांस्कृतिक विकास के व्यापक अध्ययन की पृष्ठभूमि में यह निष्क प्रस्तुत किया है कि कला की शैलियाँ यथार्थवादी चित्रण से प्रारम्भ होती हैं और धीरे-धीरे प्रतीकात्मक रूपों में बदल जाती हैं। देखिए—**A.C. Haddon : Evolution in Art (New Ed. London) 1914, page-7.**

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

शक्ति धीरे-धीरे लुप्त होती गयी।[६] शब्दों से हम विना चित्र की सहायता के सीधे उनके अर्थों पर पहुँचने लगे। बिम्ब-ग्रहण न कर मात्र अर्थ-ग्रहण करने लगे। यह बात नहीं कि शब्द के सामान्य प्रयोग से हमारे मन में तद्विषयक चित्र की सत्ता बिल्कुल न हो, पर यहां उसका पूर्ण बिम्ब नहीं बल्कि छायाभास ही रहने लगा। भावनाएं और विचार अरूप झंकृतियों के रूप में सहज उद्बुद्ध होने लगे जिन्हे विशिष्ट अनुभव या अभिव्यक्ति की स्थिति में ही कल्पना द्वारा एक वैभक्तिक संगति और व्यवस्था प्रदान कर रूपायित करने का प्रयास होता रहा। अब शब्द भाषा में किसी विशिष्ट सन्दर्भ में प्रयुक्त होने या एकान्तिक रूप से सोचने पर ही बिम्ब प्रस्तुत कर भावों को उद्दीप्त करते हैं नहीं तो केवल रूढ़ सांकेतिक अर्थ का बोध मात्र करा कर ही रह जाते हैं। इस स्थिति में प्रत्येक शब्द किसी निश्चित वस्तु व्यापार विचार या स्थिति की बोधक प्रतिनिधि इकाई मात्र है, उसका अर्थ निश्चित एवं रूढ़ है।

सामान्यत: निश्चित अर्थ वाले ये शब्द न तो अपने द्वारा निर्दिष्ट वस्तु का बिम्ब प्रस्तुत करते हैं और न ही इन्हें पढ़ने या सुनने पर प्रमाता के मन में कोई विशिष्ट भाव या विचार-पर्युत्सुकता ही उद्बुद्ध होती है।[७] परन्तु कवि इन्हीं सामान्य शब्दों को विशिष्ट काव्यात्मक सन्दर्भ से प्रयुक्त कर उनकी बिम्ब विधायिनी क्षमता को उकेरता है उनकी भावों और विचारों को प्रेरित करने की सोची शक्ति को पुन: जगा लेता है। शब्दों के काव्यात्मक प्रयोग बिम्बविधान और सादृश्यपरक अर्थालंकारों के विधान में ही विशेष सहायक होते हैं। प्रतीक की प्रक्रिया इनसे आगे की विकसित स्थिति है। इस स्थिति में शब्द अपने द्वारा निर्दिष्ट वस्तु या व्यापार-जिसका वह रुढ़ चिह्न या प्रतिनिधि है-का बिम्ब सामने लाता है और तद्विषयक भावों और विचारों को उद्बुद्ध करता है। यहां शब्द द्वारा निर्दिष्ट वस्तु और विचार का प्रत्यक्ष और तर्कमूलक सम्बन्ध है। वस्तु अपने द्वारा निर्दिष्ट परम्परागत रुढ़ अर्थ विचार को ही विशेष प्रभावोत्पादकता से व्यक्त करती है परन्तु प्रतीक पद्धति में वस्तु और विचार का सम्बन्ध अप्रत्यक्ष होता है। बिम्ब और

६. **W.M: Urban** ने भाषा के विकास की सामान्य प्रवृत्ति को 'भाषा के ऊर्ध्वगमन' की प्रवृत्ति रूप में परिभाषित किया है जो 'भौतिक' से 'आध्यात्मिक' की ओर प्रयाण करती है। अर्बन ने कासिरेर के अनुसार भाषाविकास का सामान्य सिद्धान्त निर्धारित करते हुए उसकी तीन अवस्थाओं का निरूपण किया है-(१) अनुकृति की अवस्था (२) अनुरूपता या सादृश्य तथा (३) प्रतीकात्मक अवस्था।

W.M. Urban : Language and Reality, pp. 182-183.

७. मानव आज चेतना के विकास की जिस स्थिति पर है वहां उसका चिंतन तेजी से अमूर्त (Imageless) हो रहा है। प्रायोगिक नूतन विज्ञान ने इस ओर तर्कपुष्ट संकेत किया है जिसका समर्थन Wurzburg group के अन्य मनोवैज्ञानिकों की ओर से भी हुआ है। उन्होंने अन्तः आसंग के सिद्धान्त के आधार पर प्रचलित इस पुरानी धारणा कि चिंतन प्रत्येक अवस्था में ही मूर्त या चित्रयुक्त होता है का खण्डन करने का प्रयास किया है। Alfred Binet की तो यह स्पष्ट मान्यता है कि विकास की इस स्थिति में 'बिम्ब' या 'मानसिक चित्र' चिन्तन के साथ समगति होकर चलता ही नहीं क्योंकि चिंतन प्रक्रिया की गति बहुत ही तीव्र होती है। उन्होंने चित्र संयुज सिद्धान्त को खण्डित करते हुए यह टिप्पणी दी है :

'...With a million dollar thought one only has a nickle's worth of Image'

डा० कुमार विमल द्वारा उद्धृत, 'अत्याधुनिक साहित्य' पृ० २५५-५६।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

प्रतीक में अन्तर इन दोनों के प्रभाव की मूल प्रकृति के सन्दर्भ में ही किया जा सकता है। बिम्ब में शब्द अपने विशिष्ट प्रयोग द्वारा अपने प्रचलित सामान्य अर्थ का रूपात्मक प्रभाव ही प्रमाता के मत पर उपस्थित करता है जबकि प्रतीक के प्रभाव की सत्ता अरूपात्मक होती है। वहां शब्द प्रयोग द्वारा सामान्येतर अर्थ का अरूपात्मक प्रभाव उत्पन्न किया जाता है। प्रतीक पद्धति में वस्तु अपने शुद्ध परम्परागत अर्थ (लिटरल मीनिंग) के अनुरूप विचार को उद्‌बुद्ध नहीं करती न ही उसका स्पष्ट चित्र सामने लाती है। वहाँ वह अपने से इतर किसी भाव या विचार या स्थिति को, जिससे उसका कोई प्रत्यक्ष सम्बन्ध नहीं है, को सम्प्रेषित करती है। 'जल' एक पदार्थ बोधक शब्द है परन्तु वह 'आत्मा' का प्रतीकार्थ देता है, 'झंझा' प्रतीक रूप में मन की क्षोभपूर्ण अकुल स्तिथि को व्यक्त करता है। यहाँ शब्द का अपने परम्परागत तात्त्विक अर्थ से भिन्न एक अर्थ में प्रयोग होता है और उसी से अभीष्ट प्रभाव की सिद्धि की जाती है। यहाँ प्रयोक्ता की चेतना शब्द को (तत्सम्बन्धी) वस्तु से अलग कर उसे प्रचलित सामान्य सन्दर्भ और रूढ़ अर्थ-संस्कार से मुक्त कर नवीन अर्थों से आवेष्ठित करती है। प्रोफेसर आवेन बारफील्ड इस प्रतीक निर्माण पद्धति में किसी शब्द की सामान्य अभिधेय अर्थ से प्रतीकार्थ तक पहुंचने की प्रक्रिया को को चार चरणों में विभाजित किया है।[८] पतली अवस्था में शब्द केवल विशुद्ध अभिधेयार्थ रखते हैं जिसका सीधा सम्बन्ध मूर्तवस्तु से होता है दूसरी अवस्था में वे दो सहगामी अर्थ रखते हैं। तीसरी अवस्था में वे दूसरा स्थानापन्न अर्थ रखते हैं यद्यपि मूल अर्थ पूरी तरह समाप्त नहीं होता। चौथी और अन्तिम अवस्था में वे एकान्तिक रूप से दूसरे अर्थ को व्यक्त करने लगते हैं (जो शुद्ध अर्थ सा निश्चित लगने लगता हैं)। बारफील्ड ने पहली अवस्था जिसमें वह पूर्णता मूर्तवस्तु को व्यंजित करता है को 'बोर्नलिटरल' तथा अन्तिम अवस्था जिसमें वह अमूर्त भावों या विचारों का प्रतिनिधि सर्वथा भिन्न अर्थ देता है—उसे सामान्य अर्थ व्यक्तित्व से विरहित करता है—को 'एचीव्ड़ लिटरल' कहा है।

इस सम्पूर्ण विवेचन से यही निष्कर्ष निकलता है कि प्रतीक-पद्धति मूलतः मूर्त के माध्यम से अमूर्त व्यंजना की प्रक्रिया है। प्रतीक-निर्माण की प्रक्रिया में शब्द द्वारा निर्दिष्ट वस्तु के गोचर आधार का विलयन होता है और तब तक होता रहता है जब तक वह बदले हुए अर्थ-संदर्भ में अरूपात्मक प्रभाव उपस्थित करने की क्षमता प्राप्त नहीं कर लेता। बहुत संभव है कि प्रतीक-पद्धति के इसी गुणात्मक वैशिष्ट्य को लक्षित करते हुए प्रसिद्ध प्रतीक-वादी चिंतक अर्नेस्ट कासिरेर ने अपनी यह मान्यता स्थापित की हो कि···" प्रतीक, यद्यपि इन्द्रिय संवेध-पदार्थों से निर्मित होता है फिर भी वह भौतिकता का अतिक्रमण करता है और अर्थ के उच्चतर रूपों में वस्तु-सत्य को संकेतित करता है और इस प्रतीकार्थ को प्राप्त करने की प्रक्रिया में उसकी पदार्थता पूर्णतः शोषित हो जाती है।"

---

८. The meaning of the word 'Literal' by owen Barfield. Metaphor and Symbol p. 53.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

डा० विनयमोहन शर्मा

शोध–प्रक्रिया

शोध, खोज, अनुसंधान, अन्वेषण सभी पर्यायवाची शब्द हैं जो अंग्रेजी के रिसर्च-भाव को व्यक्त करते हैं। मराठी में इसी अर्थ में संशोधन शब्द का प्रयोग किया जाता है। खोज में सर्वथा नूतन सृष्टि का नहीं, अज्ञात को ज्ञात करने का ही भाव है। मनुष्य बुद्धिसम्पन्न प्राणी होने के कारण अपनी सचेतावस्था से ही जिज्ञासु रहा है। उसकी ज्ञान की प्यास कभी तृप्त नहीं हुई। उसकी इसी अतृप्ति ने भौतिक तथा आध्यात्मिक रहस्यों को तथ्य-रूप प्रदान कर मानव की ज्ञान-सम्पदा में अभिवृद्धि की है। मनुष्य ने अपने तथा सृष्टि के अस्तित्व की खोज में अनेक अनुमानों का आधार लेकर निरीक्षण-परीक्षण के सहारे कई प्रकार के निष्कर्ष प्रस्तुत किए जो कभी आध्यात्मिक विश्वासों के जन्मदाता बने और कभी भौतिक विज्ञान के। व्यवस्थित चिन्तन ने ही शोध की प्रक्रिया को जन्म दिया। यूनान में अरस्तू ने निगमन तर्कप्रणाली से निर्णायक तथ्य प्रस्तुत करने का उपक्रम किया। इस पद्धति में पूर्व मान्य सिद्धान्त को प्रधान आधार मान लिया जाता है। फिर उस अनुमानित विश्वास को विशिष्ट उदाहरण द्वारा पुष्ट कर निष्कर्ष निकाला जाता है। जैसे :—

प्रधान आधार-वाक्य	देवपुरुष अप्रतिम होते हैं। (Major premise)
गौण आधार-वाक्य	राम देवपुरुष हैं। (Minor Premise)
निर्णय	अत: राम अप्रतिम हैं। (Conclusion)

यूरोप में तर्क की इस पद्धति ने अनुसंधान में वैज्ञानिक प्रक्रिया को जन्म दिया है। भारतीय नैयायिक की तर्क-पद्धति भी लगभग इसी प्रकार की है पर उसमें थोड़ा भेद भी है। अनुमान को स्पष्ट करने के लिए तीन नहीं, पांच वाक्यों का प्रयोग होता है। जैसे :—

राम अप्रतिम हैं—	प्रतिज्ञा
क्योंकि वे देव पुरुष हैं—	हेतु

सभी देव पुरुष अप्रतिम होते हैं, जैसे कृष्ण, बलराम, बुद्ध, ईसा

राम भी देव पुरुष हैं।	उपनय
अत: वे अप्रतिम हैं—	निगमन

यूरोप में बाद के तार्किकों को अनुभव हुआ कि शोध की प्रथम निगमन प्रणाली निर्दोष नहीं है। इसमें पूर्व निर्धारित विश्वास या मान्यता को लेकर अग्रसर होना पड़ता है। अत: बेकन आदि चिन्तकों ने प्रत्यक्ष निरीक्षण जन्य अनुभव को प्रमुखता प्रदान कर अनुसंधान्य तथ्य की ओर अग्रसर होने की विधि पुरस्सर की। इसमें विशेष से सामान्य तथ्य तक पहुंचने की क्रिया निहित है इसे Inductive Method of Logical Analysis तर्क की आगमन-प्रणाली कहा जाता है। इस पद्धति को पूर्व उदाहरण से इस प्रकार समझाया जा सकता है :—राम—अप्रतिम हैं क्योंकि उनके कृत्य देव पुरुष के समान हैं।

(पर वेदान्ती और मीमांसक प्रथम तीन अवयवों को ही पर्याप्त मानते हैं।)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

अतः देव पुरुष अप्रतिम होते हैं। इसे आगमन-पद्धति कहते हैं। पर यह पद्धति भी सर्वथा निर्भ्रान्त और वैज्ञानिक नहीं जान पड़ी। अतः इन दोनों का समन्वय किया गया। इस समन्वित पद्धति में शोधार्थी किसी प्राक्कल्पना (Hypothesis) को लेकर चलता है और ज्यों ज्यों तथ्य एकत्र होते जाते हैं, उसका अनुमानित तथ्य या तो सिद्ध हो जाता है या असिद्ध। यदि असिद्ध हो जाता है तो वह पुनः प्राक्कल्पना (Hypothesis) का आधार लेकर तथ्यों का संकलन करता है और उनके आधार पर किसी विशेष निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचता है। इसे स्पष्ट करने के लिए हम एक उदाहरण प्रस्तुत करते हैं। मान लीजिए, आपको तुलसी की दार्शनिकता पर शोध-कार्य करना है। आप पहले अपनी समस्या को समझने का प्रयास करते हैं। दार्शनिकता का अर्थ निश्चित करते हैं। फिर तुलसी का ब्रह्म, जगत् और आत्मा के सम्बन्ध में क्या विश्वास है, इसे जानने का प्रयत्न करते हैं। आपके मन में जिज्ञासा होती है—क्या तुलसी ब्रह्म की सत्ता में विश्वास करते हैं? यदि करते हैं तो उसका क्या स्वरूप निर्धारित करते हैं? ब्रह्म के स्वरूप के सम्बन्ध में उनकी क्या मान्यताएं हैं—उसका मानव की आत्मा और जगत् से पूर्ववर्ती दार्शनिकों ने क्या सम्बन्ध माना है? आपको अध्ययन से ज्ञात हो जाता है कि तुलसी के पूर्व मुख्य रूप से ये मान्यताएं प्रचलित थीं (१) ब्रह्म को सत्य और जगत् को माया (असत्य) और आत्मा को ही ब्रह्म का रूप माना गया है। (२) ब्रह्म को सत्य, जगत् को भी सत्य और आत्मा को ब्रह्म का अंश माना गया है और ब्रह्म की सत्ता सचराचर में व्याप्त प्रतिपादित की गई है। अब आपके सामने समस्या है कि तुलसी को किस मत का सिद्ध किया जाय? मान लीजिए आप शोधकार्य के पूर्व यह मानकर चलते हैं कि तुलसी शांकर मतावलम्बी हैं—अर्थात् ब्रह्म को सत्य और जगत् को माया मानते हैं। यह आपकी अभी प्राक्कल्पना ही है। इसी प्राक्कल्पना के आधार पर आप तुलसी-साहित्य से ब्रह्म और जगत् सम्बन्धी उदाहरण एकत्र करते हैं। व्यवस्थित रूप से आप उनका विश्लेषण कर किसी निष्कर्ष पर पहुंचते हैं। अन्त में आप अपनी प्राक्कल्पना का या तो समर्थन पाते हैं या विरोध। परिणामतः आपको अपने प्रधान आधार-तथ्य (Major Premise) में उचित संशोधन करना पड़ता है और तथ्यों से जो निष्कर्ष निकलता है उसे ही स्वीकारना पड़ता है। इसे ही आगमन और निगमन शैली की मिश्र-पद्धति कहते हैं। यही वर्तमान वैज्ञानिक शोध-पद्धति कहलाती है। इस पद्धति में शोधार्थी को तटस्थ-वृत्ति धारण करनी पड़ती है। उसकी दृष्टि पूर्वाग्रह से दूषित नहीं रहती। वह किसी मत विशेष का प्रचारक नहीं होता। शोधार्थी के कार्य में कई व्यक्तियों और संस्थाओं का योग भी रहता है। इसीलिए इसे टोली-कार्य (Team Work) कहा जाना उचित है।

शोधकार्य कैसे प्रारम्भ करें?

विषय या समस्या का चुनाव प्रमुख कार्य है। इसे चुनने के पूर्व यह जान लेना आवश्यक है कि शोध ज्ञात तथ्यों का चयन मात्र नहीं है—अज्ञात तथ्यों का ज्ञान-प्रकाश भी है। अतः हमें शोधार्थ ऐसा विषय लेना चाहिए जिस पर नए तथ्यों का उद्घाटन संभव हो या उद्घाटित तथ्यों की तर्कपूर्ण नई व्याख्या संभव हो। यदि शोधार्थी का विषय इन दो साध्यों में से किसी एक की भी पूर्ति करने में असमर्थ है तो उसे इस कंटकाकीर्ण मार्ग से विलग हो जाना चाहिए। विषय-निर्वाचन के समय उसे अपनी क्षमता को भी तोल लेना चाहिए। यदि विषय ऐसा है कि जिसमें प्रवेश के लिए हमें अपनी भाषा के अतिरिक्त अन्य भाषाओं का भी ज्ञान अपेक्षित है तो हमें जबतक अन्य भाषाओं का ज्ञान प्राप्त नहीं हो

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

जाना, कार्यारम्भ नहीं करना चाहिए। उदाहरण के लिए तुलसी पर बाह्य प्रभाव ढूंढने के लिए हमें नाना पुराण निगमागम का आलोड़न करना होगा। इसके लिए केवल हिन्दी-साहित्य और भाषा का ज्ञान पर्याप्त न होगा। संस्कृत, प्राकृत और अपभ्रंश भाषाओं में गति सम्पादित करनी होगी। प्रायः अनुवाद-ग्रन्थों से लोग कार्य चला लेते हैं पर यह द्वितीय श्रेणी का ज्ञान होगा। मूल स्रोतों से प्राप्त तथ्यों से जो प्रामाणिक निष्कर्ष निकलते हैं, वे अनूदित उत्स से नहीं। किसी फ्रेंच समीक्षक ने ठीक ही कहा है कि अनुवादक दगाबाज़ होता है। इसका अर्थ यही है कि अनुवाद मूल की ठीक प्रतिछवि नहीं बन पाता। हिन्दी के कई शोध-छात्र ऐसा विषय ले लेते हैं जिसका निर्वाह वे अपनी अक्षमता के कारण नहीं कर पाते। इसीलिए साहित्य के शोधार्थी को अपनी भाषा के अतिरिक्त एक-दो भाषाओं का ज्ञान प्राप्त कर लेना आवश्यक होता है। हिन्दी का शोधार्थी यदि अंग्रेजी और संस्कृत साहित्य का काम चलाऊ ज्ञान भी नहीं रखता तो उसे उसके सम्पादन तक ठहरना चाहिए। यदि दो भाषाओं के साहित्य का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन केवल अनूदित ग्रन्थों के आधार पर करना चाहता है तो यह बड़ी भारी प्रवंचना होगी।

एक बार एक शोधार्थी मेरे पास आये। वे हिन्दी साहित्य के सन्दर्भ में विश्व-साहित्य के आलोचना-सिद्धान्तों का अध्ययन करने का आग्रह करने लगे। इसमें सन्देह नहीं, वे अंग्रेजी, संस्कृत और हिन्दी में एम० ए० थे पर जब मैंने उनसे पूछा कि आप इतालवी, रूसी, चीनी, जापानी, फ्रेंच आदि साहित्यों की स्थिति से कैसे अवगत होंगे? अच्छा, विदेशी साहित्य की बात जाने दीजिए। आप अपने ही देश की कितनी भाषाओं से अवगत हैं? वे बंगला और उर्दू तक ही अपनी दौड़ बता सके। कहने लगे अनुवाद से सब काम चला लूंगा। मुझे पंजीकृत तो कीजिए। मैंने निर्देशन की अक्षमता प्रकट कर उनसे क्षमा मांगी। पता नहीं, उन्होंने मुझे क्षमा किया या नहीं पर उसके बाद से उनके पत्रों का क्रम सर्वथा टूट गया।

अतः शोध-कार्य प्रारम्भ करने के पूर्व विषय का चुनाव बड़ी सतकता से करने की आवश्यकता है। कई शोधार्थी निर्देशक से ही विषय की मांग करते हैं। जब उनसे पूछा जाता है कि आपकी किस विषय में रुचि है तो वे चट बोल उठते हैं—'जो विषय आप देंगे उसी में रुचि हो जायगी।' वास्तविकता तो यह है कि शोधार्थी को वही विषय लेना चाहिए जिसमें उसकी नैसर्गिक रुचि हो। शोधार्थियों की तीन श्रेणियां होती हैं—एक तो वे जो एम० ए० पास होने पर आजीविका प्राप्त होने का समय कुछ न कुछ करते रहने में बिताना चाहते हैं और अपने आवेदन पत्रों में अनुसंधित्सु (Research Scholar) लिखकर उसे गरिमामय बनाना चाहते हैं। दूसरे वे होते है जो शिक्षा-क्षेत्र में कार्य रत रहते हैं और अपनी पदोन्नति के लिए शोध-उपाधि आवश्यक समझते हैं और तीसरे वे हैं जो किसी विश्वविद्यालय की उपाधि के आकांक्षी नहीं हैं। तृतीय श्रेणी के शोध–कार्य अधिक तथ्योद्घाटक सिद्ध हुए हैं क्योंकि उनका साध्य केवल शोध था।

शोधकार्य की दिशायें

शोध-कार्य की विभिन्न दिशाएं हो सकती हैं। उनमें मुख्यतः ये हैं—

(१) पाठानुसंधान (२) ज्ञात-अज्ञात कवि अथवा लेखक का जीवन और कृतित्व (३) साहित्य का इतिहास-लेखन (४) साहित्य के विभिन्न वाद (५) साहित्य-शास्त्र

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

(६) भाषा अथवा बोली का ध्वनिविज्ञान, पद-विज्ञान, अर्थ-विज्ञान आदि की दृष्टि से अध्ययन (७) साहित्य की विभिन्न विधाओं का विभिन्न दृष्टिकोणों से अध्ययन (८) विभिन्न भाषा-साहित्य की विविध विधाओं का तुलनात्मक अध्ययन आदि।

प्रत्येक दिशा के शोध-कार्य की प्रणाली एक दूसरे से कुछ भिन्न होती है। सबसे पहले हम पाठानुसंधान पर चर्चा करेंगे—

हमारे देश का अधिकांश साहित्य प्राचीनतम काल में अलिखित ही था। स्मरण-शक्ति के सहारे वह पीढ़ी दर पीढ़ी संक्रमित होता रहता था। क्योंकि पुस्तक से विद्या प्राप्त करने वाले को सभाशूर नहीं समझा जाता था।

"पुस्तकप्रत्यधीतं नाधीतं गुरु सन्निधौ। भ्राजते न सभामध्ये जारगर्भ इव स्त्रियाः।" (पाराशर धर्म संहिता)। ज्ञात नहीं, किस काल में वह लिपिबद्ध किया गया, पर जब से किया जाने लगा तब से लिपिबद्ध लोकप्रिय ग्रंथों की अनेक प्रतिएँ तैयार करने की प्रथा चल पड़ी और उन्हें राजपुस्तकालय, धर्मसंस्थाओं आदि में सुव्यवस्थित रखा जाने लगा। योग्य प्रसंगों पर उन्हें दान में भी दिया[1] जाता था। प्राचीनकाल में बहुत सा साहित्य एक की नहीं, अनेक लेखकों की कृति होता था। व्यास के नाम पर न जाने कितने पुराण मिलते हैं। वे किसी एक व्यास के नहीं, अनेक व्यासों की रचना ही कहे जा सकते हैं। क्या किसी एक वेद की रचना एक ही ऋषि की सृष्टि है? ऐसा प्रतीत होता है, प्राचीन साहित्य समष्टि-रचित अधिक रहा है। इससे उसकी अनेक प्रतियों में कालानुसार परिवर्तन-परिवर्धन होते रहे हैं। लिपिक भी अपनी भाषा और विषय-ज्ञान का आरोप मूल प्रति में कर उसे प्रायः भ्रष्ट करते रहे हैं।

समूह-साहित्य के साथ साथ व्यष्टि-साहित्य अर्थात् एक ही व्यक्ति द्वारा रचित साहित्य भी लिखा जाता रहा है। यह स्मृति-रक्षित साहित्य लिपिकारों द्वारा ही लिखा मिल सकता है और लिपि-रचित साहित्य लेखक द्वारा और लिपिकारों द्वारा अंकित प्राप्य है। लेखक द्वारा लिपिबद्ध रचना ही मूल ग्रन्थ कहलाती हैं—उसकी नकल प्रति और प्रति-लिपियाँ कहलाती हैं। पाठालोचन का कार्य वहीं प्रारम्भ होता है जब हमें कवि की मूलकृति उपलब्ध नहीं होती और उसकी प्रतिलिपियाँ ही उपलब्ध होती हैं। प्रतिलिपियों की ही दो श्रेणियाँ होती हैं। एक को प्रति और दूसरे को प्रतिलिपि कहना अधिक सुविधा-जनक होगा। प्रति मूल ग्रन्थ की मूल नकल होती है और प्रतिलिपि प्रथम प्रति की नकल। 'नकलबाज़ी' का यह क्रम कालकालान्तर तक चलता जाता है। मुद्रण-कला के पूर्व तक प्राचीन लोक-प्रिय ग्रन्थ इसी प्रकार प्रचारित किए जाते रहे हैं। प्रतिकार (लिपिक) प्रत्येक बार अपनी 'आदर्श प्रति' की हूबहू नकल नहीं कर पाता। कहीं न कहीं च्युतिसंस्कृति अथवा प्रसंग-छूट के प्रमाद जाने अनजाने हो ही जाते हैं। 'मत्स्य-पुराण', 'काव्य-मीमांसा' आदि ग्रन्थों में आदर्श लिपिकार के लक्षण बतलाते हुए कहा गया है कि आदर्श लिपिज्ञ वह है जो सर्व भाषा कुशल है, नाना लिपिज्ञ है, सर्वशास्त्र विशारद है और अपनी आदर्श प्रति पर अंध-विश्वास रखता है और 'मक्षिका स्थाने मक्षिका' रखने का धैर्य रख सकता है।

---

१. (i) विप्राय पुस्तकं दत्वा धर्मशास्त्रस्य च द्विज।
पुराणस्य च यो दद्यात् स देवत्वं अवाप्नुयात्।—पद्मपुराण-उ० एवं० अ० ११७

(ii) वेदार्थयज्ञ शास्त्राणि धर्मशास्त्राणि चैव हि।
मूल्येन लेखयित्वा यो दद्याद् याति स वैदिकम्॥
इतिहास पुराणानि लिखित्वा यः प्रयच्छति।
ब्रह्मदानसमं पुण्यं प्राप्नोति द्विगुणीकृतम्॥—गरुणपुराण, अ० २१५

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

कभी कभी लेखक स्वयं भी अपनी कृति का संशोधन कर मूल प्रति तैयार कर लेता है। ऐसी स्थिति में प्रतिलिपियों में पाठ-भेद बहुत मिलता है। क्योंकि जब दो मूल ग्रंथ विद्यमान रहते हैं तब दोनों से पहली और बाद की प्रतियें होने लगती हैं। और उनमें मूल संशोधित ग्रंथ का ठीकठीक पाठ-निर्धारण करना कठिन हो जाता है। पाठ-निर्धारण के लिए लेखक की भाषा और शैली का परिज्ञान आवश्यक होता है। पर कई बार लेखक अपनी भाषा और शैली-रूपों में स्वयं परिवर्तन कर लेते हैं। कभी उनकी भाषा अधिक तत्सम बहुला और कभी तद्भवा हो जाती है और कभी लोक भाषाभिमुख और विदेशी शब्द-संकुल हो जाती है। आचार्य महावीर प्रसाद द्विवेदी की भाषा में हमें ऐसे शब्द-रूप-विभेद के कई उदाहरण मिलते हैं। विषय-भेद के अनुसार भी एक ही लेखक की विभिन्न रचनाओं में भाषा-भेद दिखाई देता है। 'निराला' 'गरम पकौड़ी' में बाज़ारू, देशी, विदेशी शब्दमयी भाषा लिखकर 'तुलसीदास' में अति संस्कृत प्रचुर भाषा भी लिख सकते थे।

लिपिकार दृष्टि और मति-भ्रम से भी आदर्श प्रति को ठीक ठीक लिपिबद्ध नहीं कर पाते। ऐसी स्थिति में मूल लेखक का पाठ-निर्धारण कठिन हो जाता है। जो शोधार्थी किसी प्राचीन कवि के ग्रंथ के सम्पादन पर कार्य करना चाहता है उसे सर्वप्रथम उस कवि की काल-क्रमानुसार सभी प्राप्य अप्रकाशित-प्रकाशित प्रतियों को एकत्र करना चाहिए। यह उसकी मूल सामग्री होगी। अनेक हस्तलिखित प्रतियों में पुष्पिका मिलती है जिसमें लिपिकार का नाम, स्थान तथा काल (तिथि-संवत् आदि) दिया रहता है। इसमें पाण्डुलिपि के काल का सहज ज्ञान हो जाता है। इसके अतिरिक्त उसे उन ग्रंथों को भी एकत्र करना चाहिये जिनमें उस ग्रंथ से उद्धरण दिए गए हैं। उदाहरण के लिए भट्ट लोल्लट के रस-निष्पत्ति संबंधी विचार हमें अभिनवगुप्त की टीका में मिलते हैं। हमें भट्ट लोल्लट के ग्रंथ की किसी प्रकार की प्रति उपलब्ध नहीं होती। अतः हमें अभिनवगुप्त की टीका में उद्धृत भट्ट लोल्लट के विचारों के ठीक पाठ को समझने में सहायता मिल सकेगी। कई बार मूल ग्रंथ के अनुवादों से भी पाठ-निर्धारण में सहायता मिल जाती है। पूना की भांडारकर शोध-संस्थान में महाभारत का प्रामाणिक संस्करण वर्षों से तैयार हो रहा है। उसमें ११वीं शताब्दी में तेलगु और जावानी भाषा में अनूदित महाभारत की प्रतियों की भी सहायता ली गई है। टीका-ग्रंथों में प्रायः मूल लेखक की पंक्तियाँ उद्धृत की जाती हैं। अतः वे भी शोधार्थी को कवि की किसी पंक्ति विशेष के मूल पाठ को निर्धारित करने में सहायक हो सकते हैं। कभी कभी किसी लोकप्रिय ग्रन्थ के अनुकरण पर लिखे ग्रन्थों से भी सहायता मिल जाती है। कालिदास के मेघदूत के आधार पर कई पवनदूत लिखे गए हैं। बाणभट्ट की कादम्बरी का क्षेमेन्द्र आदि ने अनुकरण किया है। इनमें मूल लेखक के शब्द भी यत्र-तत्र पाए जाते हैं; जो पाठालोचक की किसी प्रसंग में प्रयुक्त शब्दों की उलझनों को दूर कर सकते हैं। ग्रंथकार के अन्य ग्रन्थ भी उसके आलोच्य-ग्रंथ के पाठ-निर्धारण में सहायक हो सकते हैं। इन सब ग्रंथों का समावेश सहायक सामग्री के अन्तर्गत आता है। शोधार्थी को सर्वप्रथम मूल सामग्री अर्थात् ग्रंथ की प्रति और प्रतिलिपियों और सहायक सामग्री का संग्रह अवश्य कर लेना चाहिए। संग्रह के पश्चात् कालक्रमानुसार सामग्री का विभाजन किया जाना चाहिए। मान लीजिए, शोधार्थी को किसी कवि की कृति की एक ही प्रति प्राप्त हुई है। उसका सम्पादन वह कैसे करे? इसके लिए उसे उसी प्रति को बार-बार ध्यानपूर्वक पढ़ना चाहिए और कृतिकार की शिक्षा-दीक्षा से परिचित होकर उस काल की उपलब्ध कृतियों का भी अध्ययन करना चाहिए। तभी वह प्राप्त प्रति की भाषा की दृष्टि से

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

पुनर्रचना कर सकता है। एक दो संदर्भ-ग्रंथों के सहारे ही सम्पादन-कार्य में प्रवृत्त नहीं हो जाना चाहिए। विभिन्न प्रकार की सहायक सामग्री की सहायता से उस प्रति का पुनर्निर्माण करना चाहिए। उदाहरण के लिए मान लीजिए, हमें रामचरित मानस की १७वीं शताब्दी की एक ही प्रति उपलब्ध हुई है और उसमें रांम, कांम, नांम जैसे सानुनासिक अन्त्यवर्णात्मक शब्द के पूर्व वर्ण पर अनुस्वार मिलता है। यदि हमें तुलसी के अन्य ग्रंथों में भी ऐसे शब्द-रूप मिलते हैं तो उन्हें ही हमें मूल कृति के रूप स्वीकारना होगा। जब समान-पाठ की अनेक प्रतिलिपियें उपलब्ध हों तो हमें उनके मूलादर्श की खोज करनी पड़ती है। मूलादर्श प्राप्त हो जाने पर सम्पादन-कार्य सुकर हो जाता है। उसके प्राप्त न होने पर कई प्रतियों के मिलान से जब यह ज्ञात हो जाय कि वे किसी एक प्रति की नकल हैं (बीच बीच में वे भले ही त्रुटित या खंडित हों) तब उस एक प्रति को काल्पनिक आदर्श प्रति मान कर कार्यारम्भ किया जा सकता है। पर कभी ऐसा भी होता है कि किसी ग्रंथ की विभिन्न पाठ-परम्पराओं की प्रतिएँ मिलती हैं, ऐसी स्थिति में कार्य अधिक श्रम साध्य हो जाता है। पाठ-परम्पराएँ शब्द-लोप, प्रक्षेप, संक्षेप, परिवर्तन, परिवर्धन, वर्णागम, लोप, विपर्यय आदि से भिन्न हो जाती हैं। यहाँ लिपिक अपने ज्ञान या अज्ञान का परिचय देता है। लिपि-ज्ञान के अभाव में वह मनमाने वर्ण लिख जाता है। कई प्रतियें ऐसी भी प्राप्त होंगी जिनके प्रथम या अन्तिम या दोनों ही पृष्ठ खंडित मिलेंगे या नहीं मिलेंगे। ऐसी स्थिति में सहायक सामग्री से उन पृष्ठों का पुनर्निर्माण किया जा सकता हैं।

पुनर्निमार्ण कैसे किया जाय ?

सम्पादनीय ग्रंथ के पुनर्निर्माण का उद्देश्य उसके रचयिता के पाठ की पुनः प्रतिष्ठा करना है। शोधार्थी को लेखक की भाषा, शैली आदि के आधार पर विभिन्न प्रतियों के मिलान के पश्चात् यह निश्चय करना होगा कि अमुक पाठ ही लेखक का हो सकता है। यदि कोई पाठ अप्रासंगिक हो अथवा विचार-धारा के विपरीत हो तो उसे प्रक्षिप्त या अशुद्ध समझकर तिरस्कृत कर देना चाहिए। शब्द-रूप, वाक्य-रचना आदि को रचयिता के काल की भाषा-प्रवृत्ति के अनुसार रखना चाहिए। कई बार शोधार्थी-सम्पादक को दूषित या खंडित पाठ में सुधार करना भी अभीष्ट हो जाता है। इस सम्बन्ध में दो मत हैं। पहले मत के अनुसार सम्पादक को कालक्रमानुसार प्राचीन प्रतियों के मिलान के पश्चात् आदर्श प्रति तैयार कर 'सुधार' करना उचित नहीं है। पाठ में यदि दोष है—अर्थ-संगति नहीं है- तो उसे रचयिता के ही दोष समझकर उसमें निहित अर्थ को निश्चित करना चाहिए। इससे कई बार शब्दों से मनमाने अर्थ निकाले जाते हैं जैसे 'पद्मावत' की विभिन्न सम्पादित प्रतियों में देखा गया है। दूसरा मत यह है कि सम्पादक को शब्दों का खींचताव कर अर्थ नहीं लगाना चाहिए। पाठ में थोड़ा-बहुत सुधार कर देना चाहिए, जिससे साहित्य का निर्विघ्न रसास्वाद लिया जा सके। दूसरा मत आधुनिक है। इसके अनुसार संदिग्ध पाठों को विशेष रूप से निर्दिष्ट किया जाता है। अंत में काल्पनिक मूलादर्श की प्रति के निश्चयन की विधि से यह प्रसंग समाप्त किया जाता हैं।

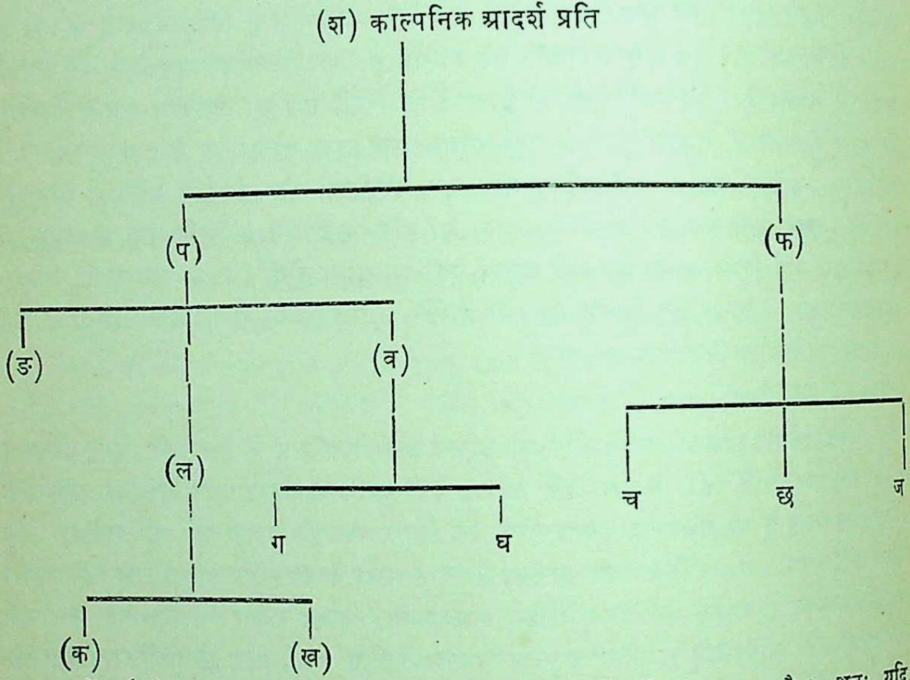
मान लीजिए, तुलसीकृत रामचरित मानस के अयोध्याकांड का पुनर्निर्माण करना है। हमें उसकी विभिन्न कालों की आठ प्रतिएँ उपलब्ध हो सकी हैं। हम उन्हें प्रति क, प्रति ख, प्रति ग, प्रति घ, प्रति ङ, प्रति च, प्रति छ, और प्रति ज, नाम देंगे। इनके पाठ-मिलान से यह निश्चय हुआ कि इनमें प्रथम पाँच का एक गण बन जाता है और शेष तीन का दूसरा गण। प्रथम गण की प्रतिएँ काल्पनिक आदर्श 'प' प्रति के आधार पर लिखित हैं

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

और दूसरे गण की प्रतिएँ काल्पनिक आदर्श 'फ' प्रति के आधार पर लिखित हैं। पुनः परीक्षण पर ज्ञात हुआ कि प गण के तीन उपगण हो सकते हैं (१) क ख, (२) ग घ और (३) ङ। क ख का काल्पनिक आदर्श (ल) और ग घ का (व) है। इनमें ख क की प्रति-लिपि है और च, छ, ज का काल्पनिक आदर्श फ है और इन सबका मूल स्रोत काल्पनिक आदर्श (श) है। यदि यह निश्चित हो जाता है कि ख क की प्रति लिपि है तो 'ख' प्रति को पृथक किया जा सकता है। इस प्रति का उपयोग वहीं होगा जहां क प्रति का कोई अंश त्रुटित होगा। इसे इस वृक्ष से समझाया जा सकता है :—

सम्पादनीय कृति (मूल लेखक की)



अब हमें (श) नामक काल्पनिक आदर्श प्रति का निर्माण करना है। अतः यदि क, ख, ग, घ, ङ, च, छ, ज प्रतियों में समान पाठ मिलता हैं तो वह आदर्श प्रति का पाठ है। यदि प गण और फ गण के पाठों में अन्तर है तो हमें केवल इसीलिए कोई पाठ सहसा स्वीकार नहीं कर लेना चाहिए कि वह बहुप्रतियों में विद्यमान है। हो सकता है, एक प्रतिलिपिकार के प्रमाद का अनुकरण अन्यों ने किया हो। अतः सम्पादक को अन्य सहायक सामग्री की सहायता से स्वयं मूल पाठ निर्धारित करना पड़ेगा। अब हमें प काल्पनिक प्रति का पुनर्निर्माण करना है। अतः हमें देखना होगा कि क्या ग घ के पाठ समान हैं? यदि हैं तो वह 'व' आदर्शप्रतिलिपि का पाठ है। और यदि वे पाठ असमान हैं पर वे 'प' गण की शेष प्रतियों में मिलती हैं तो वह व का पाठ होगा। इसी प्रकार ग घ प्रतियों का पाठान्तर यदि फ गण की किसी प्रति में मिलता हो तो वही 'व' का पाठ समझा जायेगा। यदि ग घ के पाठ प या फ गण की प्रतियों से न मिलते हों तो हम व का पाठ संदिग्ध ही रखेंगे। 'ल' काल्पनिक आदर्श प्रति का पाठ-निर्धारण भी ऊपर की ही व गण की विधि से होगा। फ आदर्श प्रति का पुनर्निर्माण यदि च, छ, ज, प्रतियों में समान पाठ है तो सहज साध्य हो जाता है। यदि इन प्रतियों में पाठ-भेद हो और वह पाठ गण की किसी भी प्रति में मिलता हो तो वह समान पाठ ही 'फ' आदर्श प्रति का होगा और वही श का

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

भी होगा। च, छ, ज का कोई पाठ किसी भी गण की प्रति से न मिलता हो तो वह संदिग्ध पाठ होगा और अपपाठ माना जायेगा। प और फ आदर्श प्रतियों के समपाठ ही आदर्श प्रति श के पाठ होंगे। यदि कोई पाठ इन दो प्रतियों में भिन्न हो तो कोई भी पाठ 'श' प्रति का पाठ हो सकता है पर उसे संदिग्ध पाठ ही मानना होगा। यदि काल्पनिक आदर्श प्रति श से अनेक शाखाओं प फ ब आदि का उद्गम हुआ हो तो 'श' का पुर्ननिर्माण एक से अधिक प्रतियों के पाठ के आधार पर होगा। यह भी सम्भव है कि एक लिपिकार किसी ग्रन्थ के विभिन्न अंशों को विभिन्न प्रतियों से भी लिपिबद्ध कर सकता है। ऐसी दशा में संकर प्रतियों के पाठ को पाठान्तर ही मानना पड़ेगा।

इसमें सन्देह नहीं, प्राचीन ग्रंथ-सम्पादन का कार्य सहज साध्य नहीं है, कष्ट साध्य है और समय सापेक्ष भी है। पूना के भाण्डारकर शोध-संस्थान में महाभारत का सम्पादन-कार्य विभिन्न विद्वानों द्वारा हो रहा है। ज्ञात नहीं, उसे पूर्ण होने में कितना समय और लगेगा।

अन्य प्रकार के शोध-कार्य की प्रणाली इतनी उलझन भरी नहीं है। पर उसे सम्पादित करने की भी अपनी पद्धति है। यह पद्धति विषय के अनुसार भिन्न हो सकती है—होती है।

विषय का चुनाव हो जाने के पश्चात् सामग्री जुटाने की आवश्यकता होती है। सबसे प्रथम शोधार्थी को अपने विषय पर पूर्व प्रकाशित ग्रंथों को पढ़ने की आवश्यकता है और साथ ही यह निश्चय करने की भी कि वह अपने शोध के लिए किस विशिष्ट समस्या को लेकर अग्रसर हो सकता है। जबतक वह अपने विषय की विशिष्ट समस्या को नहीं ग्रहण कर पायेगा, उसकी रूप-रेखा (सिनापसिस) अस्पष्ट ही रहेगी। रूप-रेखा का अध्ययन-प्रगति के अनुसार संशोधन भी हो सकता है। विषय की सामग्री-चयन के लिए संदर्भ-ग्रंथों की सूची अच्छे पुस्तकालय और विशेषज्ञ की सहायता से तैयार करनी चाहिए। एक ही संदर्भ-ग्रंथ अनेक संदर्भ-ग्रंथों की सूचना देता हैं। अतः संदर्भ-ग्रंथों की सूची अध्ययन की प्रगति के साथ बढ़ती ही जाती है। संदर्भ-सामग्री पुस्तकों के अतिरिक्त शोध-पत्र-पत्रिकाओं, शासकीय अशासकीय संस्थाओं की रिपोर्टों आदि से भी प्राप्त की जा सकती है। हिन्दी की शोध-सामग्री प्राप्त करने के लिए स्थानीय पुस्तकालय ही पर्याप्त नहीं हैं, देश के विभिन्न प्रदेशों के सार्वजनिक तथा व्यक्तिगत पुस्तकालय, धार्मिक संस्थान, प्राचीन राज-पुस्तकालय आदि की सहायता भी आवश्यक होती है। संदर्भ सामग्री से टीप तैयार करने की भी विधि है। उन्हें चार भागों में बाँटा जा सकता है—(१) लेखक के विचारों का उद्धरण (२) लेखक के मत को अपने शब्दों में लिखना (३) मत विशेष के प्रति अपनी प्रतिक्रिया व्यक्त करना। टीप (नोट) लिखने के लिए बड़े नगरों में कार्ड मिलते हैं। शोध-संस्थानों में इनका ही अधिक प्रयोग होता है। प्रत्येक कार्ड का एक प्रतिपाद्य विषय-शीर्षक होता है। उसके नीचे संदर्भ-मैटर तथा अन्त में लेखक का नाम, पुस्तक का नाम, प्रकाशन—तिथि अथवा संस्करण-संख्या दी जाती है और पृष्ठ संख्या एक कार्ड में एक ही प्रकरण रहना चाहिए। टिप्पणी समाप्त होने पर उसके साथ ही दूसरे कार्ड को नत्थी कर लेना चाहिए। टिप्पणी बहुत स्पष्ट लिखी जाय। सावधानी से संदर्भ-ग्रंथ से उतारे लिए जायें। साथ में नोट-कार्ड रखें। जहां कहीं अपने काम की सामग्री मिले उसमें लिखते जायें। यदि 'कार्ड' तैयार करने में असुविधा हो तो छोटी कापियों को भी काम में लाया जा सकता है।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

सामग्री दो स्रोतों से संग्रह की जाती है—एक मूलग्रंथ से, दूसरी मूलग्रंथ के अनुवाद या उसके उद्धरण से। मूल ग्रंथ से ही सामग्री एकत्र करने का प्रयत्न करना चाहिए। उसके अप्राप्य होने की दशा में ही अन्य स्रोतों का आश्रय लिया जाय। सामग्री-संचयन और उसकी प्रामाणिकता के परीक्षण के उपरान्त प्रबन्ध लिखने की तैयारी होनी चाहिए। प्रबन्ध विषय के अनुरूप समस्या को क्रमशः उद्घाटित करने वाले अध्यायों में विभाजित किया जाना चाहिए। प्रबन्ध में दो भाग होते हैं एक भूमिका भाग और दूसरा विषय भाग। भूमिका-भाग लिखते समय इस बात की सावधानी रखनी चाहिए कि वह अनावश्यक दीर्घ न हो जाय। कई प्रबन्धों में भूमिका-भाग ही विषय-भाग से अधिक पुष्ट हो जाता है। विषय के प्रस्तुतीकरण के लिए आवश्यक सामग्री ही भूमिका भाग में रहनी चाहिए। लिखते समय जिस विषय को उठाया जाय, उसका सतर्क प्रतिपादन, विश्लेषण और निष्कर्ष प्रस्तुत किया जाना चाहिए जिससे विषय क्रमशः स्पष्ट होता जाय और पाठक उसे हृदयंगम करता जाय। मानलीजिए, आपको सूरदास की जन्म-तिथि निश्चित करनी है। आपको पहले इस सम्बन्ध में विद्वानों द्वारा निर्दिष्ट तिथियों के सम्बन्ध में काल क्रमानुसार मत देना चाहिए, फिर प्रत्येक मत की परीक्षा कर उसकी असंगतता या संगतता पर प्रकाश डालते हुए अपने मत को प्रस्तुत कर निर्णय देना चाहिए। सच बात तो यह है कि

"शोध को पंथ कराल महा,
तलवार की धार पै धावनो है।"

अतः किसी शोध-मर्मज्ञ गुरु से शोध-प्रक्रिया का ज्ञान सम्पादित कर कार्यारम्भ करने में ही हित है।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

HISTORY

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Devendra Kaushik

THE GREAT OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND INDIA

The Soviet people are celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution this year along with millions of other progressive people all over the world. The October Revolution not only changed thc entire socio-economic and political structure of the former Tsarist Russian empire, but also opened up a new era in human history. The victory of the October Revolution was, indeed, a turning point in world history. It breached the front of world imperialism and gave a new dimension to the national liberation struggle of the people fighting for their independence against western colonialism. Jawaharlal Nehru had no doubt that it "advanced human society by a great leap and lit a bright flame which could not be smothered". In his opinion, it laid "the foundations for that new civilization towards which the world could advance".

The impact of the October Revolution on India has been and still remains profound and persistent. But while we are all aware of the powerful impression which the Soviet Union has made on the Indian public opinion in more recent times, not much is, nevertheless, known about those really noble and great beginnings of this process in the period immediately following the October Revolution in 1917. Much patient work is needed to throw light on the reactions of the various sections of the Indian people towards it and the response of the Soviet people to their aspiration for freedom. Fortunately, few of the old venerable Indian revolutionaries who participated in forging these valuable links of friendship and solidarity between the two peoples, are still alive in India and Pakistan and, I am sure, they should, if contacted, be able to fill up many a gap in our present information. The contemporary Indian press and the literature published in various Indian languages should also be thoroughly scanned to cull further details about the fascinating story of these early associations.

The first news of the triumph of Socialist Revolution in Tsarist Russia, the emergence on the ruins of the Tsarist autocracy of a qualitatively new state which at its very inception declared war on national and social oppression, had an electrifying effect on Indian imagination. The right of the people to freedom was proclaimed in the Peace Decree signed by Lenin, the Declaration of the Rights of the Peoples of Russia, the Declaration of the Rights of Toiling and Exploited Peoples, and the Appeal of the Soviet Council of Ministers to the Muslim Toilers

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of Russia and the East, which the Soviet government issued soon after coming to power. The unequal colonial treaties with Iran and China were repudiated by the Soviet power which also readily accorded recognition to the independence of Afghanistan. All these steps were naturally bound to leave a deep imprint on the mind of the people in India. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report on Indian constitutional reforms (1918) frankly admitted that the Revolution in Russia "has given impetus to Indian political consciousness."[1] The Revolution did not influence the post-war national movement in the sense of acceptance of its programme or forms of mass struggle by the leadership. But the reactions of the Indian leadership to the Russian Revolution were positive and it even openly admired some of its aspects. The Indian national leaders came to look upon the October Revolution as a factor of great help in the attainment of independence by the country.

British intelligence was quick to discern the galvanising role of the Bolshevik Revolution for the popular agitations in India following the first world war. The *Weekly Report* for May 1921 said :

> While it is not possible definitely to single out any particular movement or individuals' actions as being inspired by Bolshevism, yet Bolshevik influence plays a certain part in the present agitation in India. Speeches of agitators frequently contain sympathetic references to Bolshevism.........Non-cooperation agitators are trying hard to capture labour organisations and bring them into general political movement ; to do so they necessarily have to enlist the men's sympathies by references to "capitalist exploitation" and "the rights of Labour".
>
> In Malabar, Madras, a search of the Khilafat Committee headquarters brought to light a quantity of Bolshevik literature and proscribed pamphlets. In Sind, Jairam Dass Daulat Ram, a leading non-cooperator has written to Arthur Field in London, asking for any literature published by the British Communist Party.

But the said Report did not regard "these tendencies" "as evidence of agitation in India inspired from Bolshevik sources". It described them as "*symptoms of the world-wide unrest caused by the Great Upheaval in Russia from which it would be impossible that India should entirely escape.*" This gives a lie to the slanderous allegation that the influence of the Russian Revolution in India was due to some secret conspiracies and sinister intrigues of the Communist International. Obviously, the British cried hoarse about the Bolshevik "threat" to India publicly without themselves believing in it privately. The Bolshevik bogey was raised by them to suppress the growing national agitation. Thus Lord Chelmsford

1. *Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms*, London, 1918, p. 21.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

had appealed to leaders of the Indian National Congress to suspend mass actions and cooperate with him to fight the alleged Bolshevik menace at the time of the Third Afghan War which he attributed to the Bolshevik intrigues. But the national leadership was not taken in by such false propaganda. Gandhi declared that he never "believed in a Bolshevik menace to India".

At a meeting of the leading Punjab non-cooperators and Khilafatists held on October 3, 1920 at Dharowal in district Sheikhupura, Agha Mahomed Safdar described Bolshevism as the people's desire for freedom and equality. He said :

> Talukdars, jagirdars and landlords must now realize clearly that they can no longer retain the whole of their estates. They will have to give a share to the depressed classes. Why should not a labourer get an equal share of the income of an estate which earns such income as a result of his physical labour ?........... Call it Bolshevism or any other name you please. We now have to follow the Bolsheviks and their principles, the movement having proved a great success in Russia.

The Akali movement, which was otherwise predominantly Gandhian and non-violent, was also to a certain degree favourably inclined towards Bolshevism. It was alleged by the Mahants Har Narain Dass, Seetal Dass and Basant Dass in a memorial to the Viceroy, Lord Reading on behalf of the All India Udasi Mahamandal in 1922 that although the Akalis profess to belong to the order founded by Guru Gobind Singh "in reality they are more allied to the Bolshevik school than to any old order". "The modern Akali", wrote the memorialists further, "takes his cue not so much from the religious books of his preceptor, as from the Bolshevik ideas". In fact, the British suspected a section of Akalis under Master Mota Singh to be in secret contact with the Bolsheviks with a view to eventually organising a regular revolutionary army. The Punjab government in its statement before the Hunter Commission or the Disorders Inquiry Committee (1920) expressed its deep concern over "the increasing number of references to Bolshevism and Bolshevik doctrines" in the Indian press of the province[1].

The influence of the October Revolution in India was thus undoubtedly great, yet it would be a mistake to attribute to the various anti-colonial movements that raged in the country between 1919 and 1922 any strictly ideological sympathies for the communist view point. The situation may best be summed up by quoting from C. Kaye's *Bolshevism in India* :

1. *The Disorders Inquiry Committee*, *Evidence*, Vol. VI, Calcutta 1920, pp. 182-87

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

There is no doubt that the existence of the Bolshevik regime in Russia lends a great impetus to all forms of revolutionary unrest in other countries—as so vast an example of revolution in being is bound to do—and it applies with special force to India with the Bolshevik regime almost at her door. So-called Bolshevism, quite apart from any acceptance of its tenets, is also a convenient "bogey"—the threat to "go Bolshevik", without the least intention of doing so, it is a useful weapon in the armoury of any modern revolutionist.

In the face of the afore-mentioned evidence, it is difficult to agree with Jayantanuja Bandyopadhyaya, the author of *Indian Nationalism Vs. International Communism*, in whose opinion the Russian Revolution "did not produce anything more than a ripple" inside India.[1] While the October Revolution deeply stirred the anti-colonial ferment in India, in its turn, the revolutionary unrest in India, Egypt and Ireland, forced Britain to abandon her military intervention against Bolshevik Russia. In a letter to Admiral H. Cowan in the Baltic, who had asked for reinforcements against the Bolsheviks, Sir Henry Wilson wrote on April 12, 1919 that his whole energies were bent to getting troops out of Europe and Russia and concentrating them in the "coming storm centres."[2]

The British tried their best to suppress any news about the Revolution in India, but still it leaked out to the people. The very next month after the Revolution in Russia, a delegation consisting of Professor Ahmed Haris and Professor Mohammed Hadi was despatched from Delhi to convey the greetings of the Indian people. It reached Moscow and on November 23, 1918 made a call on Lenin who was presented with some gifts as a token of warm affection and high esteem in which our people held him.* On November 25, 1918 it addressed the Central Executive Committee of Soviet Russia with these words :

> Allow us to greet the Revolution which has shown us a new path of struggle. In spite of all efforts of Britain the slogan of self-determination of peoples has penetrated India.[3]

Indian revolutionaries from Kabul also sent a message of greetings to Lenin who in his reply expressed great joy that the proclamation of the principle of self-determination by the Republic of workers and peasants

1. J. Bandyopadhyaya, *Indian Nationalism Vs. International Communism*, Calcutta, 1966, p. 141.
2. C.E. Callwel, ed. *Field Marshall Sir Henry Wilson : His Life and Diaries*, Vol. II, London 1927, p. 182.

* Lenin also met a group of Indian revolutionaries led by Raja Mahendra Pratap and Barkatullah on May 7,1919. Later he again met Abdur Rab and Acharya and saw Roy, Abani Mukerji and other Indian patriots. Abdur Rab helped Lenin select books on India for his reading.

3. *Izvestiya Turk TsIKa*, Tashkent, April 13, 1919.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

had found such a lively response from conscious Indians heroically fighting for their freedom.[1]

It is interesting to know what frenzied efforts were made by the British rulers of India to prevent the development of any contacts whatsoever between the Indian people and the Soviet power. Under the pretext of counteracting "subversive" Bolshevik propaganda, special officers were appointed. Thus, in November, 1919 E.H. Corbett was employed as an Officer on Special Duty in the Intelligence Bureau of the Home Department. Soon after, in January, 1920 a Special Bureau of Information was opened under the Foreign Department which was headed by O' Connor. In the Punjab, which was geographically considered to be more vulnerable to the Soviet ideas, the government requisitioned the services of no less a person than Captain T. Jones who had served with General Malleson in Meshed and later as Liaison Officer with the counter-revolutionary white general Denikin in Russia. Again, the Bombay government appointed Abdul Rashid Khan as a Special Officer.

The Home Department made full use of the services of Professor Rushbrook Williams who wrote his *Notes on Bolshevism* which was meant to serve as a manual for the government officials. "Bolshevism", it declared "runs counter to the whole course of modern civilization, for while civilization rests upon the belief that work directed towards gaining the sheer necessaries of life is less valuable than work directed towards making life worth living, Bolshevism would make the manual labourer absolute master of the world entrusting to him the task of determining the future of humanity".

In 1920 Edmund Candler wrote a slanderous booklet under the title *Bolshevism, the Dream and the Fact* which was recommended by the British Government of India to the libraries of all educational institutions. Candler sought to arouse the religious sentiments of the people against Bolshevism. He wrote :

> The Bolsheviks preach a gospel of violence, the Hindus a gospel of peace. Neither in Islam nor in Hinduism will the defilers of religion find a single convert.[2]

The British launched a virulent campaign of vilification against Bolshevism. They also pressed into service religious divines to prevent the people from becoming sympathetically inclined towards the ideas of the Bolshevik Revolution. They made the *Mufti* of Cairo issue a *fatwah* against the so-called anti-religious character of Bolshevism and widely circulated the same among the Indian Muslims. Many fantastic and

1. V.I. Lenin, *Soch.*, T. 31, p. 116.
2. E. Candler, *Bolshevism—the Dream and the Fact,* London, 1920, p. 2.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

false stories were invented about the Bolsheviks. The people were told that women had been nationalised in Russia and children snatched away from their parents. In a speech at a reception held in a mosque in Tashkent, Abdur Rab, a leader of Indian revolutionaries, related how the British endeavoured to scare away the Indian people from trying to come in contact with the Soviet power. "We are told", said Abdur Rab, "that the Bolsheviks eat human flesh and that they especially relish the flesh of the Mensheviks."[1]

Yet the lure of the Bolshevik Revolution was too powerful to be subdued by such malicious anti-Bolshevik propaganda and many enthusiastic youngmen were on their trek to Tashkent. Old traditions of friendship also played their part in drawing the revolutionary representatives of India closer to the Soviet power. Several Indian missions had gone to Tashkent in the second half of the 19th century to seek Russian aid in the liberation of India from the yoke of British colonialism.[2] It is true that the despatch of these missions proved to be of no gain to the Indian liberation movement; yet they showed that the people were beginning to look towards Russia for help against their British rulers The visit of Russian warships to Bombay in 1879 saw a great mass upsurge in India. People rushed to the city to convince themselves of the presence of the Russian ships. *The Times cf India* of May 19, 1879 thus reported the event :

> The people began to talk of a quick downfall of the British yoke which would be cast off by Russia and Nana Sahib.

Tilak is believed to have made overtures for help to the Russian Consuls, Tcherkin and Klemm, in Bombay. He tried to secure Russian help in sending Indian youths abroad for military training, which however, was not available. The 1905 Revolution in Russia played a great role in generating and sustaining the militant consciousness of all colonial peoples. In India several papers wrote in detail about the events in Russia and drew attention to the similarity between the situation then prevailing in India and that in Russia under Tsarism[3]. The first book on Russian history in Hindi appeared in 1909 under the impact of the 1905 Revolution[4]. The Sedition Committee Report (1918) pointed out to the wide circulation of translation of Russian literature on the methods of Russian revolutionaries in such important Indian towns as Calcutta and Madras.

Lenin, as we know, was keenly interested in the Indian struggle for freedom. He followed events in India quite closely and sympathised

1. *Izvestiya Turk TsIKa*, Tashkent July 4, 1920.
2. See N.A. Khalfin's *Indian Missions in Russia in the second half of the 19th century*, XXVI International Congress of Orientalists, papers by the USSR delegation, Moscow, 1963.
3. हिन्दी केसरी, २ जून, ८ जून, २२ जून १९०८।
4. मिश्र बन्धु, रूस का इतिहास, इलाहबाद, १९०९।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

deeply with the national liberation movement. Already in 1900, in the pages of the illegal *Iskra*, he criticized the British for the prevalence of famine in India. In 1908, Lenin strongly condemned the arrest of Tilak by the British and described it as "an act of vengeance against a democrat on the part of lackeys of the money-bags". He hailed the first political action of the young Indian working class against Tilak's incarceration and described it with his unfailing insight as "the coming of age" of the Indian proletariat[1]. He noted the upsurge of the national movement in India and condemned the partition of Bengal. He greeted the mutiny of the Indian soldiers in Singapore in 1915 and denounced the British for the Jalianwala Bagh massacre in 1919. A true internationalist, Lenin regarded the British rule in India as nothing but "violence" and "plunder". If the Indian people rose against Britain, he had written in 1915, this would be a just war. He considered it the international duty of the Soviet state to assist all peoples who were fighting for their natinoal liberation.

But to Lenin the Indian Revolution was not just a matter of money and arms which were of no help if the Indian people were not stirred to mass action through right programme and policy. In the discussions which the Commission on Colonial and National Question appointed by the Second Congress of the Comintern in 1920 had, Lenin took a realistic line of support of the "bourgeois-democratic" liberation movement by all the Communist Parties in the dependent countries. He wanted the Indian communists to co-operate with Gandhi and the mass movement launched by him while continuing to strive to make it more radical. M.N. Roy, in contrast, took a line "left" of Lenin.

After the liberation of Central Asia by the October Revolution in 1917 this region became a centre of attraction for many Indian freedom fighters who made Tashkent a nucleus of their revolutionary activities. A group of Indian Muslim emigres even fought with arms against the counter-revolutionary Turkmens at Kirkee.[2] Several Indian army men crossed over to the Soviet side during the armed British intervention in Trans-Caspia under General Malleson. Among them Murtuza Ali fought in Daghestan and Kabarda. He was a terror for the white troops upon whom, it is said, he swooped down "like a falcon." About him Vera Fyodorovna, a sister of the Civil War hero Gikalo recalls :

> When I read today about the fraternal bonds of the two great peoples, the Soviet and the Indian, I think back to the gallant and modest internationalist fighters. There may have been only a handful of them but like the brave Murtuza Ali, they did not spare their lives in the past. Our friendship sealed with bloodshed in battle will live for ever.[3]

1. V.I. Lenin, *PSS*, T. 17, pp. 174-179.
2. Muzaffar Ahmad, *The Communist Party of India and its formation abroad*, Calcutta, 1962, pp. 26-27. Also Shaukat Usmani, *India and Russian Revolution*, *Mainstream*, July 8, 1967.
3. *In Common They Fought*, Moscow, 1957

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In 1919, at Tashkent was formed an Association of Indian Revolutionaries under the leadership of Abdur Rab. Later in October, 1920 at the initiative of M.N. Roy who had reached Tashkent from Moscow as a representative of the Commintern, an emigre Communist Party was founded. Mohammed Shafiq, an educated youngman from the N.W.F.P., was elected as the first secretary. He also edited a bilingual fortnightly paper called *Zamindar* published from Tashkent in Urdu and Persian. An Association of Indian Revolutionaries was also functioning at Baku in Soviet Azerbaijan from where another fortnightly paper *Azad Hindustan Akhbar* in Urdu was published on the occasion of the Congress of the Peoples of the East in which a group of Indian delegates had also participated.[1]

M.N. Roy was sent to Tashkent with the supplies and personnel necessary for organising an army of liberation on the frontier of India. The party travelled from Moscow in two trains. One composed of twenty-seven 30 ton wagons carrying arms, ammunition and military stores. The other train had two wagons loaded with money, gold coins, bullion and pound and rupee notes, and ten wagons carrying aeroplanes.[2] The staff of a military training school also travelled with the party which was escorted by an American revolutionary, John. He became the Principal of the Tashkent military school.

At this school 40 Indian revolutionaries were given training in aviation, and 10 in infantry.[3] A school for their political education was also run by M.N. Roy at Tashkent. Such architects of the Soviet power in Central Asia as Frunze and Kuibishev extended their full cooperation and support to the cause of the Indian liberation.

However, mutual bickerings among a section of Indian revolutionaries, more particularly between M.N. Roy and Acharya, led to the winding up of the Tashkent centre and the transfer in 1921 of Indian revolutionaries to Moscow where they received training at the Communist University for the Toilers of the East. Moreover, the uncertain and unhelpful attitude of the then Afghan ruler also prevented any effective revolutionary intervention by the newly-born Soviet power in the interest of Indian Independence.[4] Another group of Indian revolutionaries had by this time already moved to Moscow from Berlin. It was led by Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, the brother of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, a

---

1. For further details, see my articles *Indian Revolutionaries in Soviet Asia*, *LINK*, January 26, 1966, also *An Obscure Journal of Indian Revolutionaries at Baku*, *Foreign Affairs Report*, October, 1964.
2. See M.N. Roy's *Memoirs*, Bombay, 1964, pp. 421-22.
3. The figures are based on the statements made by the trial prisoners in the Peshawar Conspiracy Case 1922.
4. M.N. Roy, *op. cit.*, pp. 492-93.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

well-known woman leader of the National Congress and Dr. Bhupendra Nath Datta, the brother of the noted Hindu saint-patriot Vivekanand.

After receiving their training in Tashkent and Moscow, many young Indian revolutionaries returned to India to organize the freedom struggle against British imperialism. They were, however, arrested soon after their arrival and tried at Peshawar for conspiracy against the British rule in various cases. First of all, Mohammed Akbar Khan was tried in two cases in 1921-22 and sentenced to 7 years rigorous imprisonment.[1] He was perhaps the first Indian to suffer for his sympathy for the October Revolution. This was the first in a long series of the so-called Bolshevik Conspiracy Cases which the British government of India held to prevent a militant revolutionary anti-imperialist movement in the country from raising its head. Another purpose of the British behind staging this drama of communist cases was to use them as a propaganda weapon with a view to maligning the new Soviet regime in the sphere of international relations.

In 1922-23 a group of ten Indian Muslims were tried at Peshawar on their return from Tashkent and Moscow. This case became known as the Peshawar Conspiracy Case. The prosecution called it the Moscow Conspiracy Case as well. Seven of them were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. In 1924 Muzaffar Ahmad and Dange were tried in the Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case. Mohd. Shafiq was prosecuted in 1924 at Peshawar, and Fuzl-i-Ilahi Qurban in 1927. From 1929 to 1933 dragged on the most famous of these Communist Conspiracy Cases, *viz*, the Meerut Conspiracy Case, in which 33 leaders of the Indian working class including 14 communists were charged with conspiracy against His Majesty's rule in India. The trial was held to suppress the rising movement of the Indian proletariat which had become a serious menace to the British rule after the 1928-strike of the textile workers. The trial, however, had the opposite effect and it widely publicised the communist movement. Many liberal-democrats came out in defence of the imprisoned leaders. Motilal Nehru ridiculed the efforts made by the British authorities to keep new ideas out of India, in the following words:

> Can you erect barbed-wire entanglements and artificial barriers to keep ideas out of India. The times are gone when you could do it. The men (communists) I have known are men of opinions, strong opinions no doubt, but men with the courage of their convictions.... Such men, whether you agree with them or not, must be entitled to the respect of every balanced mind.[2]

1. The name of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad also figured in the trial of Mohd. Akbar Khan. It was alleged by the prosecution that Mohammed Akbar had met Maulana Azad while the latter was in Lahore. This, hewever, could not be proved.
2. *Legislative Assembly Debates*, Vol. 1, 1929, pp. 531-33.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

It is alleged by some writers that the Russian Revolution was initially looked upon by the Indian freedom movement as something "alien, hostile and repugnant" to the national heritage of the country. This is, however, not a fact. In the contemporary Indian press the event found a favourable echo. Just three months after the October Revolution the great extremist Indian leader Tilak wrote in *Kesari* an editorial on the "Russian Leader Lenin" in its issue of January 29, 1918. He wrote :

We are publishing the main facts of Lenin's life since mischievous propaganda is being carried on that the popular Russian leader Lenin is the son of a German Jew and has been bribed by the German Government. Lenin is being accused of creating disaffection among the Russian people who are claimed to be loyal to the Allied Powers.

And further :

Lenin is an advocate of peace......He disagreed with Kerensky because the latter wanted to run the Russian Government on the basis of a compromise with the upper classes. Lenin is not prepared to have any such relations with them. It is his opinion that these upper classes in the warring nations are thoroughly selfish and vicious, that they are opposed to the interest of the common people in all countries, that it was they who started the war, and that it is the working people who are honest and peace loving.

It was because of this difference that Kerensky had ordered Lenin's arrest. Ultimately, the workers' party led by Lenin achieved power by overthrowing the Kerensky Government.

Lenin's influence in the army and among the common people has increased as a result of the distribution of the lands of the nobility to the peasantry by Lenin.[1]

In the early twenties, many Indian papers in English and native languages were appreciatively writing about the October Revolution. The *Atma Shakti*, *Dhum Ketu*, *Desher Bani* published in Bengali were popularising the ideas of the Revolution in Russia. Several papers such as the *Socialist*, an English fortnightly (latter a monthly) from Bombay, *Nava-Yug*, edited by Krishna Rao from Madras, and *Hindustan* from Bombay enlightened their readers about the achievements of the Socialist Revolution. The *Inqilab*, an Urdu fortnightly, edited by Ghulam Hussain and Shamsuddin Hasan from Lahore; and the *Pranvir*, latter re-named *Shramvir* from Nagpur, also spread its message. Sympathetic articles appeared in such English dailies as the *Amrit Bazar Patrika* (Calcutta), *The Servant* (Bombay), and *Bande Mataram* and *Nation* (Lahore). The

1. Quoted by S.G. Sardesai in *India and the Russian Revolution*, New Delhi, 1967, pp. 21-22.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

measage of greetings sent by the Third Congress of the Comintern to the Gaya Session of the Indian National Congress was published in the *Bande Mataram* of Lahore in its issue of January 19, 1923.

The *Amrit Bazar Patrika* in its issue of December 31, 1918 thus wrote about the significance and causes of the Russian Revolution :

> It is difficult for us to truly realize the significance of the mighty tide of socialism which is now sweeping over continental Europe and has washed away in its terrific progress ancient thrones and empires. It would be erroneous to suppose that the War is mainly responsible for the upheaval. The inequalities among men, the ever-expanding capitalistic interests and the corresponding serfdom of labour, have long been agitating Europe......An eruption was inevitable. The War only made the day nearer.

On January 8, 1919, the paper in its editorial *Bolshevism and Bolsheviks* placed the Russian Revolution in a historical perspective and also gave sympathetic account of the programme of the Bolshevik Government. It wrote :

> The Bolshevists are vaguely believed to be anarchists. But to judge from their programme, they are not anarchists inasmuch as the destruction of society and the establishment of a reign of terror or disorder are not their object.

The *Amrit Bazar Patrika* of August 10, 1920 took Lloyd George to task for his uncharitable remark about the Soviet Government and its issue of August 17, 1920 described some of the policies of the Russian Government as "more enlightened than any followed by any other Government in the world." Later, the paper opposed the Public Safety Bill in 1929. It wrote on February 8, 1929 :

> The Government may think that by deporting the preachers of Communism from India they will secure the permanence of the present political and economic order in which they are interested. But they are mistaken. They will soon witness to their disappointment that their action will only have the contrary effect.

The *Amrit Bazar Patrika* also criticised the British for the Meerut Conspiracy Case. It was strange, it wrote on January 17, 1933, that people engaged in such a gigantic conspiracy under the direction of the Third International were so short of funds for defence that they had to take the help of friends and relations.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The *Modern Review*, a prominent nationalist monthly from Calcutta, carried a number of articles on the Russian Revolution and also published many excerpts from articles about it appearing in the Western press. Its issue of February 1919 had a long interesting article on the *Russian Situation* by Dr. Sudhindra Bose. This article devoted a couple of pages to the Bolshevik programme and performances. Dr. Bose wrote:

> To the utter disgust of imperialistic European traditions, the republican Russia has abjured schemes of aggression and of imperialism. The right of self-determination has been accorded to all nationalities in Russia. Local government has been placed in the hands of the Soviets or Committees of working-men and soldiers. Each group and each community has its Soviet.

The *Modern Review* of June 1921 joined issues with the *Asian Review* which held that the "spiritual hertage" and "peculiar social conditions" of Asia were "a sufficiently strong bulwark against the inroads of Leninism." The commentator of the paper asserted that:

> Socially, there are privileged classes in India a fact of which the non-Brahman movement in the South is a sufficient proof. Socio-economically also, there are privileged classes in India, of which the Kisan movement and agrarian troubles in the United Provinces and Bihar are a sufficient proof. If the "higher" castes, the land-owners, and the capitalists do not take note betimes of the signs of the times and shape their conduct accordingly, there may be a movement in India similar to, though on a smaller scale than that of the West. We refuse to hypnotise ourselves with the half-truth that we are a spiritual people.

The *Modern Review* published the full text of the treaties concluded by Soviet Russia with Afghanistan, Iran and Turkey renouncing all imperialist rights and concessions. Its issues of March and April 1924 published articles on Lenin, and Russia and India respectively. The tone of the articles published in this esteemed English monthly grew friendler with the passage of time. In February 1928 it published a long illustrated article on Soviet Russia by Ramanand Chatterjee. The article gave the various achievements of the Soviet state in the field of economic and cultural development. It praised the Soviet Union for its solution of the nationalities problem. Ramanand Chatterjee wrote:

> Britishers have repeatedly declared for our benefit that the yoke of the stranger is the only thing that holds together and can hold together the diverse groups of people living in India, and

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

> that if that yoke were withdrawn, it would be impossible for them to form one state. The example of Russia shows that our British friends, patrons and protectors may not be quite infallible as prophets. The diversity in Soviet Russia is in fact,greater than in India. But there is so much enthusiasm for the Soviet state even among the comparatively backward and less civilised Asiatic nationalities forming part of its population that, for taking part in the tenth anniversary celebrations of the Soviet Republic, women delegates from distant Asiatic regimes went all the way from their homes to Moscow.

The author also contrasted the figures of expenditure on education in Bengal with those in the Soviet republics. (12% in Bengal in 1926-27 with 40.7% in the Soviet Union)

The *Tribune* (Lahore) commented on the Bolshevik Revolution as early as December 25, 1917 in its editorial "Evolution and Revolution," characterising the revolution as absolutely necessary in the case of Russia. In its issue of January 15, 1918 it described the Russian Revolution as "a gigantic forward move". The *Indian Review* informed its readers about Bolshevik education. Its July 1920 number reproduced an excerpt from Lunacharsky's statement on Soviet system of education. The impact of the Russian Revolution on the nationalist press in English was on the whole favourable, though at times some unfavourable comments were also published.

The Hindi *Aaj* took notice of the Russian Revolution only a few days after its appearance. On October 1, 1920 it reproduced from *Bande Mataram*, a revolutionary Bengali Weekly, article on the Revolution which warned that "a similar revolution might take place in India also if official repression and police methods went on indefinitely". On October 5, 1920 the paper carried a leading article on Lenin's place in history. The *Aaj* praised Soviet efforts to sign treaties of non-aggression with neighbours (December 19, 1922). It criticised the judgment of Kanpur Bolshevik Conspiracy Case risking the contempt of court charge. The reputed Hindi magazine *Saraswati* (Allahabad) hailed the resolution on complete disarmament placed before the Committee of the League of Nations by the Russian Foreign Minister, Litvinov,[1] Writing in *Saraswati*, Paripurnanand Verma lauded the decisions of the Russian Executive Committee taken on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Revolution, reducing the hours of work in factories, giving tax relief to farmers and abolishing capital punishment.[2] The Hindi dailies *Vartmaņ* and *Pratap* of Kanpur wrote admiringly about the Russian Revolution. To Rama Shankar Avasthi, the editor of *Vartman* goes the honour of being

1. सरस्वती, जून 1928 ।
2. सरस्वती, जनवरी 1928 ।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the pioneer in introducing the Russian Revolution and its great leader Lenin to the Indian readers in Hindi, perhaps before any other Indian language. Avasthi wrote a book on the Russian Revolution[1] in Hindi as early as 1920, and in 1921 a biography of Lenin.[2]

The Urdu press, too, was responsive to the publicity of the October Revolution in India. The names of the *Alamgir* (a monthly, Lahore), *Peshawa* (a weekly, Delhi) and *Riyasat* (a weekly, Delhi) are worth mentioning in this connection. Maulana Azad's *Al-Hilal* welcomed the Russian Revolution and defended it against the malicious imperialist propaganda. The *Avadh Punch*, a homour-weekly from Lucknow, also ridiculed this propaganda about the Revolution by means of interesting cartoons. A study of the files of these papers from the twenties would really be very rewarding for the sake of information about the impact the October Revolution made on India.

The October Revolution deeply influenced the Trade Union and the Peasant Movement in India. It greatly helped the process of radicalisation of Indian politics. The social, economic and political ideals of the Revolution were responsible for a change in the character of nationalism itself, which had so far been mainly political. The Revolution forced a consideration of the socio-economic contents of nationalism. The left wing movements which arose under the direct influence of the Revolution, emphasized the social and economic problems of the Indian peasantry and workers and sought to bring them to the fore-front of the national movement. A distinctive contribution made by the Russian Revolution to the national movement of India through the left wing was the 'inseparability of the struggle for national freedom from the struggle for the interests of the working people'.

Jawaharlal Nehru wrote that "the Russian Revolution had forced people to attach importance to the industrial proletariat."[3] Before the October Revolution in Russia, there was no ideology in the labour movement of India, capable of counteracting the spread of bourgeois influence among the workers. It was only after the Revolution that Marxism became widely known in India. The penetration of Marxism and the creation of first communist groups here owes itself to the October Revolution. A new force appeared for the political life of the country which called for more active struggle against colonial oppression in the interest of the class of workers and toilers.

In place of the old Congress demand for dominion status as the final

---

1. रमाशंकर अवस्थी, रूस की राज्यक्रान्ति, कानपुर, 1920।
2. रमाशंकर अवस्थी, बोल्शेविक जादूगर (अर्थात् लेनिन की जीवनी और उसके विचार) कलकत्ता 1921।
3. J. Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, p. 374.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

goal of the national liberation, the communists and the other radicals advanced the demand for complete national independence, calling on the people to join in an active uncompromising struggle for freedom and democracy.

In this connection it may not be out of place to mention the untiring efforts repeatedly made by communist members of the National Congress to get the goal of complete national independence adopted by the organisation. It was a communist Urdu poet Maulana Hasrat Mohani who at Ahmadabad session of the Congress (1921) for the first time moved a resolution to this effect.[1] He was tried for this and sentenced to imprisonment for life. But the Bombay High Court quashed this sentence. Next year at the Gaya session, communist Singaravelu Chettiar moved a similar resolution. It was at the Madras Session that the resolution could be passed in 1927. But the Calcutta session (1928) rescinded it. The members of the Communist Party of India were the main supporters of the resolution. The communists, it may be recalled, were then working as part of the Congress Party. Of the seven All-India Congress Committee members tried for conspiracy in Meerut case (1929-1933) five were communists.[2]

They were the first in India to urge the abolition of feudal landownership. Pattabhi Sitaramayya tells us how the hordes of *Kisans* while organising themselves as a militant anti-feudal, anti-imperialist force "chose to favour the Soviet flag of red colour with hammer and sickle." "This flag came more and more into vogue as the flag of the Kisans and the Communists"--wrote the official historian of the Congress.[3] The "Red shirts" movement which emerged under the leadership of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan in the North-West Frontier Province displayed the emblem of hammer and sickle, adopted the Communist motto. "Peasants and Workers of the world unite", red uniforms, and the "Cell" system of organization. There were questions in the House of Commons about the reported Communist influence on the movement.[4]

The Workers and Peasants Parties of Bengal, Bombay, Madras and the Punjab owed their inspiration directly to the October Revolution. In fact, the idea of a worker-peasant alliance that lay at the root of these parties had originated in the Russian Revolution which realised such an alliance for the first time in history. The organs of the Workers and Peasants Parties contributed a good deal to the dissemination of the ideas

1. See Muzaffar Ahmad, *Communist Party of India—Years of Formation*, Calcutta, 1959, p. 41.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, *History of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. II, p. 73.
4. *House of Commons, Parliamentary Debates*, CCXXXIX, 5th. Series, cols. 1925-6 Also the *Times*, June 21, 1930.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of the Russian Revolution. The *Ganavani* in Bengal, edited by Muzaffar Ahmad and Poet Nazrul Islam[1], the *Kirti* in Panjabi, and the *Mihnatkush* and the *Mazdur-Kisan* in Urdu from the Punjab, along with the *Kranti* in Marathi from Bombay popularised the idea of a worker-peasant alliance between 1926-28. Lenin's death anniversary was widely observed in January 1929 in all important towns of India and special features appeared in many of the journals of the above-mentioned Parties.

Singaravelu Chettiar, a leftist intellectual of Madras, was a great admirer of the October Revolution. His journal *The Labour Kisan Gazette* prominently published the news of of the death of Lenin and paid a rich homage to the great leader. A condolence telegram sent by Singaravelu on behalf of his Labour-Kisan Party was also published in this paper.[2] "The world, the workers' world is to-day poorer by the passing away of its great Teacher and Redeemer", wrote Singaravelu in his condolence message. Singaravelu's pioneering work in establishing the contacts of the Indian Trade Unions with the Soviet Trade Union organization calls for special mention. He sent a telegram to the Central Committee of the Soviet Trade Unions to seek its assistance for the victims of a police firing on workers at Karachi. The telegram was, however, intercepted by the Government. The Soviet Trade Unions later sent money to help the railway workers of Lilooah who had struck work.

Inspite of their mistaken policy of terrorism, the *Naujavan Sabha* or the Youth League founded by the great martyr Bhagat Singh as well as the *Indian Republican Socialist Association* and the *Republican Army*—the two major terrorist organizations of northern India—were deeply influenced by the Socialist ideals of the October Revolution. Later on, while in jail in 1930, Bhagat Singh studied a good deal of literature on Socialism and the Russian Revolution, and became convinced that socialist revolution in India would take place not through individual acts of terrorist violence but through organized mass revolutionary struggle of the workers, peasants and toilers. It is now well-known how Bhagat Singh and his associates–the under trials in the Lahore Conspiracy Case–observed Lenin Day on 21 January 1930. Appearing in the court wearing red scarves and raising slogans, they handed over to the magistrate a telegram of greetings to be dispatched to the Communist International.

1. Nazrul Islam wrote a poem *Samyabadi* (Communist) which was published in the first issue of *Langal* (Plough) a forerunner of *Ganavani*, See, M. Ahmad *Communist Party of India—Years of Formation*, Calcutta, 1959, p. 22.
2. See *The Labour Kisan Gazette*, A Fortnightly Journal of Indian Communism No. 4, Vol. I, Thursday, January 31, 1924. I am indebted to my friend Leonid Mitrokhin of the Information Department, USSR Embassy, New Delhi, for kindly allowing me access to his rare collection of Singaravelu Papers.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

An associate of Bhagat Singh in the Lahore Conspiracy Case, Bejoy Kumar Sinha, who served a life imprisonment sentence in the Andamans in the thirties, relates in his memoirs how the members of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Association and the Naujavan Sabha were "through our day-to-day work moving gropingly towards socialism."[1] There to the Port Blair jail in the Andamans, hundreds of picked youths from all over the country who had participated in the country's struggle against British imperialism were transferred from jails of many provinces like Assam, the Punjab, U.P., Bengal, Madras and Bihar.

These young prisoners organised in the jail classes on world history. "These lectures", writes Sinha, "ended with discussions of principles that would govern the world socialist society of tomorrow, the new system that had almost been established in one-sixth part of the globe, in the land of the victorious workers and peasants." The Russian Revolution anniversary was celebrated with great "joy and enthusiasm" as "our chief annual event", recalls Sinha.[2] Feast, rally and meetings were held for the day in the prison. Other revolutionary days like the May Day, Spain Day, *etc.*, were observed "in like secret manner."

It is interesting to note the reaction of the Indian National Congress to the October Revolution. In her Presidential Address (1917) Mrs. Annie Besant mentions the Revolution among those events which have 'entirely changed the conditions before existing in India'. The grant of the right to national self-determination to the peoples of the former Tsarist Empire was, in her opinion, bound to have the effect of quickening the desire for self-rule in India. "Beyond the Himalayas, stretch free and self-ruling nations. India no longer sees as her Asian neighbour the huge domains of a Tsar......and compares her condition under British rule with those of their subject populations"—said Mrs. Annie Besant.[3] While it is true that the Presidential Addresses of M. M. Malaviya (1918), Motilal Nehru (1919), Vijairaghavachariar (1920) and Hakim Ajmal Khan (1921) were quite silent about this epoch-making event, the fact that they did not deem it proper to condemn it is in itself very significant, particularly in the context of the then prevailing atmosphere of anti-Soviet propaganda. Only C. R. Dass at the Gaya session in 1922 made some critical remarks about the violence of the Russian Revolution.[4] Thus, on the whole, it can safely be said that the initial response of the Congress to the October Revolution, though not very warm, was at the same time far from hostile. The Russian Revolution, however, found a more ready response from the various Indian revolutionary groups.

It was only after the Congress had become a mass organization that a more positive approach to the October Revolution was taken by

1. Bejoy Kumar Sinha, *In Andamans—The Indian Bastille*, Cawnpore, 1939, pp. 4-5, 90.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 167-168.
3. *Congress Presidential Addresses*, second series, 1911 to 1934, Madras 1934, p. 311.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 576.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

it. Moreover, by the end of the twenties, Soviet Russia had attained considerable success. It was Jawaharlal Nehru who began a new phase in the Congress attitude towards the October Revolution. The impact of socialist ideas and the Russian Revolution was felt inside the Congress mainly through him. Nehru's first visit to Soviet Russia in 1927 along-with his father Motilal Nehru, produced a profound impression on him. On his return, he wrote about the Soviet Union admiringly in his book *Soviet Russia* published in 1928. The Soviet Union's achievements in building a new life, especially in former colonial areas of Tsarist Russia where the people were granted the right to self-determination and were successfully developing their own economy and culture within the fraternal family of Soviet peoples, attracted Pt. Nehru's attention. He described a study of the Bolshevik methods in the sphere of nationalities policy as "interesting and instructive for us."[1] At the Lucknow Congress session of 1936, Nehru highly praised the achievements of the Soviet Union which presented a contrast to the crisis-ridden world-caditalism.

In the thirties the failure of the movement of non-violence to secure independence, coupled with great achievements of the Soviet Union led to an upsurge of socialist ideas. In fact, an ideological ferment unparalleled in Indian history had begun towards the end of the twenties, growing further in the thirties. With the increasing realisation of the limitations of the Gandhian philosophy, there started a search for new ideas which resulted in a wide-spread acceptance of the ideal of socialism. The national movement was now informed with a new awareness of the unity of India's struggle for national independence with all colonial liberation struggles of Asia and Africa and the anti-Fascist democratic struggle in Europe. The Soviet Union was looked upon as the champion of the cause of peace, progress and democracy. This new ferment deeply influenced the ideas of such national leaders as Nehru and Tagore. It made a powerful impact on many labour and kisan leaders as also on many militant youth leaders. During his tours after the Lucknow Congress, Nehru dwelt at length on socialism which led to a protest by six members of the Working Committee headed by Rajendra Prasad, V. Patel and C. Rajgopalachari. "We feel", wrote Rajendra Prasad, "that the preaching and emphasizing of Socialism, particularly at this stage by the President and other socialist members of the Working Committee while the Congress has not adopted it, is prejudical to the best interests of the country and to the success of the national struggle for freedom".

The Congress Socialist Party came into existence as a result of the impact of the socialist thought of the world and the Russian Revolution. In his presidential address to the Gujarat Congress Socialist Conference in 1935, Acharya Narendra Dev thus explained its genesis :

> They saw that a crisis had come over democracy in the West and that parliamentary institutions were crumbling down on all

1. J. Nehru, *Soviet Russia*, Allahabad, 1928, p. 123.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

sides. They also saw that Fascist menace was growing apace, that capitalism was in a decadent condition and had entered its last stage of imperialism. They saw clearly that the choice before the world now lay between socialism and fascism and that the capitalist democracy seemed to have no future before it. They found the world in the midst of a great crisis which did not seem to end. They found that it was Russia alone which had made substantial advances towards socialism and in the midst of surrounding gloom it was the only hope of the poor, the oppressed and the down-trodden, for whom it was a great inspiration to-day, because it was a precursor of a new era for the whole mass of humanity[1].

At Faizpur Session of the Congress in 1938 the Congress Socialist Party urged that "the Congress declares the solidarity of the Indian people with the enslaved peoples of the world .....and with the people of the USSR"[2]. The Party Conference at Lahore held in April 1938 passed a resolution which declared that USSR was the only major power working for peace and called for support to her. The resolutions of the Congress on Fascist aggression, Spain, Munich Pact and British imperialism approved at the Faizpur, Haripura and Tripuri Congress were remarkably similar to the Comintern resolutions on the same subject.

The effect of the Russian Revolution can also be noticed on the pioneering efforts at economic planning made in India in the decade preceding the attainment of independence. While it is true that the first work about planning in India, viz., *Planned Economy for India* by M. Visvesvaraya, published in 1934, was not socialist in orientation, yet it was influenced by the tremendous advance registered in the Soviet Union during the years of its First Five Year plan. Visvesvarya called it the "first plan" in the world which was "developed openly, and put into execution on a nation-wide scale". He approvingly quoted from Lenin to emphasize the need for the development of heavy industries. He wrote :

> "Heavy industries are a necessity to raise the peoples standard of living and for many other important developments, for defence, for nation building, for civilization itself......As in Russia heavy industry affects national progress in many directions, and, therefore, requires state subsidies to foster it. If we are not able to find the subsidies, then we too, as a civilized state must perish.[3]

The National Planning Committee instituted by the Indian National Congress in 1938 under the chairmanship of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru was obviously inspired by the success of Soviet Planning. The People's Plan

1. Narendra Dev, *Socialism and the National Revolution*, Bombay, 1946, pp. 74–75.
2. P. Sitaramayya, *The History of the Indian National Congress*, Vol. II, p 30.
3. M. Visvesvaraya, *Planned Economy for India*, p. 336.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

drafted during the second world war by the Indian Federation of Labour headed by M.N. Roy based itself on the experience of planning in the Soviet Union. Roy found the Soviet experiment a valuable guide in understanding the real nature and purpose of a planned economy.

Although India's struggle for freedom followed a different path from that of the Russian proletariat, no other single event had affected and influenced it as the October Revolution did. Soviet sympathy and support were always forthcoming for the cause of Indian independence. In fact, many Indian freedom-fighters derived inspiration from the October Revolution. A number of prominent Indian revolutionaries like Raja Mahendra Pratap, M N. Roy, Abdur Rab, Dr. Khankhoje, Barqatullah and Obeidullah came into personal contact with Lenin—the greatest revolutionary of all times and the teacher of world proletariat.

Even such great Indian leaders as Gandhi, M.M. Malviya, Subhash Chandra Bose and Lala Lajpat Rai who had little in common with the materialistic creed of communism, admired several aspects of the Russian Revolution. Gandhi considered Bolshevism as the application of the Hindu ethical ideal of non-possession in the realm of economics. He had no objection to it if it could be achieved by peaceful persuasion. "The fraternization of the Soviet Union with Asiatic countries", said Gandhi in 1921, "served as a check on the naked repressive character of British imperialism".[1] He wrote an editorial in *Young India* "No work, no vote" on September 23, 1924 under the direct inspiration of the Soviet constitution. Subhash Chandra Bose regarded Russian Revolution as enrichment of the culture and civilization of the world "through her achievement in proletarian government and proletarian culture."[2] The present Chairman of the Swatantra Party, N.G. Ranga was, in his own words, "full of admiration for the Russian experiments, and ambition to rouse our toiling masses to achieve a similar social revolution", when he returned to India from England in 1923.[3]

The advance made by the Soviet Union in education, culture, medical care and in the solution of the problem of nationalities impressed many people in India in different walks of life. As Nehru wrote, "some were attracted to communism, others were not, but all were fascinated by the advance of the Soviet Union......"[4] The advance of the Soviet Union did not leave the "non-left" in India quite "unaffected". Even the upper-class intelligentsia, the industrialists and traders were stirred by the "Russian miracle" and began to feel that the Soviet example could be of benefit to India, too, in her march towards a free and prosperous future. Rabindranath Tagore, highly, individualistic though he was,

1. G. Tendulkar, *Mahatma Gandhi* Vol. II, p. 39.
2. S.C. Bose, *The Indian Struggle*, Calcutta, 1952, p. 66.
3. N.G. Ranga, *Revolutionary Peasants*, p. 60.
4. J. Nehru, *The Discovery of India*, pp. 394-396.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

became an admirer of this "new civilization" and thus contrasted it with present conditions in his own country :

> "Her (Russia's) civilization is free from all invidious distinction between one class and another, between one sect and another. The rapid and astounding progress achieved by her made me happy and jealous at the same time...When I see elsewhere some 200 nationalities—which only a few years ago were at vastly different stages of development—marching ahead in peaceful progress and amity, and when I look about my own country and see a very highly evolved and intellectual people drifting into the disorder of barbarism, I cannot help contrasting the two systems of governments, one based on co-operation, other on exploitation, which have made such contrary conditions possible.[1]

The life and ideas of the leader of the October Revolution began to exercise a great influence over the minds of the contemporary Indian people. A number of books on the Russian Revolution and Lenin appeared almost spontaneously in many Indian languages while Lenin was still alive, in spite of the fact that the British authorities had strictly proscribed all kinds of pro-revolutionary literature here. The first book on the Russian Revolution appeared in 1920. It was Rama Shankar Avasthi's *Russian Revolution.*[2] Avasthi also wrote a biography of Lenin in Hindi in 1921.[3] The same year another work on the Revolution called the *Rebirth of Russia* by Som Dutt Vidyalankar was published.[4] In 1923 Vishambher Nath Jijja wrote *The Great Change in Russia*.[5] Pran Nath Vidyalankar's *The Soviet State of Russia* was also published in 1923.[6] Rama Shankar Avasthi's third book *The Red Revolution* was published in 1928.[7] The associate editor of Hindi daily *Pratap*, Dev Vrat wrote his book *Russia To-day* in 1930.[8] Sada Nand Bharti's *Mahatma Lenin* appeared in 1934.[9] The editor of Hindi magazine *Chand*, Dr. Dhani Ram Prem published a very informative book called the *Awakening of Russia* in 1936.[10] The first book on the Russian Revolution appeared in Marathi in 1921. It was Lakshman Narain Joshi's *Russian Revolution.*[11] There is another work by an anonymous author in the same year.[12] The biography

1. *Ibid.*
2. रमाशंकर अवस्थी, रूस की राज्य क्रान्ति, कानपुर, 1920।
3. रमाशंकरअवस्थी, बोल्शेविक जादूगर, कलकत्ता, 1921।
4. सोमदत्त विद्यालंकार, रूस का पुनर्जन्म, काशी, 1921।
5. विश्वम्भर नाथ जिज्जा, रूस में युगान्तर, प्रयाग, 1923।
6. प्राणनाथ विद्यालंकार, रूस में पंचायती राज्य, कलकत्ता, 1923।
7. रमाशंकर अवस्थी, लाल क्रान्ति, कलकत्ता, 1928।
8. देवव्रत, वर्तमान रूस, प्रयाग, 1930।
9. सदानन्द भारती, महात्मा लेनिन, काशी, 1934।
10. धनीराम प्रेम, रूस का जागरण, बम्बई, 1936।
11. लक्ष्मण नारायण जोशी, रशियांतील बोल्शेविज्म, पूना 1921।
12. रशियन राज्यक्रान्ति, बालचन्द्र रामचन्द्र कोठारी, जगद्धितेच्छु, 1921।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

of Lenin was published in Marathi, first in 1922. Its author was Ramkrishna Gopal Bhide.[1] The same year Hasan Aziz Bhopali wrote a book on *Lenin and the Russian Revolution* in Urdu.[2]

In English an Indian journalist G.V. Krishna Rao published the first biography of Lenin in 1921.[3] In 1922, Krishna Rao also contributed an introduction to *The New Russia* by Postgate and Jackson. Later on, M.B.L. Bhargava's biography of Lenin in English was published in 1932.[4] In the Bengali language a series of articles appeared on Lenin's life (*Leniner Jibankatha*) in the weekly *Atma Sakti* in April 1923.

Several Indian poets were stirred to write on the Russian Revolution and Lenin. In his remarkable poem on Lenin, poet Mohammed Iqbal visualises the sinking of the ship of capitalism and the dawn of a new era when the down-trodden would heave a sigh of relief. Though his verse is saturated with idealism, yet he expresses in clear terms the contradictions and hypocrisies from which the western imperialism suffers. Iqbal wrote :

> The ways of the world are changed
> New is the symphony, the orchestra is changed
> Decrepit diplomacy rankles as a thorn
> And the earth is weary of emir and sultan.
> Gone are the days of wealth and the power it carried
> Having shown the show, the juggler took his leave
> Opium-eating Chinese are striving to find their feet
> And the Himalayan springs have begun to seethe.

The great Tamil poet Subramaniam Bharati wrote poem on the Russian Revolution and the famous Hindi poet Ramdhari Singh Dinkar also composed a poem on Lenin. The theme of the Russian Revolution has figured in the poems of many other Hindi poets such as Suman, Shamsher Bahadur Singh, Nagarjuna, Rangey Raghav, Bhavani Prasad Mishra and Narendra Sharma. The renowned Indian novelist Prem Chand is known to have declared as early as 1919 that he was almost wholly convinced by the Bolshevik principles.

The emergence from the Second World War of a mighty socialist camp headed by the Soviet Uuion, proved to be the biggest single factor in disintegration of the colonial system of the West and the rise of many independent nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America. A new era of understanding, mutual respect and friendship developed between India and the Soviet Union when the former became independent. From these bonds of friendship—the fruits of the Great October—both countries have been immensely benefitted. The Indo-Soviet friendship has also been instrumental in serving a wider cause of world peace.

---

1. रामकृष्ण गोपाल भिडे, रशियन लोकशाही चा संस्थापक निकोलाय लेनिन, बम्बई, 1922।
2. हसन अज़ीज़ भोपाली रहनुमाए हुरियत यानी लेनिन और इंक़लाबे रूस, लाहौर, 1922।
3. G.V. Krishna Rao, *Nikolai Lenin—His Life and Activities*, Madras 1921.
4. M.B.L. Bhargava, *Lenin*,Lucknow, 1932.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

D. Awasthi

ROLE OF UTTAR PRADESH PEASANTRY IN THE INDIAN NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT (1918-1922)

The new spirit of revolt against the British rule which had caught the masses of India and was now gathering momentum with every passing day, was an offshoot of a world-wide phenomenon--the World War I. It shook the foundations of colonialism as the entire continent of Asia woke up from its age-old slumber to wage a heroic struggle for national liberation. Struggle for national independence became the watchword of every country. Among the manifold pronouncements made by the Allied powers from time to time during the War was their allusion to the right of national self-determination which roused hopes that were not to be fulfilled among the peoples in the colonies. This, in turn, led to an unprecedented national upsurge against colonialism. Indeed, so great was the frustration caused by the failure of the colonial powers to honour their promise to give freedom to the peoples under their rule that even moderate ranks of Indian leadership could not escape the all-pervading mood which regarded militant nationalism as the only effective weapon for the speedy achievement of their freedom. Extremists, on the other hand, were willing to discord their terroristic methods realising that, not the sporadic acts of violence, but a concerted mass action was the need of the hour. Time was ripe for the birth of a new political philosophy in which the outstanding tenets of both the rival groups (Moderates and the Extremists) could be welded into a compact whole. A rapproachement was easy and Lucknow Congress of 1915 brought these two streams of Indian nationalism together. Soon after consolidating its internal position, Indian National Congress was able to conclude another agreement with its nation-wide political rival--the Muslim League. These two agreements--one between the two sections of the Congress, and the other with the Muslim League--were of tremendous political importance, Politically now the country became united and many of the earlier internal dissensions disappeared. As a result of this, the freedom movement received a powerful impetus. Viewed in this perspective the appearance of Gandhi with his gospel of *satyāgraha* and mass action was extremely opportune. Gandhiji entered the political stage with his programme of mass action which had been given a trial in South Africa. The programme as developed by Gandhi and adopted by the Congress in September 1920 had the following items :

1. Surrender of titles and honorary offices and resignation of nominated posts in local bodies;

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

2. Refusal to attend government levees, durbars and other official and semi-official functions held by government officials, or in their honour;
3. Gradual withdrawal of children from sehools and colleges in the various provinces;
4. Gradual boycott of British courts by lawyers and litigants and establishment of private arbitration courts by them for the settlement of private disputes;
5. Refusal on the part of the military, clerical and labouring classes to offer themselves as recruits for service in Mesopotamia;
6. Withdrawal by the candidates from election to the reformed councils and refusal on the part of the voters to vote for any candidate who may, despite the congress advice. offer himself for election;
7. Boycott of foreign goods.[1]

The above programme became very popular and the whole nation responded enthusiastically to the call of Gandhiji. "There was a tremendous feeling of release there, a throwing off of a great burden, a new sense of freedom. The fear that had crushed them retired into the background, and they straightened their backs and raised their heads."[2]

The struggle soon gathered momentum. Towards the end of 1920 the political sky was overcast. In the United Provinces the movement began in November 1920.[3] The extremists devoted most of their time "to impassioned appeals to city mobs to non-co-operate with Government."[4] Thousands of persons courted arrest in the United Provinces. Among them Paddit Motilal Nehru was prominent. The liquor and foreign cloth shops were picketed and government offices and schools boycotted.[5]

Though the movement had little success at first, yet unrest was carried to many places where it was formerly unknown and found fertile soil among discontented peasants and workers. The United Provinces of Agra and Awadh was the third strong centre of the peasant movement in India, the other two being Malabar and Panjab where the struggle took a religious form in the Mopalah and Akali movements respectively. But the peasants of the United Provinces whom the national movement had awakened to wage a struggle in defence of their rights, did not fight under any religious banner. The cause of discontentment among them, in

1. Tendulkar, Mahatma, in Eight Volumes, Vol. II, 12-13.
2. Nehru, J. L., 'Jawahar Lal Nehru—An Autobiography', p. 69.
3. The 'New India', Madras, November 18, 1920; p. 7.
4. *ROAOUPAO* 1921-22. p. iv.
5. Pandey, B.N., 'Allahabad—Retrospect and Prospect', p. 30.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Awadh particularly, was the lack of fixity of tenure. Land was leased to the highest bidder irrespective of the interest and stakes of those who were in possession of it before. The landlords and *taluqdars* exacted money from the peasants through various means. Poor tenants had to "pay for every 'special expenditure' that they (the landlords) incurred, for instance, a marriage in the family, a party to the Governor or other high officials, purchase of a car or an elephant."[6] The Royal Commission on Agriculture pointed out that the pauperisation of peasantry in the United Provinces was greater than any other province in India. The daily wage of an agricultural labourer varied between 1.5 to 4 As. a day, whereas in Panjab it was 12 As.[7] Poverty and hunger resulted in the spread of terrible epidemics like cholera, plague and smallpox, *etc.* Malaria also took a heavy toll of life. In Agra and Awadh, there died one million people from Malaria alone. Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru truly presented the condition of the peasantry in U.P. in the following words :

> "Their innumerable tales of sorrow, their crushing and ever-growing burden of rent, illegal exactions, ejectments from land and mudhut, beatings; surrounded on all sides by vultures who preyed on them--zemindar's agents, money lenders, police toiling all day to find that what they produced was not theirs and their reward was kicks and curses and a hungry stomach."[8]

It was, therefore, not surprising that the peasants of the United Provinces should have come out in a rebellious mood. The wave of unrest among them which arose during the World War I, grew stronger during 1920-21 as a consequence of crop failure, hunger and epidemic, and also a new rise in the national movement in the whole country.

In 1919-20 constant clashes took place between the police and the police and the peasants. These were described in official documents as clashes with dacoits. But soon unrest seized almost all the regions of the United Provinces acquiring greater intensity in Awadh where the process of impoverishment of peasant tenants and their eviction from land was particularly high. In the autumn of 1920, peasant unrest began in the district of Partabgarh in Awadh where some *Kisan* leaders were arrested on a petty offence'. *Kisan Sabhas* sprang up in the villages for conducting the peasant movement in various districts.[9] National Panchayats were also formed there at the popular initiative which had the powers of

6. These exactions were given special names '*Motrauna*' (Tax for the purchase of a motor car), '*Hathauna*' (Tax for the purchase of a *hathi* or elephant), *etc*.

   Vajpeyi, J. N., 'The Political Movement in India', Vol. I, p. 258.
7. Documents of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, Vol. I, p. 206.
8. Nehru, J. L., 'Jawahar Lal Nehru—An Autobiography', p. 52.
9. *ROAOUPAO*, 1921-22; p. xvii.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

trying cases and inflicting fines and punishments.[10] The *Kisan Sabha* movement became so powerful that the peasants of Partabgarh enforced the authorities to release their arrested leaders- Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru has referred to this incident in his 'Autobiography'. The arrested *Kisan* leaders "were to be tried in Partabgarh town but on the day of the trial a huge concourse of peasants filled the court compound and lined the route to the gaol where the accused leaders were kept. The magistrate's nerve gave way and he postponed the trial to the next day. The *kisans* can easily carry on for a few days on a handful of parched gram. Ultimately the *kisan* leaders were discharged perhaps after a formal trial inside the gaol".[11]

From Partabgarh the peasant movement soon spread to Faizabad and the southern *tahsils* of Rae Bareli districts, where "itinerant lecturers roamed during November and December 1920"[12] and stirred up the peasants against the *Taluqdars*. As compared to Partabgarh and Faizabad, this unrest acquired a serious character in Rae Bareli district, where the indignant peasants destroyed the crops and property of the landlords on January 2nd and 3rd, 1921.[13] According to the Government Administration Report, on the 5th January a landlord was beseiged in his house by a mob of 3,000 and was only saved by the arrival of the police force. Dacoities and attacks on bazars were perpetrated in increasing numbers and on the 6th, a violent mob was fired upon at Fursatganj.[14] Some of *kisan* leaders were arrested. To get them released, peasants marched to Rae Bareli town and staged a mass demonstration on January 7.[15] At Munshiganj also the police opened fire on the demonstrators killing many of them. But the peasants continued their agitation and attacked some police men. Firing was resorted again.[16] "Government tried to crush by hundreds of arrests and other methods both the agrarian and the Congress movements, in the rural areas of Rae Bareli and Partabgarh".[17]

In Fyzabad district the peasants started the agitation on January 12, 1921.[18] They looted the *bazaar*, about 30 villages and the property of a Taluqdar saying that "it was the wish of Mahatma Gandhi that they

10. Non Co-operation courts called 'National Panchayats' were established in U.P. during this time.
ROAOUPAO 1921-22, p. (lv); vide also The 'Aaj', Banaras, May 22, 1921, p. 2.
11. Nehru, J.L., 'Jawahar Lal Nehru.—An Autobiography' pp. 59-60; Vide also; Nanda, B.R., 'The Nehrus-Motilal and Jawaharlal', p. 180.
12. *ROAOUPAO* 1921-22, p. xvii.
13. *Ibid.*, p. iv.
14. *Ibid.*, loc. cit.
15. *Ibid.*, op. cit.; Vide also Nehru, Jawahar Lal, 'Jawahar Lal Nehru—An Autobiography', p. 60
16. *Ibid.*, loc. cit.
17. *Ibid.*, loc. cit.
18. *ROAOUPAO* 1921-22; p.v.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

should loot and they willingly agreed to carry out this behest, shouting, 'Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai' in the process'"[19].

During the course of this long struggle in Awadh, a league of the peasants against landlords, which called itself *Eka* League, was formed. At its head stood simple peasants like Pasi Madari[20] and Sahrab[21] belonging to lower castes. Programme of the *Eka* was published in the Indian Daily News of 10th March, 1922. It called upon the peasants not to abandon their fields when an attempt was made to evict them illegally; to pay only fixed rents and demand receipt for its payment; not to work for landlords without payment; and to demand right to free use of pastures, ponds and jungles.[22] The *Eka*, however, did not give a call for radical changes in the system of land tenure. But soon the movement grew out of its programme and turned itself into a peasant war. In Hardoi district more than 100 peasants, armed with *lathis* and stones, attacked the houses of zamindars. Police fired, resulting in death of several persons. Few days after, in the Bara Banki district, the *Eka* League organised its meeting in which the leaders openly called for the expulsion of the British and murder of the District Magistrate.[23] The administration took all measures so as to localise and suppress the movement. To Awadh was sent additional battalion of mobile infantry. In the whole province truckloads of troops and cavalry patrolled. Mass arrests were made and trials held. These violent methods were not approved by the Congress.[24] In its appeal to peasantry the Congress stressed that they should not refuse to pay legal rents and other dues to landlords. Refusal to pay rents to the landlords would be immoral.[25]

The administration dealt with the *Eka* movement with great severity. The movement was suppressed, but the government was forced to give special attention to the problems of peasantry. Jaffery quotes the report of the military commander incharge for suppression of the *Eka* mevement,

19. *Ibid.*, loc. cit., Vide also Nehru, Jawahar Lal, 'Jawahar Lal Nehru—An Autobiography', p. 61.
20. The 'Times' London, 13 March 1922.
21. The Life of Nationalities, 1922, No. 14/149, p. 14, cited in Balabushevich, V. V, and Dyakov, A.M., A Contemporary History of India, (Delhi 1964), p. 82.
22. V. Moskalyov, The National Revolutionary Movement in India, 1919-22; (Historical Journal, Moscow, 1940, No. 2, p. 85.) cited in Balabushevich, V.V , and Dyakov, A.M., A Contemporary History of India, (Delhi 1964), p. 82.
23. The 'Times', London, March 13, 1922.
24. One important feature of the peasant movement in U.P. was its connection with urban non-cooperation movement. Peasants went to towns to demonstrate. To quote Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, "Most of the principal workers were common to the two movements. "(Nehru, J.L., 'Autobiography', p. 61) It is significant to note here that the peasant movement in Awadh threw its own leaders and its peculiar demands which were different from the demands made by the National Congress.
25. Balabushevich, V.V., and Dyakov, A.M., A Contemporary History of India, (Delhi, 1964), p. 83.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

that the movement was serious "and endangered the very basis of the traditional system of land tenure and the administration"[26]. The authorities were, therefore, forced to make concession to the Awadh tenants. They conceded to a certain extent the complaints of the peasants against the arbitrariness of zamindars. Special investigation was made into the question of rent in Awadh. As a result of it the administration in the United Provinces adopted the 1921 Act about rent in Awadh.[27] According to the new law the permanent tenants were given the right of possession of land for their whole life. However, majority of the peasants of Awadh were temporary tenants and sub-tenants whom the landlords continued as before to exploit mercilessly and evict at will. The Act did not apply to the sub-tenants and temporary tenants. Later on, the administration of the United Provinces itself was forced to recognise in its official memorandum that the new law was far from complete.[28]

In the wake of the peasant movement and labour unrest came the visit of the Prince of Wales in India.[29] In United Provinces he was everywhere met with *hartals* and deserted streets. "Allahabad", writes Jawahar Lal Nehru, "when he came, seemed to be a city of dead".[30] Due to this boycott the Congress volunteer corps was declared unlawful and illegal by the Government, but this notification did not stop the people in the United Provinces from enlisting themselves as volunteers.[31] To quote Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru's words on defying the above-referred notification in United Provinces, "we took up the challenge and not only announced that our volunteer organization would continue to function, but published lists of names of volunteers in the daily newspapers. The first list was headed by my father's name. He was not a volunteer but, simply for the purpose of defying the Government order he joined and gave his name."[32]

When Gandhiji's plan of srarting the civil disobedience movement was about to be launched, there was a violent eruption on January 4, 1922, in the United Provinces, known as the tragedy of Chauri Chaura.[33] A mob of several thousands attacked the Chaura police station with stones and set fire to its building. About 23 policemen died in this incident.[34]

26. Jaffery, S.N.A., History and State of Landlords and Tenants in the United Provinces, (Allahabad, 1922), p. 181.
27. *ibid*; loc. cit.
28. Memorandum submitted by the Government of United Provinces to the Indian Statutory Commission, (London, 1930), p. 77.
29. Prince of Wales, subsequently King Edward VII and the Duke of Windsor visited India in November 1921.
30. Nehru, Jawahar Lal, 'Autobiography', p. 80.
31. Sitaramaiyya, P., History of the Indian National Congress, Vol. I, p. 221.
32. Nehru, Jawahar Lal, 'Autobiography', p. 79.
33. Chauri Chaura is in Gorakhpur District in Uttar Pradesh.
34. *ROAOUPAO* 1921-22; p. viii.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Two days after this incident another tragedy occurred in Bareilly district when about 5,000 volunteers went in a procession through the city defying a ban. The mob attempted to seize the Town Hall. A charge by the police was met with volleys of brickbats. The situation remained threatening until military assistance was called in.[35]

This is in a nutshell the picture of ferment and unrest in the United Provinces during 1918-1922. It was, in fact, a period of great national unrest. The equanimity of the British Government was put to a serious trial. Butler's nerve's (who was Governor at that time) were specially subjected to an unprecedented strain in the United Provinces, for the region gave the nationalist forces of the country a lead. It was not only the home of leaders like the Nehrus, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, but a leader like Mahatma Gandhi constantly concentrated his attention on this area. Politics here was intense and multifaced and all-India problems emerged nowhere in clearer relief than here. Butler tackled the situation not with the use of force alone, but also by showing a sympathetic appreciation of the genuine grievances of the peasantry. The Oudh Tenancy Act bears an eloquent testimony to his sound statesmanship.

35. *ibid*; loc. cit.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

K.C. Yadav

ROLE OF THAKUR PRATAP SINGH OF KULU IN THE UPRISING OF 1857

There are many Indian heroes whose brave efforts to throw off the British yoke in 1857 have been left unrecorded. Thakur Pratap Singh of Kulu, the subject of this paper, is one of them. He played a very significant role in ousting the British from the hilly region of Himachal Pradesh.

Pratap Singh was a descendant of the ruling family of Kulu. His father, Kishan Singh had forwarded his claims to the gaddi of Kulu after his elder brother, Sansar Chand's death in 1821 ; but he was successfully opposed by Jodhbir Singh, an illegitimate child of the decreased raja.[1] In consequence, Pratap Singh's early life was not a happy one. In his youth, he took to the profession of arms and held a high rank in the military service of a Sikh chief, Sardar Lehna Singh, and fought against the British in the first Sikh Campaign of 1845-46. He was supposed to have been killed in the battle of Aliwal. On such belief, a small pension and some land were settled on his widow with the title of Rani.[2]

In 1855, after a lapse of 10 years, Pratap Singh appeared in the village of Tirmali near Kulu and put forward his claims for the gaddi of Kulu once again. But the British Government did not consider his demand.[3] Pratap Singh took up his abode in Sheoraj, a considerable village in the proximity of Kulu. He gathered around him a small retinue and lived with princely splendour. His forceful personality soon made him popular and won unofficial recognition of his right to rule over the Kulu parganas. Several villagers refused to pay revenue to raja Jodhbir Singh and paid to Mian Pratap Singh instead.[4] On two occasions, Pratap Singh led popular demonstrations in his favour. The Deputy Commissioner of Kangra took exception to such attempts on his part and "warned against making any public appeal of this nature."[5] Further, he was asked to part with the armed retinue and extravagant mode of

1. Report of Major Taylor, the Deputy Commissioner of Kangra, vide *Punjab Government Records*, Vol. VIII-I, pp. 208-9. The account of Cave-Brown, *Punjab and Delhi in* 1857, Vol. I, pp. 305, is quite defferent from what has been given by Taylor. Even some of his names are disagreeing with those found in the records furnished by Taylor. Taylor being quite closer and nearer to Pratap Singh, his accounts seem to be more authentic.
2. *Foreign Secret Consultations*, Nos. 33-36, September 25, 1857 (N.A.I. Delhi); Cave-Brown, vol. I, p. 305; *Punjab Government Records*, vol. VIII-I, pp. 208-9.
3. *Foreign Secret Consultations*, Nos. 33-36, September, 25, 1857.
4. *Ibid* ; Cave-Brown, vol. 1, p. 305.
5. Cave-Brown, vol. I, p. 305.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

life, as they did not "suit his position." He was further warned that he would be only tolerated on condition if he lived peaceably.[6] A strict watch was posted on him.[7]

On hearing the news of the out-breaks of mutinies at Ambala, Meerut, Delhi, Ferozepur, etc., Thakur Pratap Singh decided to oust the British from the hilly region of Himachal Pradesh. Hay, the Deputy Commissioner of Simla, asked him not to oppose the British and requested him to extend substantial help to them. Pratap Singh did not give any reply to this[8] and at once raised the standard of revolt. He set up his independent *raj* of *Kulu* and made Teerah, a considerable town near Kulu, as its headquarters. Assuming the title of *raja*, he appoined Surat Ram, son of an old wazir of Kulu raj, his Prime Minister. He sent emissaries to all the head men of the villages in the Kangra district. He reminded them of the hereditary claims of his family to their loyality, bade them to come along with their followers and side with him against the British authorities, who were all out to destroy their religion. Besides that, he got the news circulated far and wide that the British rule was at an end and all the Europeans at the big stations in India had been massacred.[9]

The Thanedar of Teerah was entirely in Pratap Singh's hands. Conseauently he did not send any report against him to the district authorities. But Hay, the Deputy Commissioner was suspicious of his activities for a quite long time before He transferred the thanedar to Shahpur and placed a trusted Mohammadan Thanedar in his place at Teerah. Since that time of June, 1857, the district autuorities "received excellent intelligene of Raja Pratap Singh's movements."[10] A lot of seditious correspondence was intercepted, oral and written evidence was collected from various sources; and it became perfectly clear to the authorities that Pratap Singh kindled the flames of sedition throughout the region. Not only that, he had been "drawn within his influence several of the neighbouring chiefs, and the whole district was in danger," a danger which was only averted by the timely discovery of the whole plot.[11]

With great caution and tact, Pratap Singh was arrested along with his brother-in-law Bir Singh while he was unvigilantly moving in the vicinity of Sultanpur. He was immediately sent off to Kangra where he was tried by a commission, found guilty and received the extremist

6. *Foreign Secret Consultations*, Nos. 33-36, September 25, 1857.
7. Cave-Brown, vol., I, p. 307.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Report of Lord Hay, the Deputy Commissioner of Simla, vide *Punjab Government Records*, vol. VIII–I, pp. 208-9.
10. *Foreign Secret Consultations*, Nos.33-36, September 25, 1857.
11. *Punjab Government Records*, vol. VIII-I, pp. 208-9.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

penalty of Act XVI of 1857, death by being hanged.[12] His brother-in-law, Bir Singh also met the same fate, while other chief followers got imprisonment according to the degrees of their guilt.[13]

The Jagir and pension of Rani Ramputtu, wife of Pratap Singh, were confiscated. A smaller pension, just sufficient to keep her and her infant son safe from starving, was given to her. Besides that, she was removed from Kulu and the house in which Pratap Singh lived was razed to the ground so that its ruins might remain as "a monument of his unsuccessful attempt at rebellion."[14]

12. Cave-Brown, vol. I, p. 307.
13. *Foreign Secret Consultations*, Nos. 33-36, September 25, 1857.
14. *Ibid.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Mahendrapal Singh

VILLAGE UNDER THE MUGHALS

In contemporary Persian Chronicles we find the words *deh*, *mauza* and *qariyut* synonymously used for a village.[1] It was the lowest unit of land revenue administration.[2] It comprised *abadi* (area under habitation), arable land, *banjar* (barren-land), pools, *nullah*, forest, pasture land and also waste land. Generally, the boundaries of the village were clearly demarcated.[3] While the areas of the villages widely varied, an average village had more than one thousand *bighas* of arable land.[4] The land under cultivation was divided into plots and they were separated and marked by raised demarcations or by thorny fences on all sides. The peasants used to call their fields by distinct names for their convenience.[5]

For the purpose of general as well as fiscal administration a number of villages were grouped into a pargana. The number of villages in a pargana varied from five to five hundred.[6] The *Shiqdar* (*Amil*),[7] *Qanungo*[8] and *Chaudhari*[9] were the main government officials at the pargana level to deal with village affairs.

The Village inhabitants

An ordinary village consisted of, in addition to a large number of peasants engaged in cultivation, who had *malikana* right in their lands, three other classes of inhabitants, namely landless labourers, professional men and recipients of charity.[10]

Peasants

The peasants ordinarily fell into three categories : the first category was of the peasants who had large holdings of land. They never cultivated their holdings themselves. The second category was of the middle

1. See Ali Muhammed Khan, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, ed. Nawab Ali, Barada, Vol. I, pp. 173-4; Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*. ed. Blockmann, Vol. I, p. 285.
2. *Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Alamgiri* written in first regnal year of Aurangzeb, F. 41.
3. *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 200; *Diwan-i-pasand*, F. 7 b. (Aligarh MS.)
4. *Diwan-i-pasand*, F. 8 a.
5. *Allahabad Documents* No. 302 (Central Document Records Office U.P. Allahabad.
6. See *Mirat, Supplement*, pp. 188-200.
7. Bayazid, *Tadkhira-i-Humayan wa Akbar*, ed. M. Hidayat-Husain, Calcutta, 1941, pp. 278-6. 299
8. Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Bib. Ind. (Calcutta, 1873-87) Vol. II, p. 270, *Ain*, I, p. 347.
9. *Mirat*, I, p. 263.
10. See Moreland, *The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, p. 160.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

class of peasants, who used to till their lands themselves. The third category was of those peasants who had small holdings of land as their own and generally used to work in the fields of other peasants on contract or *batai* basis.

The peasants of a village belonged most often to one caste or a division or sub-division of a caste. They claimed the same ancestry and thus belonged to the same *bhaiyachārā* or fraternity.[11] This fraternity by invoking ties of blood, bound the peasants in unity for stronger than could be expected among mere neighbours. Those, who did not belong to the fraternity and did not live in the village, but cultivated land belonging to it, were put in a separate class and were know as *paikāsht*.[12]

Landless labourers

The second class of village inhabitants consisted of landless labourers. Their numbers were quite large.[13] They used to work in the fields of other peasants both on daily as well as monthly wages. And, if there was no work in the village they lived in, they could go to other villages in search of work in both seasons, e.g; *rabi* and *kharif*.

The Village menials

The professional men, a hereditary class, formed the third group of village inhabitants. The used to provide the peasants with the articles of farming and of domestic use. Almost every craft was the business of a separate caste and usually there was one family of a particular profession in a village. Such professional men were carpenters, blacksmiths, potters, dhanaks, chamars, weavers, washermen, *etc*. They were remunerated by methods which bear the stamp of antiquity. They usually had a claim on peasant's crops, assessed sometimes on the areas sown, sometimes on produce gathered and sometimes on the number of ploughs. Usually they were paid in kind. Apart from the seasonal or annual dues, many of them were allowed to cultivate small plots of land, retaining the entire produce for themselves.

Charity-recipients

The recipients of charity, the fourth class, were very few in number. They used to enjoy the entire produce of the land granted to them by the state as free of revenue.

Types of villages

In the revenue accounts of the period the villages have been classified under two sets of categories namely *asli* and *dakhili* on one hand and

11. Moreland, *Agrarian System* pp. 160-68; see also Baden-Powell, *Village Community*, p. 274; Irfan Habib; *The Agrarian System of Mughal India*; p. 123.
12. Moreland; *Agrarian System*; p. 161 and footnote; *U.P. Zamindari Abolition Committee*; *Report;* I; p. 82.
13. For details see Moreland; *India at the Death of Akbar*; pp. 104-7.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

raiyati and *taálluqa* on the other. This classification was made, most probably, to serve as an index for ascertaining the agrarian conditions of a pargana for the purpose of revenue assessment and also to facilitate the work of assigning jagirs to the mansabdars of various grades. In a document, entitled *Tumar-i-bar-amad-i-jama*, contained in *Siyaqnama*,[14] this classification is very clearly indicated. It shows that pargana Fatehpur in Sarkar Faizabad (Subah Oudh) had seventeen villages. Out of them thirteen were *asli* and four *dakhili*.[15] Two mauzas are shown as deserted (*wiran-i-sanwat*) for the last few years. Of the remaining fifteen villages in actual existence six were entirely held in *aimma* right, that is to say, free of rent (granted as *madad-i-maash*).

In the same work the villages are shown under two main heads that is *riyati* and *taálluqa*. Out of the seventeen villages eight are mentioned as *raiyati*, comprising seven *asli* and one *dakhili*. Two of the *raiyati* villages were held in *aimma* right and two were deserted. Thus only four *raiyati* villages were duly assessed against a *jama* of Rs 659.9. As against the eight *raiyati* villages nine were designated *taálluqa*. Four of these taálluqa villages were held in *aimma* right and five comprising two *asli* and three *dakhili* villages were assessed against a *jama* of Rs. 1600.[16] It is thus clear that in the accounts of the period every village in the pargana was either *asli* or *dakhili* and it belonged to either of the two categories namely *raiyati* or *taálluqa*.

Asli and Dakhili villages

The term *asli* according to the *Khulasat-us-Siyaq* denotes a village which had habitation of its own, while the term *Dakhili* was applied to a village which had become deserted and its area had been incorporated into some other village.[17] The two definitions of *asli* and *dakhili* villages, as noted, seem to differ, but a close examination will show that they were not incompatible. It may be that terms were used for a variety of situations, and whereas at one place dakhili signified a village which no longer existed ; its area having been completely incorporated into the adjoining village, in other places such a village still had some dwelling on its site but it could not be regarded as a fully developed village. We can visualise a village not completely deserted but reduced to a collection of few houses referred to in some places as *purwa* or *pura*. Generally these *purwas* or *puras* were attached to the neighbouring *asli* village. In course of time, the bulk of land of the *Dakhili* village was brought under cultivation by the people inhabitating the adjoining *asli* village which might have been

14. See Munshi Nand Ram Kayasth, *Siyaqnama,* A.D. 1694. Lithographed Ed. Nawal Kishore (Lucknow, 1879) pp. 37-39.
15. *Dastur-ul-Amal-i-Shahanshahi* (written in Shahjahan's period), ff; 25a-27b.
16. *Siyaqnama*, pp. 37-39.
17. *Khulastu-s Siyaq*, (A.D. 1703), (Aligarh M.S. Sri S. Sulaiman Collection 410/ 143; f. 22b.)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the original settlement and was still a fully developed village. In assessing the land of the *dakhili* village and in collecting the land revenue due against it, the officer would naturally deal with the man who inhabitated the *asli* village. It was, therefore, more methodical to treat the *dakhili* village as a part or a dependency of the *asli* village. It, therefore, can be said that the *dakhili* village was what to day is called a *numberi mauza*, which may contain a few houses or may have been completely deserted, but complete entries about the area of the land within it are separately maintained.

It has been noted above that the villages within a pargana were also classified under the heads of *raiyati* and *táalluqa*. The two terms require an explanation and an examination of these may be of considerable help in clearing many points concerning the land relationship between the king and the subject.

Raiyati village

In the administrative documents the word *raiyati* very frequently occurs and literally it seems something pertaining to the subject or the ruled people. Technically, *raiyati* villages were those where the peasants had *malikana* rights inland and where no *zamindar* existed. Throughout the Mughal period the division batween *raiyati* and *zamindari* villages was well established and their rights were mutually exclusive. Where one existed, the other could not. In an administrative manual, written in the province of Delhi, the land of a village is divided into self-cultivated land of the zamindars (*khud-kashta-i-zamindaran*) and *raiyati*.[18] As noted above, *Siyaqnama* (written in Allahabad province) also classifies the villages of a purgana as *táalluqa* (under *táalluqadars*) and *raiyati*.[19]

From the statement of *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*[20] and its *Supplement*, it appears that there were three categories of villages in Gujarat, namely the villages which were in the *zamindari* of *big zamindars* who held a pargana or more than a pargana. These were the *ghair-a-mali* villages or the villages where the land revenue was not directly assessed on the village lands by Mughal government. Secondly there were villages in the *táalluqas* of *táaluqudars* and these *táalluqas* contained two type of villages *banth* and *talapad*.[21] *Banth* was that the revenue of which was retained by the *táalluqadar* and *talpat* was that the revenue of which went to the imperial treasury. Besides the above mentioned categories there were the lands and villages

18. *Dastur-al-Amal-i-Navisindagi,* (written in Shahjahan's period), f. 183a.
19. See for details *Siyaqnama*, FF. 35, 36, 38, 39 and c.
20. Mirat, I, pp. 173-74; see also *Mirat, Supplement* pp. 228-229.
21. In Gujrat the *banth* as it was called, was the fourth part of the entire territory of a *zamindar* of which the entire revenue he used to retain for himself. The remaining portion of his possession was known as *talpad*. It was under Imperial administration and here *zamindar* was merely an intermidiary. For details see *Mirat*, I, pp. 173-74 and also p. 285.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

which have been described as *talpad* and *dehat-i-raiyati* respectively. These lands and villages were directly under the control of the government and in them the imperial regulations about the assessment and collection were fully enforced and the government officers dealt with those who held the land or were acknowledged as *malik* of the land.

In the *raiyati* villages peasants had *malikana* right in land. This right was hereditary. They could mortgage or sell their lands and also could retain a claim in the produce even when they did not cultivate or did not engage for land revenue on their lands. They had the right to take back their lands even though they have not cultivated their lands for sometime.[22] In the *raiyati* areas the *chaudhari*, the pargana headman, and the *Muqaddam*, the village headman, also figured as the collector of land revenue from the peasant. In the administrative manuals they are also mentioned as *zamindars*. For the service they rendered they were paid by allowing them commission of 2½ per cent. in the revenue they collected which was known as *rasum-i-muqarrar*.[23]

Táalluqa village

In Mughal domains, as noted above. there existed two types of *zamindars*; big *zamindars* and ordinary *zamindars*. Big *zamindars* were autonomous chiefs, paid fixed annual tribute and held the whole area of their *zamindari* as their own. Their areas were outside thet erritories directly under imperial administration.[24] Ordinary zamindars had small holdings and they lay within imperial territories. They were variedly known as *táalluqudars* in Gujarat,[25] *Bhumias* in Rajputana,[26] *Satarahi* and *biswi* or *hisi* in Awadh[27] generally *zamindars* throughout the Mughal Empire.

By the later half of the 17th century the term *táalluqadar* is most commonly used in administration documents,[28] to designate an ordinary *zamindar* as payer of land revenue. *Táalluqudar* means the holder of

22. For details about the raiyati rights of peasantry see the text of the farman issued to Muhammad Hashim Diwan of Gujrat under Aurangzeb in the 11th year. The text of the farman is preseved in *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, vol. I, pp. 268-272.
23. For details see the farman issued to Rasikdas Karori in the 8th year of Aurangzeb's reign. Prof. Sarkar's translation in his book "*Mughal Administration*" pp. 190-198.
24. See for details *Akbarnama*, Vol. III, p. 533; Abdul Hamid Lahori *Padshanhama*, (Bib. Ind. Calcutta, 1866-72), II. p. 360; Khafi Khan. *Muntukhab-al-Lubab*,(B;b. Ind : Calcutta, 1860-74, 1904-25) II, p. 377; Abul Fazl Mamuri, *Shahjahanama*, f. 179 a; Bhimsen, *Nuskha-i-Dilkhusha*, f. 139b; *Mirat*, I, p. 25 and e.
25. *Mirat*, I, pp. 173-4.
26. See Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, London, 1919. I. pp. 133-36.
27. See *Allahabad Documents* No. 317.
28. See *Documents of Aurangzeb's* reign. Allahabad Document No. 1234; and also see Saqi Mustaid Khan, *Maassir-i-Alamgiri*, p. 206.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

táalluqua; the literal meaning of the latter world is 'connection, but it was used in the sense of land or area over which any kind of *malikana* right was claimed.

Ordinarily a *táalluqadar* was a *zamindar* who contracted to pay land revenue not only for his own *zamindari* villages but also for the *zamindari* of other persons. This arrangement was made by the authorities to avoid dealing with a large number of persons. But strictly he was not *zamindar* of the whole area for which he paid the revenue, only of a part of it and for the rest he was simply an *intermediary* between the *zamindars* and the government. For the group of villages known as *banth* in Gujarat, amounting to one-fourth of the entire possession of a *zamindar* of which he was to pay the revenue, he was *zamindar* and for the remaining third-fourth part known as *talpad* he was merely an *intermediary.* In other words the *banth* were *táâlluqadari* villages and *talpad* were *raiyati.* To be a *táaluqadar*, therefore, was a smaller thing than to be a *zamindar* of the same area, since the latter would hold the whole, and not merely a part, of it in *zamindari* right, in addition to collecting and paying the revenue. This shows that *táalluqadars* were small or ordinary *zamindars.* A passage in the *Fathiya Ibriya* very clearly explains this. It mentions that the claimants to the throne of Arakean who sided with Shaista Khan during Mughal campaign of Chatgaon desired that "If they could not become *rajas*, they might become *zamindars*; if not *zamindars*, then *táalluqdars.*[29]

Village officials

Muqaddam[30] and *patwari* figure in our administrative records as the sole village officials. *muqaddam* was the village headman. Generally one village had one. *muqaddam* but sometimes two or three *muqaddams* could have the join *muqaddami* right of the village. It appears to be an elective office but it may be supposed, that if once the office came into the hands of a rich peasant; he could make it his private property. As such, it was not only hereditary[31] but could also be bought and sold.[32]

In *raiyati* village generally the *muqaddam* enjoyed many powers. Primarily he was the man solely responsible for the payment of revenue assessed on the village.[33] For this service he was remunerated either

29. Shihabu-ddin Talish, *Fathiya-i-Ibraya* (*MS.*) ff, 155b-156a. The first portion of this *MS*. has been printed as *Tarikh-i-Mulk-i Asham*, Calcutta, 1847.
30. Since very early time in medieval Indian histories *muqaddam* has been mentioned as village headman. See Barni, *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Bib. Ind. pp. 288-291 and c. *muqaddam* is an Arabic word meaning the one who is placed first among many For its identification with patel in Deccan see *Ain*, I, p. 479. Abul Fazl at one place uses the word *rais-i-deh* for *muqaddam*. *Ain*, I, p. 285.
31. See Khafi Khan, I, p. 733, Malikzada, *Nigarnama-Munshi* (Litho. *ed*, Nawal Kishore, f. 127b.)
32. Dr. Irfan Habib, p. 136.
33. Ain, p. 285.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

through being assigned two and half percent of the assessed land of the village, to be held by him revenue free, or through a deduction of 2½ per cent from the total revenue collected by him.[34] Sometimes the muqaddam could seize large sums of money through unauthorized collections from the weaker peasants under one pretence or the other.[35] He could also charge commission while distributing taqavi loans.[36]

He was also responsible for the security of travellers and for the crimes committed in the village.[37]

The *muqaddam* was normally a peasant of the some village, but since the office could be purchased, an outsider, even a twonsman could be a *muqaddam.* He was never a government servant. But revenue officers at time could dismiss him for not discharging his duties properly.[38] The *muqaddam* however had enormous power authority and specially in a village where the village panchayat did not exist or was weak.

Patwari

The *patwari* was the village accountant.[39] He was specially called upon to maintain records of the land revenue.[40] He was an employee of the villagers and every village had one.[41] He was remunerated through the assignment of one per cent commission on the revenue of his village.[42] Wherever there was strong village panchayat he used to work as its clerk. However, in certain villages the *patwari* could also have sufficient strength to oppress the small peasantry.[43]

34. *Ain*, I, p. 285, *Mirat*, I, p. 173,
35. See *Aurangzeb's farman to Muhammad Hashim article* 6.
36. Dr. Irfan, p. 255.
37. See Abbas Khan, *Tarikh-i-Sher Shahi*, ff. 110-111a.
38. *Nigarnama-i-Munshi* f. 127b.
39. *Ain*, I, p. 300.
40. *Akbarnama* III, pp. 282-3; *Ain*, I, pp. 286-88.
41. *Ain*, I, p. 300
42. *Ibid.*, He was entitle to half the commission known as *sad-doi-i-qanungo* (the ganungo's commission of 2 per cent).
43. See *Aurangzeb's farman to Muhammad Hashim, articles 6 and 9*. *Mirat* I, pp. 268-272.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

LINGUISTICS

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

J. D. Singh

PROBLEMS OF LANGUAGE TEACHING

The language one chooses to learn may be a standardized form of the variety one speaks. It may be the literary medium in that region, for instance, Hindi for Bangru speaker. Or, it may be a second language (belonging to the same family or to a different one), as Bengali, Marathi, Tamil, English, Chinese, *etc.* for a Hindi speaker. The nature of problems to be confronted will be similar in both the cases. "For the native speaker of sub-standard or dialectal English, the acquisition of standard English is a real problem, akin to that of speaking a foreign language." (Bloom field : Language, p. 499). The difficulties may be minimum in case of a standard variety as compared to a second language.

Objectives

The goal to be realized may be ability to speak, read and interpret or comprehend.

Background

The learner approaches his task equipped with a certain linguistic background. He already speaks some variety of speech. He develops definite phonological and grammatical habits. These are deeply rooted in him as he has acquired them from his very childhood. In learning a new language he is likely to carry these over to the new language. The structures of two languages, however close they may be, are never identical. There will always be certain differences. The learners' problem will be to learn new habits and unlearn old ones or not to let the old habits intrude on the way of acquiring new ones.

The problems relating to language learning may be discussed under following heads :

1. *ACQUISITION OF STRUCTURE*

The learner has to get at the structure of the new language. The child develops language habits all unconsciously. His efforts are spread over a certain stretch of time. The linguistic utterances are presented to him in real situations. In learning a second language the process is essentially the same, except that there is the teacher's hand behind it and he makes some well-thought out planning. It can thus be expedited in certain ways. The learner is also conscious of what he is pursuing. The goal is well set before him. But here too the acquisition of new structure has to come unnoticed, quite surreptitiously. He will have to deal directly only with linguistic utterances and not the structure itself. He will

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

never be required to memorize the bare structure. The linguistic material will be so presented to him as to unfold the structure gradually before him. He imbibes it imperceptibly. Repitition of linguistic patterns and lexical items help him to fix them. The learner by faithful imitation picks up new phonetic habits that enable him to speak like a native. The teaching material is arranged, of course, keeping in view the learner's linguistic background. The items most similar in both the systems are presented first. Gradually new items are introduced. In the course of learning the texts, various points of structure may be explained to him as occasion demands. The process of learning should proceed as naturally as possible without burdening it with the explanations of structural points too often.

2. *INTERPRETATION*

The learner should get the feel of the language. He must be able to comprehend what the speech sounds stand for. The material may be presented in real situations as pointed above, so that the learner could interpret it himself without much difficulty and is able to correlate it to actual social environments. Use of pictures, *etc.* may be made to the fullest extent. Translation method be avoided as far as possible. Often this method results wrong habits and clouds a clearer view of the structure. It is difficult to achieve even near consistency in the translation of simple words or phrases of common frequency. It very often confuses the learner. Note the use of "have" and its Hindi translation in the following expressions. I have a book—mere pas pustək hæ. I have read the book - m̃æne yəh pustak paḍh li hæ. Have you any work with me ? – kya apko mujh se koi kam hæ ? I have to go just now. - mujhe abhi abhi jana hæ. Thus to set up semantic equivalences in learning a language will retard the progress of the learner and blur the picture of structure.

3. *ORTHOGRAPHY*

For reading and writing, a knowledge of the writing system of the language concerned is indispensable. The learner should be introduced to it only when he has thoroughly familiarised himself with the phonemic system of the language. If the script is phonemic there will be exact correspondence between phonemes and graphemes. There will be no particular difficulty in acquiring it. But if the script is not completely phonemic a lot of complications arise. In order to establish proper correlation between the phonemes of the language and its orthography it should be pointed out how a particular phoneme is represented by two or more graphemes, and also, conversely, how a grapheme represents two or more phonemes. We may start with the symbols that consistently stand only for one phoneme. In English orthography /k/ is represented variously by <c. k. ck, ch, q,> etc. Grapheme <c> stands for the phonemes /k/, /s/, *etc.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

4. *ORGANISATION AND PRESENTATION OF MATERIAL*

The teaching material has to be organised keeping in view the structures of both the languages. The learner's linguistic background is very important. One cannot afford not to take it into consideration. A comparison of two systems will reveal the sore points which need special attention and emphasis. The teaching should start with full utterances which should be repeated over and overagain till full control is attained. The whole presentation should be controlled and gradual. Use of Basic Vocabulary and Basic Grammar is most desirable. The content of the reading material be adapted to the intellectual level of the learner. The same material should not be used for the use of childern and adults. When the learner is advanced a little and has a good grasp of the phonemic system of the language the use of written material may be introduced.

5. *PERSONNEL AND MATERIAL AIDS*

The teacher should have proper training in general methods of language teaching, have adequate knowledge of linguistics and preferably a flair for learning languages. If he does not speak the language like a native, a native informant will be necessary for drilling. Audio-visual aids can certainly be pressed into service. We have to make judicious use of them.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

कृपाशंकर सिंह

भोजपुरी[1] के नासिक्य स्वनिम[2]

१. १ भोजपुरी के नासिक्य स्वनिमों को दो भागों में विभक्त किया जा सकता है—अनुस्वार और अनुनासिक। अनुस्वार अक्षरगह्वर[3] के रूप में, तथा अनुनासिक अक्षरशिखर[4] के रूप में प्रयुक्त होते हैं।

२. १ भोजपुरी में सात अनुस्वार हैं। इनमें म म्ह द्वयोष्ठीय, न न्ह वर्त्स्य, ञ कठोरतालव्य तथा ङ ङ्ह कोमलतालव्य हैं। इन अनुस्वारों के उच्चारण में निचला ओष्ठ, जिह्वानोक, जिह्वाग्र, तथा जिह्वापश्च क्रमशः ऊपरी ओष्ठ, वर्त्स, कठोरतालु तथा कोमलतालु को छूकर श्वासवायु को अवरोधित करते हैं, क्षणभर ठहरते हैं और फिर द्रुतता से अलग हो जाते हैं। इस प्रक्रिया के साथ कोमलतालु नीचे की ओर झुका होता है, जिससे वायु नासिका विवर से होती हुई नासा पुटों से निकलती है।

२. २ भोजपुरी में प्रत्येक स्वरों[5] और युक्तस्वरों के अनुनासिक रूप हैं। इनका उच्चारण सम्बन्धित स्वरों के उच्चारण के समान ही होता है। भिन्नता केवल यह है कि इनके उच्चारण के समय कोमलतालु थोड़ा नीचे रहता है, जिससे वायु मुखविवर और नासिकाविवर दोनों से होकर निकलती है।

२. ३ अनुस्वारों में म्ह न्ह ङ्ह के उच्चारण के साथ फूत्कार का झोंका सम्मिलित रहता है अतः ये महाप्राण हैं, म न ञ ङ अल्पप्राण हैं। सभी अनुस्वारों के उच्चारण में स्वरतंत्रियाँ एक दूसरे से मिली होती हैं जिससे श्वासवायु के कारण उनमें झंकृति उत्पन्न होती है। इसलिए घोषत्व की दृष्टि से सभी सघोष हैं।

३. १ **वितरण :**

अनुस्वारों में म्ह, न्ह, ञ शब्द को आदिस्थिति में. ङ, ङ्ह स्वरान्तरीय तथा अन्त्य स्थिति में घटित होते हैं। म, न सभी स्थितियों में पाये जाते हैं। इनका वितरण निम्नलिखित हैं :—

	आद्य		आन्तर		अन्त्य	
।म।	।महिन्ना।	माह	।कमान।	धनुष	।चाम।	चमड़ा
।म्ह।	०		।बाम्हन।	ब्राह्मण	०	
।न।	।नात।	रिश्तेदार	।दाना।	भूजा, भूने हुए अनाज	।बान।	आदत

१. प्रस्तुत निबन्ध पूर्वी उत्तरप्रदेश के आज़मगढ़ ज़िले के पूर्यांचल की बोली से सम्बन्धित है।
२. नैज़ल फ़ोनीम।
३. सिल्‌बिल मार्‌जिन।
४. सिल्‌बिल पीक।
५. भोजपुरी में ८ स्वर तथा २ युक्तस्वर स्वनिम हैं। प्रस्तुत निबन्ध की विषय-सीमा के बाहर होने के कारण इन पर विचार नहीं किया गया है।

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

आद्य		आन्तर		अन्त्य	
।न्ह।	०	।थून्ही।	थून्ही	०	
।ञ।	०	।भुञिआ।	धरती (पर)	०	
।ङ।	०	।ईङुर।	ललाट पर लगाने का रंगीन चूर्ण	।सङ।	साथ
।ङ्ह।	०	।वेङ्हई।	उधार लिया गया बीज	।सङ्ह।	मंडली

३. २ ञ का वितरण संदिग्ध है। भुञिआ बहुधा भुइयाँ की भाँति उच्चरित होता है। इसका कारण सम्भवत: य का ध्वनिविकार[६] रूप है।

३. ३ सभी स्वरों और युक्तस्वरों के अनुनासिक* रूप (दे० २.२) पाये जाते हैं। इनका वितरण इस प्रकार है :—

।ईँ।	।ईँट।	ईंट	।महीनँ।	झीना	।रसोईँ।	रसोई
।इँ।	।इँन्हन।	जलाने की लकड़ी	।कुइँयाँ।	कमल की एक जाति	०	
।एँ।	०		।नेँम।	आदत	०	
।अँ।	।अँकवार।	छाती से लगाना	।कँगना।	कंगन	०	
।आँ।	।आँम।	आम	।माँड़।	उबले हुए चावल के साथ का द्रव	।कहाँ।	कहां
।ऊँ।	।ऊँन।	ऊन	।नूँन।	नमक	।कानूँ।	घरेलू सामान बेचने वाला एक वर्ग
।उँ।	।उँकडू।	उँकडू	।मुँसहर।	एक छोटी जाति	०	
।ओँ।	।ओँम।	ओ३म	।कोँन।	कोना	०	
।अँइ।	।अँइठन।	ऐंठन	।सँइया।	पति	०	
।अँउ।	।अँउजार।	शोर	।मँउनी।	छोटी टोकरी	०	

४. १ **व्यतिरेक**[७]

अनुस्वारों में व्यतिरेक के उदाहरण निम्नलिखित हैं :—

।म।	:	।म्ह।	।बामन।	एक देवता	।बाम्हन।	ब्राह्मण
	:	।न।	।माई।	माता	।नाई।	नाई
।न।	:	।न्ह।	।अनार।	अनार	।अन्हार।	अंधेरा
	:	।ङ।	।सन।	एक पौधा	।सङ।	साथ
	:	।ङ्ह।	।सन।		।सङ्ह।	मंडली
।ङ।	:	।ङ्ह।	।सङ।		।सङ्ह।	

६. ग्लाइड।

*स्वरों की अनुनासिकता चिन्ह द्वारा व्यक्त की गई है।

७. कन्ट्रास्ट

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

४. २ ञ किसी अनुस्वार के साथ व्यतिरेक में घटित नहीं होता। इसका वितरण भी संदिग्ध (दे० ३. २) है। यह अनुस्वार, उक्त बोली में स्वनिम की स्थिति में नहीं है। पर, फिर भी यह किसी स्वनिम का संस्वन[८] नहीं है। यहां इसका पृथक ध्वनीय अस्तित्व स्वीकार किया गया है।

४. ३ निरनुनासिक स्वरों से अनुनासिक का व्यतिरेक इस प्रकार है :—

।ई।	:	।ई˜।	।हीक।	मारना	।ही˜क।	उल्टी डकार
।ए।	:	।एँ।	।गेड़ा।	गेड़ना	।गे˜ड़ा।	गन्ने का ऊपरी हरी पत्तियों वाला भाग
।अ।	:	।अँ।	।कवल।	हृदय	।कँवल।	कमल
।आ।	:	।आँ।	।बास।	गंध	।बाँस।	बांस
।ओ।	:	।ओ˜।	।गोड़।	पैर	।गो˜ड़।	एक जाति

५. १ उपरोक्त विश्लेषण के आधार पर हमारा निष्कर्ष है कि भोजपुरी में म म्ह न न्ह ङ ङ्ह अनुस्वार स्वनिम तथा ~ अनुनासिक स्वनिम हैं। इनमें अनुस्वार स्वनिम खंडीय स्वनिम[९] और अनुनासिक स्वनिम उपरिखंडीय स्वनिम[१०] हैं।

८. अलोफ़ोन।
९. सेगमेन्टल फ़ोनाम।
१०. सुपरासेगमेन्टल फ़ोनीम!

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

PHILOSOPHY AND PSYCHOLOGY

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A. K. Sinha

EPISTEMIC REQUISITES OF THEORY-CONSTRUCTION

The first intellectual endeavour of man to have a consistent world-picture was made through his set of beliefs in the ontological structure of reality. This intellectual adventure being basically speculative in its nature various models of the ontological structure of reality were conceived by various mystics and metaphysicians. In course of time the history of metaphysics became littered with many intellectually useless ontological models of world-hypotheses. This state of affairs continued till almost the end of the nineteenth century. Even the foundations of sciences were under the shadow of the dense ontologic clouds.

Epoch-making intellectual revolutions took place in the turn of the twentieth century. The dense clouds of many intellectually useless belief-systems were dispelled when the first rays of knowledge emerged from the new physical theories of Einstein, Max Planck, and Heisenberg. This was the first dawn of human knowledge after centuries of intellectual effort of mankind. Strictly speaking, therefore, human knowledge which throws light on the foundations of Nature is a little over sixty years old from the present time.

Transformation took place in the cognitive process of mankind from systems of beliefs to empirically verified knowledge through the application of the scientific method. The development of the various strategies of scientifiic method is one of the greatest contributions of the intellectual endeavour of mankind. Knowledge which is obtained through the application of scientific method is represented by the various theories in science.

It is obvious, then, that knowledge is epitomised in scientific theories. Science may be regarded as the quintessence of knowledge. B. F. Skinner defines science as "a search for order, for uniformities, for lawful relations among the events in nature."[1] Science may be defined more comprehensively as "a body of empirical knowledge which corroborates within a certain range of approximation with a given constellation of inter-related valid constructs with reference to a specified region of Nature, and which is ultimately aimed at synthesis and order in experience."[2] The concepts of science are clear and intelligible because they are largely based upon empirical confirmation. The outlook of science is, therefore, free from

1. Skinner, B. F., *Science and Human Behaviour*, New York, The Free Press, 1963 p. 13.
2. Sinha, A.K., 'Sankra's Doctrine of Nescience in the Context of Contemporary Science', *Ritam* (forthcoming).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the intoxicated vision of a mystic or a metaphysician. The scientific outlook has liberated human mind from the burden of various types of dogmas. It has fostered in human mind a sort of intellectual discipline which enables a scientist to have adventure in the realm of ideas in a purposeful manner, and gives him orientation to tie down his theory to Nature.

The Structure of a Theory :

The early Greeks used the term 'theory' in the sense of 'sight seeing'. Horodotus used the term 'theory' in this sense, and meant by it lively curiosity and disinterested inquiry into the nature of reality.[3] In the contemporary period the term 'theory' signifies a little more than intellectual curiosity and disinterested inquiry into the nature of reality. The contemporary scientists maintain that a scientific theory must tally with Nature. According to them, a theory which is far removed from Nature has relatively lesser intellectual value. They, however, make an exception to this general rule, and give sufficient importance to a mathematical theory. A mathematical theory can be constructed on any set of arbitrary definitions provided, of course, it is internally or logically consistent. This type of mathematical theorising refers particutarly to R. Hilbert's formalism according to which transfinite mathematics is merely ideal construction of the human mind. Certain mathematicians, however, maintain that formalist approach of mathametics of the extreme type is untenable.

A scientific theory must necessarily be tied down to Nature. It is based on a few selected experimental results concerning certain phenomena of Nature. P.W. Bridgman maintained that every statement of a scientific theory must be based upon actual measurements of the phenomena of Nature. In his view, the measurement of the phenomena of Nature imparts to a scientific theory an empirical character. A scientific theory is able to make predictions because it based on empirically valid constructs. If a scientific theory fails to make predictions regarding the future course of events which it studies then it has to be discarded. It is obvious, then, that a scientific theory must necessarily have some empirical content. Experience which is obtained through regulated observation and experiment gives insight to a scientist regarding the regularity in the occurence of events and enables him to formulate certain 'laws' of Nature. The aim of a scientific theory consists in the formulation of 'laws' of Nature. A scientific theory originates in the brain of a theorist and it is oriented towards his knowledge of Nature. In brief, a theory relates a person to Nature via his cognitive processes.

Function of Instruments in Theory-Construction

Instruments play a very important role in the construction of a theory. P.W. Bridgman laid a very great emphasis on 'instrumental'

3. Russell, B., *Wisdom of the West*, London, Mcdonald, 1959, p. 13.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

operation' in the construction of a theory. Measurement of phenomena of Nature can be accurately made with the aid of instruments. Instruments assist a human observer in acquiring knowledge of the phenomena of Nature as accurately as possible. An instrument is considered to be good if it measures a phenomenon approximately accurately. No instrument can be regarded as absolutely perfect which can measure a phenomenon without the possibility of any error whatsoever. T.N. Whitehead has suggested a golden rule of measurement which may be stated as follows: "Never measure more than is absolutely necessary."[4] The possibility of error is always there in the measurement of a phenomenon of Nature howsoever ingeniously an engineer or mechanic designs an instrument.

Despite the fact that the possibility of error always lurks in making instrumental measurement of phenomena, human endeavour to construct more and more perfect instruments for gaining deeper and deeper insight into the subtle structure of Nature never stops at any stage. This creative enthusiasm has sustained the human effort to invent more and more complicated instruments for gaining deeper insight into the structure of Nature. Man is today confronted with the baffling complexity of Nature with the aid of the subtle and complicated instruments which he has been able to devise. Instruments have proved to be very useful tools for gaining knowledge of Nature. Instrumental operations have epistemic status in the construction of a scientific theory. Bridgman maintained that knowledge is relative to the operations that are selected.[5] Instrumental operations, in his view, have objectivity because they are carried on certain phenomena of Nature.[6] An instrumental operation reveals that there is a real correspondence between a scientific concept and the phenomenon of Nature on which it is performed.

It is true that definitions of concepts which are based on instrumental operations are empirically valid and meaningful. But it seems that Bridgman over-emphasized the epistemic status of instrumental operations. Human observer plays a very important role in the interpretation of the data obtained through instrumental operation on the phenomena of Nature. The subjective aspect of interpretation of meaning is super-imposed on the pointer readings which are obtained through instrumental operations on phenomena of Nature. Nevertheless, the most important point which may be mentioned here is that instrumental operations impart empirical significance to concepts which are defined on their basis. No item of knowledge can be regarded as empirically

4. Whitehead, T.N., *The Design and Use of Instruments and Accurate Mechanism*, New York, Dover Publications, 1954, p. 57.
5. Bridgman, P.W., *The Logic of Modern Physics*, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1951, p. 25.
6. Bridgman, P.W., *The Nature of Some of Our Physical Concepts*, New York, Philosophical Library, 1952, p. 8.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

corroboroted unless it finally passes through the crucial test of instrumental operation or an operation analogous to it, such as paper and pencil operation. It seems, therefore, that in the present century instrumental operations have the highest epistemological status in the field of knowldge, in the sense that they assist the strategies of human knowledge.

The Nature of Constructs

Concepts are ideas which a human being is capable of conceiving. They may or may not tally with phenomena of Nature. A phantom and a photon are concepts. A phantom is a concept for which no empirical verification is found so far, and in all likelihood its objective existence may never be empirically confirmed. A photon, on the other hand, is a concept for the existence of which there is indirect empirical evidence. A photon is, therefore, an empirically valid concept but a phantom is not an empirically valid concept.

Contemporary scientists usually use the term 'construct' in place of the term 'concept'. They avoid using the term 'concept' because it has certain metaphysical associations. Constructs are intellectual formulations. They are not already found in the immediately given, but they are formed on the basis of the cognitive process of a person, However, constructs must satisfy certain epistemological conditions in order to be admitted as valid. They must be 'observable' in the sense that experimental operations can be made on them in order to establish their empirical status. According to Bergman and Spence, empirical constructs are "retraceable to what one might call the hard data."[7]

Henry Margenau uses the terms 'verifact' for valid construct. In his view, verifacts are capable of being logically manipulated. They have 'logical fertility'.[8] The formal connection between constructs consists in their logical relation. Experience flows into the region of constructs through the rules of correspondence. There is rational ordering of experience through passage from the empirical data to constructs in accordance with the rules of correspondence. Internal neatness, self-consistency and wide applicability are some of the important characteristics of the rules of correspondence. The principles which regulate the rules of correspondence in relating the constructs to Nature are relatively permanent. The epistemic connections link the constructs to empirical data through the rules of correspondence. The rules of correspondence have a two-way passage by which the creator of a theory passes from Nature to the field of constructs, and from the field of constructs back to Nature. Con-

7. Bergman, G., and Spence, K.W., 'Operationism and Theory-Construction', *Psychological Theory*, Ed. M. H. Marx, New York, The Macmillan Co., 1959, p. 59.
8. Margenau, H., *The Nature of Physical Reality*, New York, Mc Graw Hill Book Co., 1950 p. 82.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

structs, therefore, may be regarded as the basic theoretical components of Nature. They are the rational termini of certain rules of correspondence.

Theoretical Constructs

In the contemporary period in some of the highly advanced sciences hypothetical constructs are introduced for bridging certain gaps between experimental variables. Correlation between event processes in Nature holds good not only for the relational chain of sequences that have been experimentally observed, but is also assumed to be valid for the relational sequences of certain phenomena which are yet to be observed. Event processes occur in Nature in relation with many other event processes. A scientist who has knowledge of a particular sequence of event processes through experimental verification may theoretically guess the presence of other unverified event processes which are assumed to be associated with the known event sequences. Quite often the assumed event processes which are guessed to be associated with known event processes are experimentally verified. In this way there is advancement of scientific knowledge; and scientists gain deeper insight into the complex structure of Nature.

Theoretical constructs bridge the gaps between empirical constructs and the unverified and assumed constructs. The range of human knowledge is enhanced with the aid of theoretical constructs. Hempel uses the concept of 'theoretical terms' in the sense of those entities which are not directly observable, such as an electron. He writes, "Theoretical terms usually purport to refer not directly to observable entities and their characteristics."[9] H. Woodrow aptly maintains that there are various types of theoretical terms; and that all of them cannot be placed on the same par from the standpoint of knowledge. In his view, some of the theoretical terms are analogous to animistic notions of the primitive people, while others are of greater theoretical significance. K.W. Spence also holds the same view, and points out that the notion of 'libido' or 'instinct' in psychology is analogous to animistic concepts of the primitive people. Intervening variables, on the other hand, between stimulus and response are theoretical constructs of greater noetic significance in the construction of a theory. Some scientists use the terms symbolic constructs, hypothetical constructs, theoretical constructs and intervening variables as roughly equivalent notions. C.L. Hull uses these terms almost synonymously. K. MacCorquodale and P.E. Meehl have objected to this sort of identification of terms on the ground that it may give rise to confusion, M.H. Marx suggests that in the advanced stages of theory construction hypothetical constructs must be transformed into "operationally purified intervening variables."[10] When intervening variables are operationally

9. Hempel, C. G., 'The Theoretician's Dilemma', Minnesota Studies in the Philosophy of Science, Ed. H. Feigl and M. Scriven, Minneapolis 1968, Vol. II, p. 37.
10. Marx, M.H., 'Hypothesis and Construct', *Psychological Theory*, Ed. M.H. Marx, p. 117.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

defined they acquire theoretical stability. It must be admitted, however, that theoretical constructs play a vital role in a developing and an open theoretical system.

Strategies of Theory-Construction

Theory construction is the aim of intellectual adventure. The construction of a theory is possible through progressive validation of larger number of constructs and through the establishment of their inter-relationship. The procedures of validation of constructs and the strategies of establishing inter-relation between them is a very complex process; and hence, a detailed delineation of this intellectual process is not possible here.

It may be, however, stated briefly that the scientific method is one of the most powerful strategies of theory-construction. An intellectual construction does not attain the status of a scientific theory so long as it does not satisfy some of the essential requirements of scientific method. A scientific theory must not only satisfy the criteria of scientific method, but it must be also capable of being subjected to axiomatization. The axiomatization of a scientific theory takes place when it is reconstructed on the model of a deductive system of knowledge. A theoretical system is placed on an abstract plane when it passes through the stage of axiomatization.

Procedures of Scientific Method

According to C.S. Peirce. there are four important methods of knowing, *viz.*, (i) method of tenacity which consists in dogmatically clinging to obsolete beliefs, (ii) method of authority which consists in accepting the testimony of authoritative persons, books or institutions, (iii) method of intuition (or *a priori* method) which consists in accepting certain notions as self-evident, and (iv) method of science which consists in the validation of concepts concerning certain phenomena of Nature which exists independently of human cognition.[11]

Scientific method is the objective method of gaining knowledge of the phenomena of Nature. There are various self-correcting procedures contained in the structure of a scientific theory. In a scientific theory the possibilities of error are eliminated as far as possible by following the steps of scientific method. The main function of scientific method consists in empirically validating the constructs with which it deals. Empirical confirmation of constructs is the main task of the scientific method. The most important characteristic of scientific method is its 'cyclic nature'. "It starts with facts, ends in facts, and the facts ending one cycle are the beginning of the next cycle."[12]

11. Buchler, J., (Ed.), *Philosophical Writtings of Peirce*, New York, Dover Books, 1955, p. 18.
12. Kemeny, J.F., *A Philosopher Looks at Science*, Princeton, D. Van Nostrand Co.; 1959, p. 86.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In the scientific method various techniques are selected for inquiring into the phenomena of Nature. The study of scientific method is known as 'methodology'. Methodology is also referred to as 'the logic of science'[13] Scientific method is based upon certain fundamental presuppositions which may be briefly stated as follows :

(i) the uniformity of Nature,

(ii) the postulate of Natural kinds, (*i.e.* resemblance as the basis of scientific classification), and

(iii) the postulate of permanence (*i.e.*, permanence or stability in the phenomena of Nature).

These postulates constitute the foundation of scientific method. Understanding of the phenomena of Nature is possible through the application of the scientific method. The following are the basic steps in the scientific method.

(1) Formulation of the problem is the pre-requisite for scientific inquiry, "Knowledge of the problem not only precedes the application of methods ; it determines what methods are appropriate."[14] Scientific advancement cannot take place merely through the Baconian method of collection of empirical facts. M. Cohen aptly writes, "without some guiding idea we do not know what facts to gather."[15] The teological aspect of personality organizes ideas and plans research.

(2) The second important step in scientific method is the collection of the data through systematic and planned observation. The phenomena observed must be subjected to operations for their empirical validity and intelligible definition. The operations which are made on the phenomena of Nature must be repeatable and public in character. The data which are collected are classified, and stated in precise quantitative terms.

(3) The formation of hypotheses is next important step in scientific method. Certain conjectures are made regarding the possible relationship between two or more variables. It is an important criterion of a good hypothesis that the supposed relationship between two or more variables must be measureable when it is finally put to test. A scientific hypothesis must be potentially true, testable and useful. It must fit into the conceptual scheme of a theory. It is a very important intellectual tool for the construction of a theory and the advancement of knowledge.

(4) The final stage in the scientific method is generalization. H. Poincaré aptly maintained that the function of science is to discover a general truth by finding out the interrelationship between data of

13. Ackoff, R.L., *Scientific Method*, New York, John Wiley & Sons, 1962, p. 6.
14. Brown, C.L. and Ghiselli, E.E. *Scientific Method in Psychology*, New York, Mc-: raw-Hill Book Co., 1955, p. 13.
15. Cohen, M., *A Preface to Logic*, New York, Meridian, 1956, p. 481.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

experience or variables. The formulation of most general statement is regarded as the final aim of scientific research, and theory-construction.

The Functions of Definitions in Theory-Construction

Precise definitions of terms constitute the most important aspects of a theory. They impart systematic unity to a theory. A definition is a statement of what a term means, by using other words which are ordinarily intelligible.[16] According to Max Black, a definition is generic, determinate and unchanging in its character.[17] In his view, the definition of a construct is final, and it rules out the possibility of revision. Most of the contemporary thinkers reject the finalistic nature of definitions. In their view, definitions are not *a priori* in their nature, but they are operational in their character. Definitions of terms are results of certain operations, and they are also open to modifications in the light of new information which may be available through scientific research. An operational definition is a form of definition which assigns meaning to a construct or a variable after performing a set of operations.

It is, however, neither possible nor necessary to define all the terms of a scientific theory. Some of the concepts of a scientific theory cannot be operationally defined. They are called 'undefined notions'. The meanings of these undefined notions can be explained in ordinary language. However, these undeflned notions must be finally related with the constructs of a theory which have been operationally definied or which have the potentiality of being so defined. The defintion of a construct must not be purely arbitrary or without an empirical basis. The statements of formal logic and mathematics are based upon arbitrary definitions. According to Bertrand Russell, analytic statements are definitions. Mathematical statements involve symbolic definitions, and they may be freely constructed. The definition of constructs of a theory in science, however, must have some empirical foundation.

According to certain scientists, the statement of a theory is considered to be significant, if it has high degree of empirical content. In a scientific theory priority is given to the recent re-definitions of constructs. However, if a particular science has attained a certain degree of complexity it becomes necessary to replace the historical order of the arrangement of definitions of constructs by their logical order. In the final stage of the development of a scientific theory it involves a logical reconstructuction of its constructs. An experimental science reaches a stage of theoretical development in which consistent axiomatization can be carried on. From this point of view, the higher the logical content of a theory, the more significant are its statements. However, very few scientific theories have reached the

16. Burniston Brown, G., *Science : Its Method and Its Philosophy*, London, George Allen & Unwin, 1950, p. 36.
17. Black, M. *Problems Analysis*, London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1954, p. 9.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

stage in which consistent axiomatization can be carried out. A premature axiomatization of a scientific theory, however, must be avoided.

A theory in science relies upon ostensive definition in the preliminary stages of the development. An ostensive definition in a scientific thery is based upon its observational content. The ostensive definitions of the constructs of a theory may be shown to be inter-related with one another, and thereby new constructs which were not hitherto experienced or observed may be brought before our knowledge. The development of a theory and advancement of knowledge take place when new relations are shown through inter-linking of ostensive definitions of constructs.

In the advance stage of theory construction emphasis is placed on logico-mathematical calculus and syntactical definitions of symbolic constructs without reference to the meanings of symbols representing empirical phenomena. It may be urged that the syntactical or nominal definitions of symbolic constructs are nothing but devices for abbreviations of long sentences to economize space, The nominal definitions, however, play an important rôle in logico-mathematical calculus. Whitehead and Russell maintain that within the framework of a calculus a "definition is concerned only with symbols, and not with what they symbolize."

A scientist, however, cannot remain satisfied with uninterpreted calculus. He tries to explain the empirical significance of a calculus, and on the basis of which he tries to predict the occurrence of future events. He one cannot, therefore, completely ignore the empirical significance of a set of definitions of a theory. In a scientific theory all types of definitions must be finally tied up with operational definitions or epistemic definitions which are indirectly associated with operations of measurement.

The function of the different types of definitions is to systematically inter-relate the hierarchy of constructs in a theory. They knit a theory into one integrated system. A theory becomes empirically intelligible when the different categories of definitions are geared to one another, and finally tied down to Nature. The creative purpose of a scientist plays an important part in the construction of a theory even though it has empirical content and it is tied down to Nature.

The Function of Models in Theory-Construction

Scientific models are intellectual tools which are usually utilized for the construction of a scientific theory. The models are systematically inter-related to present a coherent body of knowledge concerning an aspect of Nature. The phenomena of Nature are explained in terms of these models. Predictions of future events are made on the basis of these models. For instance, Bohr has tried to explain the subatomic phenomena with the help of his planatory model of an atom. In the contemporary period Bohr's planatory model of an atomic system has been discarded as theoretically inadequate. Yet it cannot be denied that models play a very

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

important rôle for the explanation of certain phenomena of nature and the construction of a theory.

Models may be of three different types, *viz.*, the iconic model, the analogue and the symbolic model. Iconic models are large-scale or small-scale representations of certain objects or events in Nature. Model as an analogue represents a certain property of an object or event by certain other properties, such as shades to represent depth of an object. Symbolic models are models in which certain symbols represent properties or functions of certain phenomena of Nature. When symbolic models are represented in quantitative terms they are known as mathematical models. In the more advanced stages of theory-construction symbolic models are very frequently used because they can be manipulated with greater ease.

In the development of a theory concerning certain phenomena of Nature certain inadequate theoretical models are replaced by more satisfactory theoretical models. It cannot be said, however, that models constitute a hierarchy giving the idea of successive approximations to reality. L. Brillouin seems to hold the satisfactory theoretical position that the models constitute a "diverging series exhibiting some sort of semi-convergence." Models in a theory are merely probable, and not final and immutable. It seems also quite possible that there is not one True and Immutable Theory concerning an aspect of Nature, but there may be many alternative theories eoncerning it. P.K. Feyerabend maintains that "plurality of theories is not to be regarded as a preliminary stage which will at some time in future be replaced by one True Theory."[18]

There is correlation between the plurality of models with plurality of theories concerning the same phenomena of Nrture. It seems, therefore, that human understanding of Nature is partial and fragmentary at any given time of the advancement of knowledge. Models are the various ways in terms of which theories concerning a certain phenomena of Nature may be stated. Roy Lachman maintains that the functions of models in theory-construction are "representational, inferential, interpretational and pictorial."[19] In brief, models are the various ways in which the structure and functions of Nature are explained. They are the conceptual ingredients of theories.

Telic Orientation in Theory-Construction

It is the main theme of the author's telic theory that the telic principle constitutes the very foundation of reality which is partially well-

18. Feyerabend, P.K., 'How to be a Good Empiricist—A Plea for Tolerance in Matters Empirical', *Philosophy of Science* : The Delaware Seminar, New York, Inter science Publishers, 1962, Vol. II, p. 6.
19. Lachhman, R., 'The Model in Theory Construction', *Psychological Review*, Vol. 67, No. 2, 1960, p. 128.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

defined in human personality.[20] Human personality has been making persistent efforts to construct a theory of the telic structure of reality with the aid of his own telic principle as the most important tool of knowledge.[21] It is not possible to construct any theory of Nature without the telic orientation of the creator of a theory. A theory, therefore, is at least partly a subjective construction. It is true of a scientific as well as a philosophical theory. It does not necessarily imply, however, that a theory is completely devoid of empirical content. A theory in science as well as philosophy is constructed on the basis of some empirical content however meagre and inadequate it may be.

Human personality as an aspect of Nature tries to understand Nature by constructing a theory or a number of alternative theories. "Nature comprehends itself through the philosophical activity of creative persons."[22] In a scientific theory human effort is oriented towards the understanding of an aspect of Nature; in a philosophical theory, on the other hand, the telic effort of a philosopher is to have a comprehensive world-view. Scientific activity and philosophical activity are the inseparable aspects of the same intellectual process in the highest stages of theory-construction. A reunion of science and philosophy is, therefore, inevitable.

Human knowledge is a form of intellectual attempt of a telic person to comprehend the cosmic telic principle. The development of knowledge is not strictly speaking an approximation to the eternal and immutable truth or permanent reality. Reality being telic in its nature is dynamic and creative. Human knowledge is, therefore, a form of intellectual effort to comprehend dynamic and creative reality by certain methodological techniques and principles. In this sense knowledge is "a form of theoretical construction."[23]

The telic principle in human personality inevitably gives orientation to theory-construction. The constructs, definitions, models, and the methodological techniques and principles are at least partially human inventions. The various constructs, and models of a theory have some empirical basis however scanty and meagre they may be. The constructs, definitions and models are the intellectual tools which are inter-related for the construction of a theory. The telic principle in a creative person gives the necessary orientation for organizing the cognitive ingredients into a systematic theory. The ingenuity of a telic person is necessary for integrating the information supplied by the implicit telic processes in Nature into a systematic theory.

20. Sinha, A.K., 'Principle of Individuation', *Indian Philosophy & Culture*, Vol. I, 1956, p. 36.
21. Sinha, A.K., *A World-View Through a Reunion of Philosophy and Science*, Calcutta, The Library of Philosophy, 1959, p. 7.
22. Sinha, A.K., 'The Concept of Philosophy in the Mid-Twentieth Century', *Proceeding of Symposia on Philosophy* Kurukshetra University, 1966, p. 45.
23. Sinha, A.K., *Outlines of Social Philosophy : Prolegomena to the Philosopical Foundations of Society*, Calcutta, Sinha Publishing House (P) Ltd., 1965, p. iv.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

A telic person as a scientists starts his intellectual effort with the directly observable, and thereafter proceeds to theoretically construct observables with the aid of intrumentation. In the next stage of his theory-construction he tries to invent (or to use a less sophesticated term, 'discover' the empirical relationships between observables, constructs and variables. Miniature empirical theories are the products of his preliminary intellectual efforts. Thereafter through syntactical manipulation of constructs he may be in a position to construct logico-mathematical theories of the higher orders than empirical theories. In the final stage of his intellectual effort he tries to construct the most inclusive theory which systematically integrates the miniature theories.

The telic principle in the personality of a creative person must necessarily give him guidance for the construction of a theory of any level whether it is a proto-theory (*i.e.*, speculative theory), empirical theory, or a meta-theory (*i.e.* theory of scientific theory). The entire range of human knowledge is encompassed by the telic principle in human personality. A theory is an intellectual construction which is systematized out of the empirical data in accordance with the telic orientation of a creative person. The creative intuition of a telic person plays a vital rôle in theory-construction.

A theory is the expression of the noetico-valuational development of a creative person. It is methodology-dependent. It is culture-relative and nature-representative. In brief, "theory is systematic body of knowledge concerning nature or an aspect thereof which is constructed through logical arrangement of constructs which are prevalidated through empirical confirmation via the procedures of scientific method, and it is subsequently integrated into an intelligible philosophical system through meta-scientific intuited."[24] It is a form of intellectual game, though a very significant game, with which a theorist tries to comprehend nature.

24. Sinha, A.K., *Social Structure of India : Prolegomena to Theoretical Foundations of Social Change in India*, Calcutta, Sinha Publishing House (P) Ltd., 1967, p. 8. (forthcoming).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Deba Brata Sen Sharma

THE CONCEPTION OF INDIVIDUAL SELF IN THE TṚKA PHILOSOPHY OF KĀŚMĪRA

The Tṛka philosophy[1] of Kāśmīra is one of the most important orthodox Advaita systems which occupies a prominent place among the religious philosophies of India belonging to Śaiva cult.[2] The distinctive feature of this school of thought is that despite its being strictly monistic, it does not have a narrow, negative or exclusive outlook[3] like the Advaita Vedānta of Śaṅkara which denies duality on the ground that it is unreal. On the other hand, the Tṛka conception of advaita is broad-based and comprehensive. It admits the reality of all, embracing all in the Unity of the Supreme Reality which is said to be all-pervasive and transcendent Reality, all at once. Another salient feature of the system is that it leans heavily on the mystical side and uses symbolic language frequently.

It is generally found in all monistic systems of thought that the individual self is regarded to be one and identical with the Supreme Reality. The Tṛka system, however being strictly monistic, is not in favour of mere affirmation of ontological non-difference between individual self and the Supreme Reality, but it goes a step forward and declares that the individual self is only a replica of the Supreme Reality which actually assumes and manifests itself as the multiplicity of individual selves and their objects of enjoyment.[4] That being position in the Tṛka system, any description of the nature of individual Self would not be possible without our first having considered the nature of the Supreme Reality.

The Supreme Reality, in the Tṛka system, is the Supreme Experiencing Principle (parāsaṁvit) which is of the nature of pure Caitanya.[5] It is

---

1. Also popularly known as Kāśmīra Śaivism. This name, given to this system by Shri J.C. Chatterji is a misnomer as there flourished more than one school of Śaiva thought in Kashmira in the ancient days. The name Tṛka is a significant one. For explanation of the significance of the name See Chatterji, Kashmira Shaivism pp. 1-7.
2. Incidently it may be mentioned here that the entire Śaiva Cult has come down to us in eight distinct streams viz. Tṛka, Pāśupata, Śaiva Siddhānta, Lakulīśa, Pāśupata, Vīraśaiva, Śivādaita of Srikaṇtha, Nandikeśvara Śaiva and Raseśvara Darśana. For details see Pandeya, K.C. : Bhāskari, Vo. III, Introduction.
3. For a comparative study of Advaita thought in the light of Tṛka philosophy See Kaviraj, Gopinath, Kāśmīra. Śaiva-darśana Ke bāre men Kucha bāten an article published—in the Kalyāṇa, Śivāṅka number.
4. Par. Sar. V. 6 com. p. 18 ...Ekaḥ Śivaḥ sa viśvasya paraḥ prakāśaḥ 1 tatrāpi bhātyeva vicitrasaktau grāhya-grahitṛ-vibhāga-bhedaḥ 11 Par. Car. V. 3.
5. ...Caitanya Paramārthataḥ Śiva eva viśvasya ātmā. Siv. Su. 1, p. 3, Comm.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

by its very nature eternal, immutable and infinite. Though It is eternal and immutable, It underlies everything in the universe as its innermost and true self, both individually and collectively. That is to say, as the underlying reality of all manifestations of universe, It pervades and permeates the entire cosmos. But, at the same time, It is one, indivisible and infinite. It is not exhausted by its innumerable and diverse manifestations in the universe, nor is limited by space (deśa), time (kāla) and form (rūpa). It transcends all and is beyond all, hence in that all-transcending aspect, It is also known as Tattvātīta, Anuttara.[6]

Parāsaṁvit thus has two fold nature[7]—as the underlying Reality of everything and all, It is all pervasive and all inclusive Cosmic Reality (viśvātmaka), universal Caitanya[8], and at the same time, It is also the all transcending Supreme Reality (Viśvottīrṇa), the Absolute Being (parā-saṁvit). It has been variously designated as Parācit, Anuttara, Parama Śiva[9], Parameśvara[10] etc.

Parama Śiva is said to be endowed with Śakti[11] which is identical with His Essence. Śakti represents the dynamic side of His Svarūpa whereby He is said to be ever-active and always revealing Himself to Himself. His possession of Śakti as His integral nature is indicative of Fulness (pūrṇatva)[12] and Absolute character. His Śakti is absolutely free from any kind of restriction or limitation and is, therefore, technically called Svātantrya Śakti (Divine Freedom)[13]. His Svātantrya consists of forming Divine Resolve (Saṅkalpa) and of translating them into actuality through His power of Action (Kriyā-śakti). He, thus possesses not only an unlimited Freedom of Will of forming divine Resolve, but also an absolute freedom of translating them into actuality[14] i.e. the Freedom of Act, both of which constitute the essence of His Divine Nature (pārameśvarya).

Exercising His Divine Freedom (Svātantrya), the Parama Śiva, sometimes during the period of creative activity, reveals Himself to Himself as universe (Viśva)[15]. Of this self-revalation as universe which He does

6. Par. Sara Ka 1 p. 2.
7. Śrīparamaśivasya punaḥ viśvottīrṇa-viśvātmaka-parmānandamāya-prakāśaika-ghanasya akhilam abhedenaiva sphurati...Pr. Hd. p. 8.
8. Caitanyam ātmā. Siv. Su. 1.
9. Siv. Dr. I, 2
10. Parameśvaraḥ pañcabhiḥ śakti-nirbharaḥ. Tan. Sar. Ah. II.
11. na śivaḥ śakti rahitaḥ na śaktir-vyatirekinī śivaḥ śaktastathā bhāvān icchayā kartumīhate l śakti-śakti-mator-bhedaḥ śaive jātu na varṇyate 11 Siv. Dr. III 2,3.
12. ......evaṁ (parameśvarasya) svātantryaṁ pūrṇatvāt, Tan. Al I, 92.
13. Svātantryaṁ ca nāma yatheccham tatra icchā prasarasya avighātaḥ.........Is. Pr. Vi. Vim. I, i
14. Sattā ca bhavan kartṛtā (nirmāṇakartṛtā) sarvakriyāsu Svātantryam. Is. Pr. Vim. I, 14 Com.
15. Śrīparamaśiva bhattāraka eva ittham nānā vaicitrya-sahasrai sphurati-Pr. Hd. p. 8.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

out of His free and independent Will (svecchayā) with Himself as the background (svabhittau)[16], He is the Agent (kartā), the Experiencer (jñātā) and the Enjoyer (bhoktā). The manifestation of the universe is thus only a mode of His self-revelation in which He utilizes no other material save His own Śakti. Or to put it in the technical language of the system, Parama Śiva's self-manifestation as universe is only a self-expansion in the aspect of. Śakti (Sva-śakti-sphāra)[17]. As such the manifestation of universe symbolises His Divine Glory (Aiśvarya) in the revelation of which Śakti plays dominant role.

Always indentified with Him, Śakti is said to be ever-active and ever-functioning, always revealing His Divine Glory, sometimes as universe and at other times, as self-manifestation only.[18] It is said to have infinite number of forms[19] or modes which can, however, be subsumed under five principal heads[20], viz. cit.. ānanda, icchā, jñāna and kriyā, arranged in order of their intrinsicality.

Of the five Śaktis, cit śakti is the most intrinsic aspect, symbolising the Supreme Lord's power of self-revelation[21] (prakāśarūpatā). As it is held in identity with the Supreme Lord, He always shines and reveals Himself to Himself in the absence of a second. This self-revelation, it is said, is of the nature of Being-experience (Aham)[22] of the Supreme Lord, and as such, is held to be eternal (nitya)[23] and 'Full-in-Itself' (pūrṇa). It is described as self-centred (svātmaviśrānta)[24] self-experience of Parama Śiva as it implies no outward movement or self-expression. It is unique, infinitely potential, forming the base of all His self-experiences[25].

Next in the order of intrinsicality is the Ānanda-śakti exercising which the Supreme Lord, who is 'Full-in-Himself' (pūrṇa svabhāva), feels ever-satisfied and ever at rest[26]. He does not experience any difficiency or want for which He might feel the necessity of moving out of Himself for satisfaction or joy. He remains, as it were, resting always in Himself, immersed in His Essence[27], and experiencing the ever undisturbed peace.

---

16. Svecchayā svabhitau viśvamunmīlayati. Pr. Hd. su 2.
17. Yatkiñcana jaḍājaḍātmka-viśva-vaicatrayam...........tatsarvam parameśvarasya svaśakti-sphāra eva. Tan. Al. I, i, com, p. 121.
18. Cf. yā sva-svarūpa viśrāntiḥ vimarśaḥ so'hamityayam. Aj. Pr. Siddhi. V. 15.
19. Śaktayaśca asaṅkhyeyāḥ. Tan. Sar. Ah. iv.
20. Mukhyābhiḥ (pañcabhiḥ) śaktidbhiryuktaḥ, Ibid. Ah. i.
21. Prakāśarūpatā Cicchaktiḥ. Tan. sar. Ah. 1.
22. prakāśaśca ananyonmukha-vimarśaḥ ahamiti. Is. Pr. Vim. III, 1, 4.
23. ahamrūpā tu saṁvittiḥ nitya svaprathanātmikā. Tan. Al, I, 127. p. 165.
24. yā svasvarūpe viśrāntiḥ vimarśaḥ so'hami tyayam. Aj.Pr. Sid. V. 15.
25. For fuller expalnation and philosophical implication of the concept of pūrṇa Ahamtā See Sp. Nir. III 13 com. P. 66.
26. Ānandaḥ svātantryam, svātmaviśrānti-svabhāvāhlādapradhānyāt. Tan. Sar. I, p. 6.
27. Tan. Sar. I, p. 6.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The Icchā Śakti is that aspect of Śakti whereby the Supreme Lord feels Himself supremely able, possessed of absolute Will and of forming Divine Resolve (saṅkalpa) as what to do or what to create.[28]. The Divine Resolve is at the root of all His movements and acts (kriyā)[29] including the manifestation of the multiplicity.

The jñāna Śakti is that aspect of Śakti which brings in and holds all his self-manifestations as objects (prameya-kalpa) in conscious relation with Himself[30]. It is true that the very act of bringing in relationthip pre-supposes the existence of duality, but in the case of Parama Śiva, the sole Reality, the question of something existing apart from Him does not arise. Parama Śiva, therefore, never experiences complete duality between Himself and His self-manifestation as object (idaṁ) which epitomises the totality of universe. The reason for this is said to be that He always experiences His objective self-manifestation as Idaṁ to be held in Him and bound by a thread of unity as it were.

The Kriyā Śakti stands for that aspect of Śakti exercising which the Supreme Lord becomes the universe assuming each and every role[31], and thus actively participates in the display of His Glory (aiśvarya) as universe.

With these five principal aspects, His Śakti always functioning and thus revealing His Divine nature, the Parama Śiva always appears as the Supreme Lord. As the Supreme Lord, He is said to have five eternal functions (Kṛtyas)[32], forming a cycle as it were, viz. *tirodhāna*, *Sṛṣṭi*, *sthiti*, *saṁhāra* or *prayala* and *anugraha*. It is through these five kṛtyas, He is said to menifest His svātantrya eternally.

Of these five Krityas which He even as saṁsārin is said to perform,[33] *Sṛṣṭi*, *Stihti* and *saṁhāra* are too well-known to be described here. A word of explanation is, however, necessary for tirodhāna and anugraha which are new concepts. Tirodhāna, also called nigraha, means self-limitation. In order to make the multiplicity *i.e.* the universe to appear Parama Śiva, exercising his Divine Freedom, imposes limitations on His infinite Svarūpa (pūrṇa svarūpa). This act of self-limitation (ātma-saṅkoca) is carried on through successive stages which would be described later in the following lines. Anugraha is that function by which the Supreme Lord restores Himself to His original nature by nullifying the

---

28 taccamatkāra icchāśaktiḥ. Tan. Sar Ah. I; tathā bubhuṣālakṣaṇā, Is,Pr. Vidvim; icchayā hi jñāna-kriyāyoḥ sāmyarūpabhyupagamātmakatvāt. Tan. Sar. Ah. II.

29. Sp. Ka. I, i. com. p. 7; S. Tr. Tat. San. V 2 p2.

30. āmarśatmakatā jñānaśaktiḥ, Tan. Sat., I; Āmarśa-iṣattayā vedyo mukhatā; Also cf. Siv. Dr. Ah. I, 21 com. p. 18.

31. Sarvākārayogitvam kriyāśakti. Tan, Sar. Ah. I.

32. Sat. Tr. Tat. San. V-1 comd , p. 1; Aj. Pr. Si. V-2, p. 1; Sp. Nir. III, 13, p. 66. Śivaḥ Svatantradṛgrūpaḥ pañcaśaktisunirbharaḥ *etc.*, Tan. Al. VI, 48.

33. See Pr. Hd. Su 10 comm., p. 51 ff.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

effects of nigraha. This is an important kṛtya which completes the cycle of Kṛtyas as it were.

After having discussed in some detail the nature of Parama Śiva whose actual prototype the individual self is said to be, let us now examine in brief the process through which the Parama Śiva is said to manifest Himself as individual selves in order to bring out in bold relief the points of distinction, if any, between the two. We have observed above that the Parama Śiva, in order to make Himself appear as countless number of pramātās, prameyas etc. in different levels of creation[34] imposes limitation (nigraha) on Himself in exercise of His Divine Freedom. As a result of this self-imposed limitation, His absolute nature is obscured, and His Divinity is veiled. He comes to imagine Himself as a finite being[35] bereft of all His Divine powers. This leads to his appearance in the form of a çidaṇu (spiritual monad)[36]. In this form, He is not able to experience His essential Svarūpa characterised by such qualities as omnipotence (sarvakartṛtva), omniscience (sarvajñatva), self-contenment (pūrṇatva), eternity (nityatva) and Freedom (svātantrya). This self-limitation, (ātma-saṅkoça) which follows directly from the operation of Nigraha, is technically called Āṇava-mala.[37] The manifestation of the Çidaṇus, infact, marks the beginning of the manifestation of individual beings in whom distinct personality develops for the first time, and hereafter they acquire the fitness in being called individual beings. In this state, the individual being does not experience his real nature, hence āṇavamala is described to be of the nature of non-cognition (akhyāti)[38].

In this connection, it may be pointed out that though the act of self-limitation is one and unique, āṇavamala as associated with every individual being is said to be manifold in nature.[39] And it is for this reason held that the destruction of āṇavamala in one does not lead to the destruction of āṇava-mala in all. Àṇavamala is the fundamental mala (mūla-mala) which is said to be associated with the very existence of individual beings. As such it is said to be āntara (internal).[39]

The veiling of individual being by āṇava-mala is responsible for his experience of Not-self in self which is technically called the pauruṣa ajñāna.[41] The pauruṣa ajñāna must be distinguished from the bauddha ajñāna which is said to be vaikalpika (conceptual) by nature. It is held

34. ...ekaḥ eva Śivaḥ...bhātyeva vicitraśaktau grāhyagrhitṛpravibhāgabhedaḥ *etc.* and tvayyeva viśvāni...sphuranti, ca tvanmahasaḥ prabhavat tvameva caiṣām parameśa kartā. Par. Car. V. 3.6.
35. ...dhārayaṅśca nijaḥ kalāḥ sveechyayā bhāsi naṭavat *etc.* Mahopedesha Vim. V-10.
36. J.M.V. p 2. For a description of nature of Cidaṇus see Tan. Al. IX., V-144-145. Comm., pp. 112 ff.
37. Par. Sar. V. 16, p. 45.
38. Tan. Al. I, 87-38, com., pp. 73 ff.
39. *Ibid.* IX, 63. com., 61 ff.
40. Par. Sar. V 24, com., p. 55.
41. *Ibid.* V. 53, p. 105; Tan. Sar. I., p. 3.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to be caused by false identification of Not-self with self.[42]. As is obvious from the very name itself, it is an affection of buddhi, and as such, it cannot arise in the individual being until he is associated with a body-apparatus (deha). It is thus said to be dependent on the connection of çidaṇu with a body-apparatus and, therefore, also co-existent with it. Pauruṣa ajñāna, on the other hand, is independent of any such connection. It is, therefore, said to exist even in disembodied beings, such as vijñānākalas and beings in the state of disembodied existence *i.e.* pralayākalas[43].

Thus the bauddha ajñāna is temporary as it is terminated with çiduṇus' dissociation with body-apparatus (deha). As compared to this, the pauruṣa ajñāna is permanent as it lasts till the end of their self-limitation brought about by the descent of Divine Grace (Śaktipāta)[44].

As it has been indicated above, Parama Śiva, in the Tṛka view, is both omniscient and omnipotent so that perfect knowledge (pūrṇajñāna) and the freedom of Act (Svātantrya) constitute the two principal aspects of His absolute Nature (svarūpa). So long as He is not afficted by āṇavamala, these two essential aspects of His nature (svarūpa) remain coalesced as it were, in such a way that they are indistinguishable in His pure Nature. But, as soon as He is covered by self-imposed āṇavamala, these two aspects of His nature appear as differentiated and affected severally by limitation (saṅkoça) with the result that two distinct types of çidaṇus appear, with one of their aspects of svarūpa viz. jñāna and kriyā, affected by limitation. The çidaṇus whose kriyā aspect of their nature (svarūpa) is affected by āṇavamala which deprives them of their Freedom of Act (svātantrya), they retain the consciousness of their real nature (*i.e.* bodha), hence they are technically called the vijñānakevalis of vijñānākalas[45].

These vijñānākalas, it may be pointed out here, do not differ vastly from Parama Śiva in-as-much as they are conscious of their real nature. But, on account of their being devoid of Svātantrya,[46] an integral aspect of their pure nature, they are regarded as fettered beings (pāśa-baddhas), and as such, are included in the category of paśu-pramātas. They, however, constitute unique class of paśu-pramātas who stay above the level of Māyā and have no further involution due to their retaining consciousness of their pure self.[47] They, therefore, are said to be not affected by māyīya and kārmamalas[48] and as such remain immersed as it were in ajñāna in a disembodied condition.

42. Anātmani ātmabodha. Tan. Sar. I, p. 3.
43. Vijñānākalas and pralāyakalas are two distinct types of souls in bondage recognised by the Tṛka system. In addition to these two, the Tṛka system also admits sakalas *i.e.*, embodied souls.
44. Tan. Sar p. 3.
45. Is. Pr. Vim. II, 2,7, p. 51.
46. Is. Pr. Vim. II, 2, 6, p. 250.
47. Tan. Al. IX 91, com., p. 77 ff.
48. *Ibid* IX 94, 95, com., p, 79-80.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

But, in the case of other çidaṇus, āṇava-mala obscures the bodha aspect of their nature and thereby makes them totally oblivious of their pure self. The Kriyā aspect of their nature, however, is not affected by āṇava-mala, and it is this which induces them to undergo further involution. With their svātantrya remaining in tact after the imposition of āṇavamala, they cannot remain immobile in one state, the state of disembodied existence. To give, as it were, kriyā śakti an opportunity of expression, they have to assume appropriate body-apparatus (deha), undergoing further involution in Māyā.

As the Māyā, which is said to be tirodhānakarī (the universal power of obscuration), enwraps them, their svarūpa gets further veiled up. The veiling by māyā is technically known as the māyīyamala.[49] Māyā is not alone in accomplishing this task of obscuration. It brings into operation five other forces of limitation technically called kañçukas. These kañçukas,[50] five in number *viz.* kāla, Niyati, Rāga, Vidyā and kalā, have specific spheres of operation as they limit only the particular aspects of çidaṇus' pure self *i.e.* their five powers.

The obscuration by Māyīya-mala does not remain confined to mere hiding of the true nature of çidaṇus, it also brings about some other changes that follow as a logical corollary to obscuration. For instance, veiling by māyīya-mala is held responsible for their experience of differentiation and discreetness (davita-bodha) in place of oneness and unity. This experience of discreetness by çidṇus, however, remains indistinct and hazy in this stage because they that are devoid of ego-sense (ahaṁ-pratīti)[51], following the imposition of āṇava-mala. But as they get back as it were their ego-sense on their being associated with a physical body, they begin experiencing discreetness and differentiation between subject and object which characterizes the world.

Māyīya-mala, like āṇava-mala, is also beginningless, though destructible. Its desctruction can be brought about by an individual çidaṇu through his persistent intense endeavour.

As the task of concealment of çidaṇus' pure nature is accomplished by māyāya-mala, karmabījas lying dorment in Māyā get attached to çidaṇus. The karmabījas are products of subtle residual impressions of past karmas (karma-saṁskāras) performed by çidaṇus in embodied form and they lie dorment in Māyā. As they get associated with an individual cidanu, they awaken in him a desire for karma (karma-vāsanā) which in turn impels him to associate himself with a body-apparatus produced out of Prakṛti and its constituent tattvas.

---

49. Tan. Al. IX. 110 p. 139.
50. Is. Pr. Vrtti.
51. Par. Sar. V. 32, com., p. 70.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Since it is this desire for karma awakened in the çidaṇu that can be held responsible for his association with a body-apparatus (deha-yantra)[52] resulting in the further obscuration of his true nature, the Karmabījas are regarded as being of the nature of a veil, and is technically called kārma-mala.

Kārma-mala is thus the root cause of the conjunction of the individual being with a body-apparatus.[53] It is not destroyed with destruction of his body-apparatus. It is relatively permanent as it persists through the births and deaths of the individual being. It is said to be beginningless (anādi) but destructible through the intense personal efforts of the individual.

Associated with every embodied individual (sakala), kārma-mala is said to be manifold in nature so that it is unique in every individual being. It is this characteristic feature of kārma-mala which is held responsible for the presence of a distinct personality in individual beings, notwithstanding the fact that all sakalas (embodied beings) are bound by same three malas *viz.*, Āṇava, māyīya and kārma.

Besides this, karma-mala is also said to determine the type of body with which an individnal çidaṇu is to be associated.[54] The Tṛka system admits of three different kinds of body-apparatuses *viz.*, daiva śarīra, mānuṣa śarīra and tiryag śarīra (super-human, human and sub-human).[55] Of these, the body-apparatus of super-human and sub-human beings are also called bhogāyatanas or bhogadeha (lit, vehicle for enjoyment) as they serve the purpose of enjoyment only, while the body-apparatuses of human beings are known as karmadeha as they are most suitable for performance of karmas. In so far as the constitution of these two types of dehas is concerned, it appears that there is no material difference in them excepting that in the case of individual beings possessing bhogadeha, their ego-sense (ahaṁkāra) lies latent, while in individual beings having karmadeha, it is manifest.

52. Is. Pr. Vim. III, 2, 10, comm., p. 250–255.
53. Tan Ah. IX, 88, comm., p. 75.
54. Tan: Al. IX, 99-100 comm., p. 82-83.
55. Jan. Mar. Vic. p. 7.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE PAPER

Aj. Pr. Si.	Ajaḍa Pramatṛ Siddhi	Abhinavagupta (Published in the Appendix of 'Abhinavagupta A Historical and Philosophical Study'. K. C. Pandey.)
Is. Pr. Vim.	Īśvara-pratyabhijñāvi-marśini	Utpala-deva with vimarśiṇīṭīkā of Abhinavagupta (Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies).
Is. Pr. Vi. Vim	Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-vi-vṛti-vimarśinī	Utpala-deva with vivṛti vimarśinī-ṭīkā of Abhinavagupta (Kasmir Series of Texts and Studies)
Jan. Mar. Vic.	Janma-maraṇa-vicāra	Vāmadeva (Kasmir Series of Texts and Studies).
Tan.Al.	Tantrāloka	Abhinavagupta with ṭīkā of Jayaratha (Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies).
Tan. Sar.	Tantrasāra	Abhinavagupta (Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies).
Par. Sar.	Paramārtha-sāra	Abhinavagupta (Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies).
Par. Car.	Paramārtha-çarçā	Abhinavagupta (Published in the Appendix of Abhinavagupta, A Historical and Philosophical Study : K. C. Pandeya.
Pr. Hd.	Pratyabhijñā-hṛdayam	Kṣemarāja (Adyar Edition)
	Mahopadeśa Viṁ. Mahopadeśa Viṁśati	Abhinavagupta (Published in the Appendix of "Abhinavagupta, A Historical and Philosophical Study" : K. C. Pandeya.)
Sp. Nir.	Spanda Nirṇaya	Kallaṭa with ṭīkā of Kṣemarāja (Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies).
Siv. Dr.	Śiva Dṛṣṭi	Somānanda (Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies).
Siv. Su.	Śiva Sūtra	Vasugupta (Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies).
Sat. Tr. Tat. San.	Ṣaṭ.-triṁśa-tattva-saṁdoha	Rājanaka Ānanda (Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

H.S. Sinha

ON SCIENTIFIC MATERIALISM

There is a noticeable tendency among certain Communist writers to widen the classical doctrine of Marx which is only an 'Economistic' nterpretation of the history of Civilisation, and to use this as synonymous to Scientific method. This tendency of unwarranted generalisation is so predominant that in the Marxists cultural groups the worship of science has specially become insistent during the post-War period. It is evident that Marx devaited from the materialistic-mechanistic conception of the world and also he did not adhere to the mathematico-philosophical interpretation of the world phenomenon because that would not have satisfied his preconceived notion of "revolutionary unheavals in nature." But Marx was neither a pofessional scientist who could have grasped fully the philosophical consequences of the 19th century sciences, nor did he anywhere claim to be a "philosopher of scince" to propound any theoretical conceptual system irrespective of the consideration of the human ends and motives : In his approach he, therefore, remained mainly concerned with his fundamental pre-suppositions of Economic interpretation of the history (Communist Manifesto-1847) and to analyse the Capitalistic system, its dynamism and its self-destructive tendency (Das Capital-1867) : All through, his writings are jotted with non scientific emotive elements : No where it has been proved in the system of Marx that physico-chemical laws or the biogenic phenomena are oriented towards the socialistic transformation of nature or that science and socialism are interchangeable terms, but still the protagonists of scientific Materialism are clinged to the Socialism purely on the emotional basis and accordingly the system of Marx can be understood only with a romantic view of life rather than in context of any scientific methodolgy. It is one of the characteristics of romanticism to view the phenomena as an organic whole and the Marxian approach, being more "organological" than logico-experimental can[1] more appropriately be called a good example of romantic reaction against the abstract theory builders and the scholastic philosophers. It is in this context that Marxian movement and his pronouncements remain throughout an intellectual armament of a party and can hardly be called the method of any scientific research :

To bring out clearly the non-scientific romantic elements of the so-called materialism, it may first be pointed out that the Marxist

1. Stark W. the Sociology of Knowledge (London 1956), p. 259.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

movement[2] bears a clear stamp of the 19th century optimistic humanitarian materialism with slight modifications : In order to provide an absolute protection to man against all possible economic conflicts, Marx has projected the ideal of a Communistic society in which the private property is eliminated and the aims of individuals are so transformed that they coincide with those of the community. The Hegelian idealists like Hartshorn etc. have also conceived the Reality as 'social process' which shows that the socialists eggs having already been hatched in German idealism by the 'imperial professor' Hegel, what Marx did was that he converted the Hegelian philosophy of History into a theory of class struggles and used the Hegelian 'necessity' to reach the goal of 'socialism inevitable'. In place of Zeitgeist (spirit) as the determinant of history, Marx offered the mass movement and economics as the basic causes of every fundamental change. But Marx never showed a sign to break himself from the ancient traditions, as his associate Engels has proudly claimed "We German socialists are proud of the fact that we are derived not only from St. Simon, Fourier and Owen but also from Kant, Fitche and Hegel."[3] He further held that the German working class movement is the inheritor of German classical philosophy.[4] Marx, therefore, was not an iconoclastic dissenter, but a continuator of the traditions with the exception that he made the theory of his class conflict a universal law of motion and demonstrated the dialectic mechanism by means of which the supreme agency directs the course of all human affairs towards the inevitable goal of socialism : Engels summed up the achievements of Marx that "as Darwin discovered the law of evolution of organic nature, Marx discovered the law of man's historical evolution."[5] But some scholars doubt whether even this was the originality of Marx. Windleband, for example, holds that "inverted Hegelianism" was the teaching of Feuerbach'[6] and therefrom it has slipped into Marxism and became a basic part of it. If this version is accepted, the Marxist doctrine is reduced to a mere 'soothsaying' which is not diffirent in any way from the Utopia of the Stoics or the ecclesiastical assurances of the Christian and Mohammedan theories of

2. I hesitate to call Marxism a 'Philosophy' because the tendency to dissolve philosophy is present throughout the writings of Engels; special to note is F. Engels—Anti-Duhring (London 1934) p. 55, wherein he *inter alia* suggests that "it is in fact no longer a philosophy, but a simple world-outlook which has to establish its validity and be applied not in a science of sciences standing apart, but within the positive sciences :
Even otherwise also Marxism is not a "system of thought" to be called a philosophy, but is a bundle of theories loosely connected with each other (vide Stark op. cit p. 227)
3. Engels F., Socialism-Utopia and Scientific; translated and included in "Karl Marx Selected Works Moscow 1942-I p. 137.
4. Engels F., Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical Germen Philsophy, included in Marx-Engels Selected-works Moscow 1951-II-p. 364.
5. Engels F., Karl Marx (Reprinted in Franz Mehring's Karl Marx.) (2nd Ed. Leipzig 1919) p. 535.
6. Wetter. A. Gustav-Dialectical Materialism (London), p. 11.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

re-gaining the 'Miltonic Paradise'. Because the sole distinguishing criterian to differentiate Marxian socialism from the earlier socialist utopia and to place it on some scientific grounds, is stated to be this very suggestion of a definite way in which the 'socialist commonwealth is supposed to come into existence'.[7]

Apart from the fact that Marxian dream is tinged with the escapism seeking a permanent evasion from the conflicts, the effects of which may be highly tragic, it is also far removed from recognized methodology of sciences. The statement of future conditions to be established by the supra-human forces makes this theory 'teleological'[8]. Like Aristotle's 'final causes', the Material forces of production, apprehended by Marx are working towards a preconceived end : But in the words of Karl Popper, such historical prophecies are entirely beyond the scope of the scientific method. How a normative or regulative proposition concerning the desireable future relation between man and men and man and means of production could be verified on the logico-experimental or hypothetico-deductive method of Scientific enquiry? The positivist philosophy (if at all it says any thing about methodology of sciences) recognizes only two kinds of meaningful sentences viz either it must be of the non-factual logical variety or it must be of the factual variety in which probability is achieved by reference to empirical or sensory observation (A. J. Ayer's Language, Truth and Logic, Chap. VI): But the Neo-marxists, instead of correcting and modifying (and if necessary abandoning) the 19th century concepts and outmoded presuppositions of their doctrine, specially those concerning the socialised humanity (Thesis X), and 'Revolutionary transformation of world through practice' (Thesis I and IV)[9] and the 'copy-theory' of Lenin, in the light of the advancement made in the scientific knowledge, denounce the positivism of the natural sciences and still stick to their own 'universal methodology' of dialectical modes of thought and the historical materialism.[10] Their 'methodological essentialism' *i.e*, the "visioning of world as a universal web of connection and a continuous process of development, shaping its course through a clash of warring opposites'[11] is for removed from the "methodological nominalism" which is fairly generally accepted in natural sciences : Marxists are critical of the modern scienticism on the grounds that "a faith that existence is scientifically comprehensible is based on a naive worship of science and even blind dogmatism."[12] Again, the over-

7. Ludwig Vos Mises, Theory and History, (London 1958), p. 364 n.
8. Earnest Nagel in his book 'The structure of Sciencc" (1961-Ed) has elaborated different kind of explanations including 'teleological' as constrasted to 'Scientific'.
9. The Theses referred to here are 'Eleven Theses on Feuerbach' written by Marx, which were later included in a more elaborate treatise "The German Ideology."
10. Leonov M.A., Outline of Dialectic Materialism (Moscow 1948), p. 119.
11. Gustav A. Wetter op. cit., p. 119.
12. Zenkovsky V.V., History of Russian Philosophy Vol. II. p/706.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

emphasis of Marxist materialism on the 'demand for unity of theory and practice' takes it away from scienticism to pan-moralism; Thus speaking, the main characteristic of Marxist thought is basically 'anthropocentricism' or the theme of "men kindling the fires of revolution". The partisan character of Marxism,[13] its lack of pertinent examples from sciences, its attempt to inject the dialect into the natural sciences and scientific methodology and thereby transferring the histeriosophical categories to nature, are nothing but daring examples of the perversion of the fundamental roots of scientific and philosophic thinking in the very name of being scientific and at best the Marxist thought can be called 'economic determinism as contrasted from 'scientific materialism,' the name which it has falsely assumed for self-eulogization.

As the positivism of natural sciences flatly denies that there is any room for teleological researches and as the sciences do not say anything of final causes, a brief reference to the specific nature of scientific explanation becomes essential to expose that the prophecies of Marx are as removed from the scientific predictions as the prophecies of Daniel and the Revelations of St. John. Marx advocated that there was a law-governed process that starts from the primitive communal and ends in the emergence of socialism and finally to communism. In his search for the absolute values where the conflict of dialects would stop, and in his quest for discovering the reliable law of historically predicting the future state of hnman existence, Marx has slipped into the area of a finalistic and teleological explanation, which is an indication that despite his best craving to read Hegel materialistically, he could never succeed in overcoming the master's idealistic influence. His finalism of seeking 'ends in the nature' and his pan-moralism of searching for some 'ethical goal inherent in the natural process of history, are incompatible with the conceptual system and empirical constructs of the sciences. The scientific explanations can be broadly classified into two basic types,[14] *viz* : (i) Deductive-nomological explanation, (ii), probabilistic explanation. But instead of explaining through the antecendent concomitant conditions, which is conditio sine qua non of a scientific explanation, Marxian teleology uphold that all progress can be explained with reference to a pre-ordained end and the task of any philosophy is to judge every phase of history from the point of view of this definite purposivism. Based on this teleology, it is the firm conviction of the Marxists that only an undistorted community *i.e.*, a socialist society can reach the undistorted truth in its entirety and only a classless society would be able to achieve a vision of the absolute truth. The communist man will be the cosummation of this historical process. All such explanations from the "motivating reasons,"[15] are *per-se* unscientific and start from a finalistic presupposition that there

13. Wetter op. cit. p/268 seq.
14. Robert G. Colodny (Ed) Frontiers of Science and Philosophy (1962) p/10 seq.
15. Marx wrote in The Holy Family (facsimile Ed. 1953) p/139 seq. that 'history is notning else but the activity of man in pursuit of his ends.'

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

is a sublime mission which the universal history has reserved for the proletariat and by virtue of this the labour class occupies a privileged position in regard to knowledge of the reality. This may be a psychological dictum to inspire the indolent labour to build their future, but on the other hand Marx sounds a fatalistic note that 'working man was the tool of the universal history for the final liberation of mankind from all misery and degradation'.[16] This teleological interpretation furnished by Marx still leaves some pertinent questions about the future evolution of man unanswered. Marx accepts those principles of Darwinian unilinear theory of biological evolution, *mutatis mutandis*, which provide a biological foundation for his doctrine of class struggle.[17] But do the Marxists means that all evolution is so anthropocentric that it starts under a plan from a determinat starting point to a determinate denouement ? Is the man the last phase of the evolutionary process in nature and when a theory was able to forecast the emergence of a communist man, could not it forecast something beyond ? When the animal like ancestors of man were transformed in men, why the course of the evolution of biological forms should stop at man, specially when the dialectical materialists subscribe fully and retain in their theory the untenable conception of a genetic emergence of the higher spheres from the lower.[18] The implications of Marxian socialism sound like a thorough-going teleology that the nature has been working out many biological forms and has been rejecting them as inferior till it works out man who is capable of reaching the communistic ideal : Does not it mean that the sole purpose of nature was to evolve a "communist man" and then stop on the realisation of this goal. This is not in any way different from the Christian dictum that man is the final word in Divine plan and that he is the crown of the creation. As a matter of fact Marx's pre-occupation with finding meaning and purpose in historical phenomena takes him far away from the scientific explanation to sink into the unfathomable teleology and purposivism which no scientific theory worth the name would ever entertain. Accordingly, we cannot call Marxism 'scientific' in this respect also but only an economically biased interpretation of the past history and a wish-inspired dreamland in future, exactly alike the 'religious illusion' painting the picture of man walking on this earth as the perfect image of God and working for the realisation of his true (in case of Marxism, his communistic nature.

The socialism of Marx confronts the most crucial tests of its power in the realm of psychological science. The difficulty here is greater still. For the establishment of a communistic society it is essential to transform the nature of man. But this brings in the forefront the psychological question as to what are the real determinants of human behaviour that are to be controlled ? At this point the economic determinism of Marx cannot be substantiated unless it puts forth an economic analysis of human

16. Stark W. op. cit p/257.
17. Karl Marx—Marx-Engels Lenin Institute-1934. p/206-207.
18. Wetter op. cit p/543 seq.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

behaviour: Working on this problem, Plekhanov tried to work out the implication of Marxist law of the modication of human nature under the influence of the relation of productivity, wherein Marx professed that "acting upon external nature, man produces modification in his own nature."[19] But Marx was neither himself a psychologist nor the psychological investigations had developed beyond the initial stages of mere speculative discipline when Marx was writing his dialectical theory of human motivation. Accordingly the advocate of perfect socialism, instead of testing how far human nature is changeable and how far it is persistent, wrongly assumed it to be totally transformable: In order to find support to their pronouncement on the human nature and future control of human behaviour, the Neo-Marxists have tried hard to weld the philosophy of Marx-Engels-Lenin with the pre-Revolution experimental studies of Pavlov in the field of materialist psychology and neurology[20] But to their utter dismay, it has not been possible so far, for the Russian Psychologists to evolve any 'bridging laws' and despite efforts the 'cross-area functional dependencies' between the materialistic psychology and dialectics could not be provided. Pavlov followed the materialistic-deterministic view of causality and did not use the dialectical method in demonstrating that cortex acts as a signalling system within the brain and that behaviour conditioning is possible through his "two signalling systems".[21] On the contrary Pavlov was definitely opposed to Marxism and specially to its social theory. Pavlov never accepted Marxist formulae because as a scientist he knew that his neurophysiology and physiological psychology can hardly be based on the dialectical laws because the Dialectical Theory of Marx would not allow the reduction of the psychological processes to physiological 'reflexology'. However, the Soviet Psychologists have accepted Pavlov as the official psychologist of Marxism presumably on the consideration that the Russian scientists want to bring forth a relation between the physiological and social integration of man through his visceral well being by changing the conditions of living.[22] But the methodic suggestions and empirical observations, substantiated by the most recent researches in cytogenetics and developmental genetics show that exposure to a particular type of social organisation cannot change the genotype of an organism: Unless the Marxists prove on experimental basis that human behaviour can be radically modified by controlling the environmental variables and that these environmental variables are purely non-physiological and strictly socio-economical, they would hardly be able to refute the challange of scientific psychologies which have

19. Karl Marx—Das Capital Vol. I p/198.
20. Vide proceedings of the joint Session of the Academy of Science of the USSR and A of Medical Sciences on Physiological problems in the theory of I.P. Pavlov held in June-July 50 (Reported in Science Bulletin 1957- p/1100-1107).
21. Koch Sigmund (Ed). Psychology a study of Science Vol. IV P/59 ff.
22. *ibid* p/61—"Transactions of the First Conference on the Central Nervous system and Behaviour."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

so far found that the psycho-social behaviour pattern of man is either sex-linked or autosomal. On the face of these researches, their conviction of converting the 'modern man' into a perfect communist man will be a psychologically untenable dogma. Even when the analyzers in the brain cortex are conditioned to the higher order, what is the guarantee that these "learned conditioned reflexes' will be transmitted to the next generation in the germ cells Even if we agree with Pavlov that

> "it can be accepted that at a later stage some of the newly formed conditioned reflexes are transformed into unconditioned reflexes by heredity"[23],

we are right in pointing out that Pavlov himself never emphasized that total conditioning of human behaviour was possible to the extent to influence the germ plasm. Moreover it is highly doubtful that the variable factors can be perfectly controlled by a political dictatorship to the degree needed for the establishment of permanent interceptory conditioning to transform the entire aggregate of genic materials under the influence of a particular type of economic environment. Controlled breeding which can lead to the genotypal improvement to some extent, has neither been advocated by the Dialectical System, nor it would be any advancement on the Platonic type of the primitive Communism of wives: The slogan of bringing a complete modification of human behaviour is, therefore a calculated expoitatory bid to keep humanity under strict authoritarianship under a false but comforting assurance that a time would come when history would take a jump to the last stage of evolution where the behaviour of man will automatically become communistic and the people, instead of raising their voice for political freedom, should wait ungrudingly for that time to come.

In their conviction about the establishment of an ideal society where man's behaviour will be conditioned by the economic interests of his class, the Marxian socialists are as unscientific as they are in their other predictions: Analysing the inter-personal relationship Marx advocated that[24] "man enter into definite relations in the social production of their life, 'meaning thereby that all social relations are based on the material production forces. But here also the Marxists are obsessed to think that all human relations are economical and, therefore, following Pavlov, they assert that 'food getting activities are basic to all living beings *i.e.* the economic process is the 'primary process' impelling men to enter into social relations. This naive simplism crumbles under the pressure of the psycho-analytic investigations of human motives. The Pavlovian reflexology hardly presents any contending hypothesis to explain the psycho-dynamism of human personality, whereas the Freudian analysis of the human motivations reveals that primary process in man is libidinal which seeks its

23. Pavlov I.P. (Qouted by Wetter op. cit. p/476).
24. Marx Karl. Preface to 'A Contribution to the critique of Political Economy' 1857.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

gratification in the performance of sexual acts,[25] and sex is the primary force determining the allo-eroticity of human behaviour. Accordingly the social relations are not the outcome of the economic modes of production, but the social order develops out of the restrictions imposed upon the two driving forces *viz.*, sex and destruction. The neonate is and will always be asocial or presocial seeking the unrestrained gratification of his sexual urges: No one can be socially adjusted without the fully developed super-ego, which works quite independently of economic conditions.[26] It is, on this account, not the economic modes of production that brings people together, but rather the 'aim-inhibited feelings that enable the individuals to relate to one another in a non-sexual manner and when these primary impulses are not allowed to seek really complete satisfaction, which they are not capable of these are specially adapted, through the process of sublimation, to create permanent ties of friendship between the individuals.[27] All civilisation, on Freudian analysis of human motivations, is built up at the cost of aggressive and sexual impulses. But the repression of the Thanatos cannot be taken beyond a particular point, mean, ing that man cannot be socialised beyond a particular limit and if the sober facts investigated by the psychology of motive and not the communistic wishes are taken to be our guide, we shall have to admit that socialism would be quite impossible on the ground of man's natural aggressiveness because no amount of pressure can be able to suppress all libidinal protests from the id. If, however, the Marxists are still optimistic of evolving the completely socialised man through "enforced group belongingness" they would find themselves caught between the horns of an unresolvable dilemma; If the authoritarian dictatorship is continued for a prolonged period to repress the instinctual demands of the individuals, the whole repressive society may turn into the society of pathological cases, as the unsatisfied libido energy is invariably transformed into neurotic anxiety and before turning the wheel of history to the final phase, the pre-Communist, proletariat society would all become a society ef neurotics: or, as a second alternative, the accumulated aggressiveness of the protagonists of scientific socialism would turn against themselves with the result that they would either destory themselves or as a defence mechanism to check the vagaries of thwarted Thanatos, they would seek refuge into a deep and incurable social morbidity, may it be religious or otherwise, because on the findings of the Freudian psycho-analysis the constant holding back of natural aggressiveness is always unhealthy and manifests in a pathological way that these ill personalities, in a fit of rage, divert their own restrained agressiveness to their self-destruction.[28] The germs of self-destruction are contained in the embryo of Communism and due to their gross ignorance of the laws of human motivation, the Marnian sociologish would never be able to escape this tragedy of history.

25. Freud S. General introduction to Psychoanalysis p/311.
26. Freud S., New Introductory Lectures in Psychoanalysis p/95-96.
27. Freud S., Group Psychology and the Analysis of Ego. p/119.
28. Freud S., Outlines of Psychoanalysis p/85.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Shri Nivas Shastri

THE REPRESENTATIONIST THEORY OF PERCEPTION IN BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY

Theories of perception can be grouped undeɹ three heads: realism, idealism and representationism, According to realim, an external object exists independently of our gognition and the perception of it is direct and immediate. For example, the Nyāya-vaiśeṣika holds that the object has a real contact with the sense-organ, which, in turn has contact with the internal organ or *manas*. It adds that *manas* remains in touch with the soul. Thus, it lays down that through this contact-process cognition takes place. Likewise, the two Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā schools, the Sāṃkhya and the Jaina schools represent the realistic approach, even though they differ on the nature of reality and its cognition.

Idealism is of several types. Subjective idealism holds that there is no objective world independent of our cognition. What we believe to be objective reality is only the reflex of our ideas. It is represented by the Yogācāra system in Indian philosophy and the theory of Berkley in Western thought, On the other hand, objective idealism maintains that external objects do exist, but they are the expression of the universal soul. Upaniṣadic monism is of this type. A third type is transcendental idealism. According to it, the empirical world is transcendentally ideal. It is associated with Kant and, acccording to some scholars, also with Dignāga[1].

Dignāga maintains that there are only two types of objects: the particular (*viśeṣa* or *svalakṣaṇa*) and the universal or general (*sāmānya lakśaṇa*). The particular is external and the external is real. But external reality is directly cognized or more precisely reflected only in sensation[2]. Thus, the external object exists. The sensation (*nirvikalpaka pratyakṣa*) of it is direct and immediate, while the determinate perception (*savikalpaka pratyakṣa*) of it is not direct. In this respect, this theory of Dignāga may be called, as Stcherbatsky also indicated[3], critical realism.

Next comes the theory of representationism. This is also a form of realism which stands midway between it and idealism, This theory is based on the causal notion of perception. In the words of a recent writer, "there is a substance, mind, on the one side, and another substance, matter, on the other. The latter causes an effect in the former. This is the

1. (a) Th. Stcherbatsky, Tbe central conception of Buddhism, Calcutta, 1956. (CCB.), p. 45.
   (b) Shastri D.N. Critique of Indian Realism, p. 44.
2. Th. Stcherbatsky, Buddhist Logic (BL.) Vol. I. p. 510.
3. *Ibid*, p. 510.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

sensum; and, because it is an effect, it necessarily leads to the conclusion that its cause exists. Apprehension of an object is, therefore, an inference[4]". But it is not necessary that cognition of external things should take place only through inference. Even Locke has not said so in his definition of representationism which is as follows:— "The mind knows not things immediately but only by the intervention of ideas it has of them".[5] Thus, it is clear that, according to representationism, an external object is real and it must be cognized indirectly. It is immaterial whether it is cognized through inference or other means of knowledge,

The Brahmanic writers have ascribed this theory to the Sautrāntika school of Buddhism. Mādhavā-cārya in the Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha expounds the Sautrāntika theory of perception as follows;- "When an object comes into contact with the sense-organ, it produces a cognition to which it transfers its own form ; it is through its form that the existence of that object is inferred".[6] Two ideas are involved here: (a) the transference of the external object to the cognition in the process of its contact with the sense-organ, and (b) the inference of the existence of that obiect in terms of that form.

Now, it is observed that to the Sautrāntika this theory is perhaps wrongly ascribed[7] and, "the ascription of this view to the Sautrāntika school does not seem to be warranted by any original Buddhist authority".[8] In this paper an attempt is made to see if the Sautrāntika school is representationist or not.

Unfortunately, the original works of Sautrāntika school are not available. Many references to the doctrines of this school, however, are scattered through-out Buddhist as well as Brahmanical and Jaina literature. And, of course, the exposition of many Buddhist doctrines attempted by some of the Brahmanical writers is as authentic as that of the Buddhist writers themselves. For instance, vācaspatimiśras exposition of the Buddhist philosophical theroies is so faithful and correct that there is no room for any sort of doubt in it. Stcherbatsky rightly remarks : "He (Vācaspatimiśra) possessed an unrivalled mastery in the exposition of the most difficult problems, a vast knowledge in brahmanical systems and first hand information in Buddhist philosophical literature. His exposition of the Buddhist doctrine of perception is, therefore, of high importance"[9]. Hence we have mostly to rely upon the works of Vācaspatimiśra for our investigation. However, we may supplement them by the quotations in the works of Dharmakīrti and other recently published treatises of Buddhist logic.

4. S.Z. Hassan, Realism, p. 63.
5. Essay, IV. 1.2.
6. Indriya-sannikṛṣṭasya viṣayasya utpādye jñāne svākāra-samarpakatayā samarpitena cākareṇa tasyārth syānumeyatopapatteḥ. SDS. p. 36.
7. Shastri D.N. Critique of Indian Realism, p. 42 line 1; p. 65 line 1.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 41 fn. 4.
9. BL. Vol, 11, p. 257 fn. 1.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Now, before going further, we have to discuss the process of perception according to the Sautrāntikas. Both the Vaibhāṣikas and Sautrāntikas admit the existence of elements (*dharma*). According to them, the object of knowledge is a compound thing (*saṁghatā*), a plurality of separate, though interdependent, elements without real unity. The elements are only momentary flashes, they cannot come into contact nor influence each other. So there can be no 'seizing' or 'grasping' (*grahaṇa*) of the object by the mind. But; according to the law of dependent origination (*pratītya-samutpāda*), there can only be a sensation of an object which stcherbatsky describes as "a moment of colour (rūpa), a moment of the sense-of-vision-matter (chakṣuḥ), and a moment of pure consciousness (chitta), arising simultaneously in close contiguity, constitute what is called a sensation (*sparśa*)[10].

Stcherbatsky further adds : "There is no great disagreement between the Vaibhāṣikas (Sarvastivādins) and the Sautrāntikas on the interpretation of the origin of cognition".[11] But it appears from the works of Vācaspatimiśra that the sautrāntika theory of perception is quite different from the Vaibhāṣika. Vācaspatimiśra has discussed the Sautrāntika theory of perception at several places.[12] According to his account of this theory "The external object gives rise to cognition, the latter must be similar in form to the former, when we apprehend the cognition, conforming to that object, we cognise that object[13]". Thus "to know an object means to become aware of the form which has been evoked by that object in the cognition".[14]

It is clear from this account that, according to the Sautrāntika, (i) the cognitions bear forms of their objects and (ii) external objects are not apprehended directly but through their forms in the cognitions. There are copious references in Vācaspatimiśras works which show these two facts. Vācaspatimiśra has discussed in detail the Sautrāntika theory of *Sākārajñāna-vāda* in the *Nyāya-vārttika-tātparya-ṭīkā*[15] as well as in the *Nyāya-kaṇikā,*[16] In the former work, summarizing the Sautrāntika theory, he arrives at the conclusion. "Therefore it is a mere fancy that cognition without form can apprehend the external object. In fact, cognition with form (*sākāra*) only can apprehend the external object".[17]

10. CCB., p. 45.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 52.
12. (a). Nyāya-kaṇikā, pp. 255-256;
    (b) Nyāya-vārttika-tātparya-tīkā, Benares 1925 (NVT.) pp, 656-659.
13. Tatsārūpya-tadutpattibhyāṁ ca viṣayatvena, Nyāya-kaṇika, p. 256.
14. Arthāhitākāra-vedanam eva cārtha-vedanam. *Ibid.* p. 256.
15. NVT. pp. 656-657.
16. Nyāya-kaṇikā, pp. 255-256.
17. Tasmād anākāraṁ vijñānaṁ bāhyaṁ gocarayatīti manorathamātram astu sākāram eva bāhya-gocarm. NVT. p. 657.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

In the Nyāya-kaṇikā, he concludes "Thus the Sautrāntika teaches that the (external) object can be cognised through cognition with forms".[18]

In the same way, the Brahmanical writers as Jayantabhaṭṭa, Udayanācārya, Pārthasārthimiśra, as well as the Jain authors like Prabhācandra, have expounded this theory of the Sautrāntikas.

Now, the question remains unanswered : on what Buddhist authority have these views been ascribed to the Sautrāntika ?

First of all, it may be pointed out that Dignāga, the founder of Buddhist logic and epistemology, himself states that an object transfers its form to cognition. A frequently quoted verse, ascribed to him[19], says "The mere existence of consciousness (*vitti*) does not amount to the cognition of an object, because conciousness is always undifferentiated. But conformity (*sārūpya*) entering into consciousness (tām āviśat) gives form to it (*sārūpyavattvaṁ ghaṭayet*)[20]".

Dharmakīrti also states at several places that, according to sautrātika theory, the object transfers its form to the consciousness. In the *Pramāṇavārttika* he says. "If it is asked, how can an object, separated from us in time, be apprehended, we will answer that men of wisdom hold that to be apprehended means only to be the cause (of cognition) *i.e.* the capability to give its form to the consciousness[21]". At another place, he has explained this fact in words similar to those of Dignāga quoted above *i.e.* "Except for the conformity with the object (*artha-rūpatā*), none (sense-organ *etc.*) can connect the cognition with the object (e.g. 'this is blue'; this is not non-blue')[22]".

Moreover, there are some references in ths *Pramāṇāvārttika* and its commentary by Manorathanandin, which show that the external things are indirectly perceived according to the Sautrāntikas : (a) "The Sautrāntika holds that the object cannot be perceived by its own form directly. But, when the cognition, corresponding to the form of external object, is apprehended, we can determine the object (in the form 'this is blue'); if there ls no conformity (sārūpya) with the external object, how can be there the determination of the object[23] ?" (b) "How is the object apprehended ?

18. Tasmāt sākāra-jñāna-gocaro' rtha iti Sautrāntikaḥ pratipedire. Nyāya-kaṇikā, p. 256.
19 Cf. BL Vol. II, p. 359.
20. Na vittisattaiva tadvedanā yuktā tasyāḥ sarvatrāviśeṣāt. Tām tu sārūpyam āviśat sarūpayat tad ghatayet. (Read sārūpyavattvaṁ ghatayet', Bl. Vol. II. p. 40 fn. 4.) Nyāyakaṇikā, p. 256 ; Bhāmati (Bombay, 1939) pp. 542, 544.
21. Bhinnakālam kathaṁ grāhyam iti ced grāhyatām viduh. Hetutvam eva yuktijñā jñānākārāpaṇa-kṣamam. Pramāṇa-vārttika (PV.), 2.247.
22; Arthena ghatayatyenām nahi muktvārtha-rūpatām. *Ibid*.. 2. 305.
23. Na hyarthaḥ svarūpeṇa dṛśyate. Tatsvarūpa-buddhivedanād arthagrahavyavasthā Sārūpyam eva cen na sambhavati katham arthagraha iti manyate Sautrāntikaḥ. PV. Vṛtti, 2.353.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

From the transference of its form to the cognition."[24] (c) "The object is apprehended through cognition (not directly through its own form, as the commentary adds)[25]".

Dharmottara, the commentator of the *Nyāyabindu* has explained lucidly this theory of the Sautrāntika in these words: "A cognition (jñāna) arising from an object corresponds to that object in its form. For instance, the cognition produced by a patch of blue is like that blue. This conformity (*sārūpya*) is described (in other terms) as similarity (sādṛśya) form (*ākāra*) and representation[26] (*ābhāsa*) of the object[27]". And, further he adds: "The cognition of an object in the form of perceptive knowledge is possible owing to the conformity (of the cognition with the object). Indeed, as the awareness presents itself in the form of something blue, therefore, we have a cognition of the blue (in the form 'this is blue')[28]"

It is a point to be noted here that this process of perception mentioned by Dharmottara is mainly according to the Sautrāntika point of view[29]. It is obvious, thus, that the Sautrāntika school of Buddhits philosophy maintains that external objects cannot be perceived directly, but by their forms which they transfer to their cognition. Inspite of this, the external object ls perceptible, not inferable, for the Sautrāntikas. Dharmottara has mentioned this very fact in the passage referred to above. He has used the word *pratyakṣaṁvijñānam* (perceptible knowledge) for the cognition of an object[30]. As a matter of fact, the external object is not to be inferred according to the Sautrāntika. This assumption is imposed on him by the opponents of this school, in the later period. For example explaining the verse "*bhinnakālam*" etc., quoted above, Udayanācārya writes: "They say that, since the object is inferred (*anumīyate*) by its form, cognized through perception, therefore, the object is called perceived[31]". In the Vṛtti of Manorathanandin, the commentary of *Pramāṇavārttika*, the following objection is raised by the followers of Yogācāra against the sautrāntikas: "In this way the external object would be inferable, but not perceptible, as is desired (by the Sautrāntika)[32]".

The relevant question now is as to how it is said that external thing

24. Viṣayasya kathaṁ vyaktiḥ ? Prakāśe-rūpasaṁkramāt. PV., 2.429.
25. Arthas tadrūpeṇa prakāśate PV., 2.482. Arthaḥ sārūpyasaṁkrāntes tadrūpeṇa jñānarūpeṇa prakāśate na tu sākṣāt svarūpeṇā, PV. vṛtti, 2.482.
26. Cf. BL. Vol. II., p. 41.
27. Yasmād vịṣayāj jñānam udeti tad-viṣaya-sadṛśaṁ tad bhavati. Yathā nīlad utpadyamānaṁ nīlasadṛśam. Tacca sārūpyaṁ sādṛśyam ākāra ityābhāsa ityapi vyapadiśyate. Nyāyabindu-tika, (Banaras, 1954), p. 18.
28. Arthasya pratītirūpaṁ pratyakṣaṁ vijñānaṁ sārūpyavaśāt sidhyati.........Nīlanirbhāsaṁ hi vijñānaṁ yatas tasmān nīlasya pratiravasīyate. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
29. Cf. Durveka miśra, Nyāyabindu-tīka-pradīpa, p. 44.
30. Nyāyabindu-tīkā, p. 19.
31. Yad āhuḥ pratyakṣasiddhenākāreṇārtho' numīyata iti phalataḥ pratyakṣo'rthaḥ. Pariśuddhi, p. 649.
32. Evam apyanumānagamyo bahir artho bhaven na pratyakṣo yatheṣyate. PV., Vṛtti, 2.392.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

is proved through inference according to the Sautrāntikas. However, there are copious refrences to this effect, in the works of Brāhmanical as well as Buddhist writers. For example, in the *Bhāmatī*, the commentary on *Śāṁkara bhāṣya*, Vācaspatimiśra has given a lucid account of the Sautrāntika opinion in this connection. He has concluded the Sautrāntika point of view as follows: "Thus, if there does not exist an external object, the variety of cognitions can never take place. The external object is, therefore, to be inferred according to the Sautrāntikas[33]."

In the *Nyāya-vārttika-tātparya-ṭīkā* this idea is explained more lucidly appealing to common sense. "The blue and the like appear occasionally (in the cognitions). It is due to external object[34]", Here, also Vācaspatimiśra concludes: "This is the inference to prove the external object according to the Sautrāntikas[35]".

Similarly, the theory that the existence of external thing is proved through inference is laid down in the *Pramāṇavārttika* and its vṛtti, in the following way: "It is seen that the other causes (sense-organ *etc.*) of the perception are present the sensation is not produced. We infer from this that a certain cause is absent there. That certain cause is external object. It is held by the other (*i.e.*) Sautrāntika[36]".

Now, to answer the above question, it may be said that inference is, no doubt, given by the Sautrāntikas against the Vijñāna-vādin or Yogācāra to prove the existence of external objects. But, it should be borne in mind that there are two issues distinct from each other: One is, "How do we apprehend an external object?" and, the other, "How do we prove the existence of an external object?" Now, according to the Sautrāntikas, the external object cannot be perceived directly. Our perception, therefore, cannot prove the existence of it. But the Sautrāntikas hold that external objects do exist. Consequently, they put forward an inference to prove the existence of external things.

Thus, the above discussion points to the following conclusions—

(i) According to the Sautrāntika, the cognition has the form of external object. It is, therefore, *sākāra*, while according to the Vaibhāṣika, the cognition has no form. It is *nirākāra*[37]. Vācaspatimiśra outlines the arguments of the Sautrāntika against the doctrine of *nirākāravāda* (the

33. Tasmād asati bāhye'r the pratyaya-vaicitryā-nupapatter astyānumāniko bāhyā-arthā iti Sautrāntikāḥ. Bhāmati, p. 546.
34. Nanu nīlādyākārasya kādācitkatvam eva pramāṇam. NVT, p. 658.
35. Tad idam anumānaṁ sautrāntikānāṁ bāhyā-bhupagama iti. *Ibid.* p. 659.
36. Hetubhedānumā bhavet. PV. 2.391. Satsvanyeṣuindriyādiṣu hetuṣvakṣa-buddhīnām abhāvāt. Hetubhedasya tadatiriktasya kāraṇaviśeṣasyānumā bhavet.........yaścāsau kāraṇa-bhedaḥ sa bahyo'rtho bhaviṣyatīti manyate paraḥ. PV. Vṛtti 2.391-392.
37. Nirākāra-buddhi-vādi-Vaibhāṣika-mate. PV. Vṛtti. 2-13.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

theory that cognition has no form) in the *Nyāyakaṇikā*[38]. The other distinguishing point of the Sautrāntika theory of perception is that external objects are not apprehended directly but through the cognitions of those objects. (ii) Again, the Sautrāntika holds that external objects are perceptible, not inferable' They are to be determined or distinctly cognized by the constructive knowledge or *vikalpa*, following the sensation or *nirvikalpakajñāna.* (iii) The Sautrāntika accepts the existence of external objects which cannot be apprehended directly and immediately but by the intervention of ideas or forms evoked by them in the cognitions. The Sautrāntika, therefore, may be called an advocate of the representationist theory of perception in Indian philosophy.

GLOSSARY OF TECHNICAL TERMS

Ābhāsa (*Ākāra*)—representation, used in the sense of *sārūpyā*
Ākāra—form
Citta (*Vijñāna or Vitti*)—Consciousness.
Grahaṇa—direct apprehension.
Jñāna (*Vijñāna or Vedana*)—Cognition.
Nirākāra—without form.
Nirvikalpaka pratyakṣa (*sparśa*)—sensation, indeterminate perception.
Pratīti (*vedanā, Vedana*)—definite cognition, determinate perception.
Pratītya samutpāda—dependent origination, the Buddhist causal theory *i.e.* there being one thing the other follows.
Sādṛśya—similarity.
Sākāra—with form.
Sākāra-jñāna-vāda—the theory that cognitions have forms.
Sāmānya lakṣaṇa—Buddist term for generalized reality.
Saṁghāta—a compound or collection of separate elements.
Sārūpya—conformity.
Savikalpaka pratyakṣa—determinate perception, which is only pseudo perception according to the Buddhist.
Sparśa—The cooperation of organs and consciousness, sensation.
Svalakṣaṇa (*viśeṣa*)—particular, ultimate reality according to Dignāga system.
Vedanā or Vedana—definite cognition.
Vijñāna—Consciousness, Cognition.
Vikalpa—indirect cognition, Cognition other than sensation, construction.
Viśeṣa—particular.
Vṛtti—Consciousness.

38. Nyāya-kaṇikā, pp. 254-256, Stcherbatsky has translated the same text in BL. Vol. II. pp. 352-360.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

POLITICAL SCIENCE

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

P.N. Mital

EXCLUSION AND EXPULSION OF ALIENS UNDER THE U.S. LAWS

George Washington said in 1783 : "The bosom of America is open to receive not only the opulent and respectable stranger but the oppressed and persecuted of all nations and religions; whom we shall welcome to a participation of all our rights and privileges, if by decency and propriety of conduct they appear to merit the enjoyment."*

An open-door to the immigrant was the early federal policy. The first national legislation dealing with the exclusion or the expulsion of aliens was the Alien Act of 1798, giving the President power to order to leave the country any alien whom he deemed dangerous to the United States. This Act was unpopular and passed out of existence at the end of its two-year term. With the exception of this act there was no national legislation on the subject of exclusion or expulsion untill the passage of the Act of 1875. The Act of 1875 was very narrow in its scope as it excluded only convicts and prostitutes. However, its established the policy of national regulation and restriction. The policy once established, other legislation by Congress soon followed. In 1882, the first general immigration law was passed. This levied a head tax of fifty cents on each alien passenger brought to the country. It added to the excludable classes lunatics, idiots, and persons unable to take care of themselves without becoming a public charge. This open-door began to close in 1882 when Orientals were excluded. Thereafter, Congress has intermittently added to the excluded classes, and as rejections at the border multiplied illegal entries increased. To combat these, recourse was had to deportation in the Act of 1891. However, that Act could be applied to an illegal entrant only within one year after his entry. Although that time-limit was subsequently extended, until after the turn of the century expulsion was used only as an auxiliary remedy to enforce exclusion.

Congress, in 1907, provided for deportation of legally resident aliens, but the statute reached only women found engaged in prostitution, and deportation proceedings were authorized only within three years after entry. From these early steps, the policy has been extended. In 1910, new classes of resident aliens were listed for deportation, including the first time political offenders such as anarchists and those believing in or advocating the overthrow of the government by force and violence. In 1917, aliens who were found after entry to be advocating anarchist doctrines or the overthrow of the government by force or violence were made subject to

* Quoted in The University of Chicago Law Review, Vol. 20 (1952-53), p. 547.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

deportation, a five year time-limit being retained. In 1918, deportability because of membership in described subversive organizations was introduced. When the Supreme Court, in 1939, held that the act reached only aliens who were members when the proceedings against them were instituted in Kessler v. Strecker,[1] Congress promptly enacted the Alien Registration Act of 1940 making deportation mandatory for all aliens who at any time past have been members of prescribed organizations. In so doing it also eliminated the time-limit for institution of proceedings thereunder. However, under the Act of 1940, it was necessary to prove in each case, where membership in Communist Party was made the basis of deportation, that the party did, in fact, advocate the violent overthrow of the government. The Internal Security Act of 1950 dispensed with this requirement. This was modified by the Act of March 28, 1951, which insists upon the establishment of meaningful voluntary past membership for purposes of deportation. The Immigration and Nationality Act of June 27, 1952 passed over the veto of President Truman with subsequent amendments (especially those of July 18, 1956 and Sept. 26, 1961) makes very significant changes in the exclusion and expulsion provisions with regard to aliens, resident and non-resident.

From the very begining, the Supreme Court has held that Congress has the power to restrict immigration. Originally, the power to restrict was derived from the Commerce Clause.[2] The Court soon declared, however, that the power to restrict was an aspect of national sovereignity, which Congress might exercise, without the necessity of relying on any specific constitutional grant. It is undeniable that the federal government, acting through Congress, must be able to restrict immigration in some manner. But that Congress should have unlimited power in this field is less certain. Theoretically, limitations might have been found either in treaties with foreign governments or in specific constitutional prohibitions. But the general rule has been that acts of Congress will be enforced by the Courts even though in contradiction to previously adopted international treaties.

The Dual Nature of Immigration

The problem of immigration involves two basic issues : political control over the borders; and, constitutional due process.

Congress has traditionally proceeded on the assumption that political control over borders is the only important consideration in this area, an assumption mirrored in judicial statements that Congress has plenary power over immigration. But plenary power to choose a policy may not mean plenary power to effect it. This brings in question of procedural due process. Early cases, it is true, characterized Congressional power as

1. 307 U.S. 22 (1939). [Citatious from The United States Suprem Court Reports]
2. Head Money Cases, 122 U.S. 580 (1884).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

absolute, but they dealt primarily with the power to set standards for exclusion and expulsion, rather than with the process by which such standards were implented. Previous legislation, by making adminstrative order of deportation and exclusion final, reflected a consistent congressional desire to limit judical participation in immigration matters. But the courts could not be completely excluded from the area, because of the practical impossibility of executing the order without taking the alien into custody, made the judicial writ of *habeas corpus* available to provide at least a modicum of judicial scrutiny.[3] The scope of inquiry under the writ was severely limited at first. Gradually however, the writ came to be used as a limited form of review, testing whether the statute had been correctly construed, whether there was any evidence to support the order and whether the hearing was fair. The passage of the Administrative procedure Act of 1946, and the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 raised new questions concerning the availability of direct judicial review.

Exclusion and Deportation

Technically, exclusion refers to the refusal to admit a non-resident alien; and deportation refers to any process by which an alien physically within this country or detained at a border is removed. Since aliens can be physically present without having made entry in contemplation of law, deportation can be removal of either an excluded or expelled alien.[4] The Congress has used non-technical terminology and the law uses the term "deportation" for "expulsion". Following the usage employed by Congress "exclusion" is the process of excluding and deporting an alien; whereas, "deportation" is the process of expelling and deporting him.

The process in both deportation and exclusion contains two steps: 1. issuing, and 2. executing, the order. The latter step involves custody to the extent that the Immigration and Naturalization Service must restrain the alien long enough to remove him. This restraint may range from the simple act of placing the alien on a ship to prolonged detention, when—generally because of difficulty in finding a country which will accept the alien—he virtually cannot be removed.[5] The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 provides that an alien may be detained for a limited period (six months) pending removal in deportation. However the status places no limitations on detention pending the removal of an excluded alien.

Exclusion from Admission

The Court has long recognised that "every sovereign nation has the power, as inherent in sovereignty, and essential to self-preservation, to

3. "Deportation and Exclusion: A Continuing Dialogue between the Congress and the Courts", *Yale Law Journal* 71 (1961-62), pp. 761-762.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 761.
5. As was the case in Shaughnessy v. United States ex. rel. Mezei, 345 U.S. 206 (1953).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

forbid the entrance of foreigners within its dominions, or to admit them only in such cases and upon such conditions as it may see fit to prescribe[6]. The Court has declared that "over no conceivable subject is the legislative power of Congress more complete"[7] that it is over the control of immigration. Congress may "exclude aliens of a particular race from the United States; prescribe the terms and conditions upon which certain classes of aliens may come to this country: establish regulations for sending out of the country such aliens as come here in violation of the law; and commit the enforcement of such provisions, conditions, and regulations exclusively to executive officers, without judicial intervention."[8] In United States ex rel. Knauff v. Shaughnessy,[9] the Court held that the alien wife of a citizen veteran of World War II could be denied entry to the United States without a hearing and solely upon a finding by the Attorney-General that her admission would be prejudicial to the interests of the United States for reasons which could not be disclosed without endangering the public security. The Court emphasised that admission of aliens was a privilege to be granted only upon such terms and by such procedure as Congress prescribed and that Courts were without authority to review such political determinations. Commenting on the line taken by the majority opinion and the dissent of Jackson, Frankfurter, and Black, JJ Konvitz remarks : "The alien, when he reaches an American port of entry, lives under a government of men, not under a government of laws, in so far as Congress has subjected the alien to the absolute discretion of certain officers. The alien can find practically no protection in the constitution. The case of Ellen Knauff has settled this question...As we have seen, *there was no dissent in the Supreme Court from the decision on this point*."[10] Similarly in Shaughnessy v. United States ex rel. Mezei[11] the Court held that "the alien's right to enter the United States depends on the Congressional will, and the courts cannot substitute their judgment for the legislative mandate." The opinion of the Supreme Court was in agreement with Judge Learned hand's dissent in the Circuit Court, wherein he observed . "The Attorney General's order was one of exclusion and not of deportation; respondent's transfer from ship to shore on Ellis Island conferred no additional rights: in fact, no alien so situated can force us to admit him at all."[12]

With such a breadth of power vested in Congress, the principal issues have arisen from challenges to the exercise of delegated powers by

6. Nishimura Ekiu v. United States, 142 U.S. 651 (1892).
7. Oceanic Steam Navigation Co. v. Stranahan, 214 U.S. 320 (1909).
8. Yamatya v. Fisher, 189 U.S. 86 (1903).
9. 338 U.S. 537 (1950).
10. Konvitz, *Civil Rights in Immigration,* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1953), p. 50.
11. 345 U.S. 206 (1953).
12. Learned Hand's dissent in Shaughnessy v. United States ex rel. Mezei in the Circuit Court of Appeal.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

administrative agencies. The Court has ruled that the decision of immigration officers as the right of entering the United States may be made "final and conclusive" without violation of the constitution.

Deportaion or Expulsion

The attitude of the Supreme Court on deportation or expulsion cases has been somewhat different. There have been two competing points of view before the Court almost from the earliest times. One of the points of view has been to treat the exclusion and expulsion cases virtually at par and give the administration and the Congress the same amount of discretion which they would have in exclusion cases. The other point of view has been that exclusion and expulsion cases are completely different, and there is wide and essential difference between the two types of cases. This split in the Court became apparent in the first deportation case which came before the Court in 1893. This was the famous Fong Yue Ting v. United States.[13] The majority opinion written by Justice Gray maintained that "The right of a nation to expel or deport foreigners, who have not been naturalized or any steps towards becoming citizens of the country rests upon the same grounds, and is as absolute and unqualified as the right to prohibit and prevent their entrance into the country." Justice Gray refused to make any distinction between the two types of cases and further reiterated that "The power to exclude aliens and the power to expel them rest upon one foundation, are derived from one source, are supported by the same reasons, and are in truth but parts of one and the same power." But Chief Justice Fuller, Justice Brewer and Justice Field gave vigorous dissents. Chief Justice Fuller observed, "...Conceding that the exercise of the power to exclude is committed to the political department, and that the denial of entrance is not necessarily the subject of judicial cognizance, the right to remain may be terminated, rest on different ground, since limitations exist or are imposed upon the deprivation of that which has been lawfully acquired. Justice Brewer was of the view" that those who have become domiciled in a country are entitled to a more distinct and larger measure of protection than those who are simply passing through, or temporarily in it, has long been recognized by the law of nations..." Justice Field's dissent was the most vigorous. He said, "I utterly dissent from and reject the doctrine expressed in the opinion of the majority...According to its theory Congress might have ordered executive officers to take the Chinese labourers to the ocean and put them into a boat and set them adrift; or to take them to borders of Mexico and turn them loose there; and in both cases without any means of support: indeed, it might have sanctioned towards these labourers the most shocking brutality conceivable."

However, the Court continued to stick to the majority opinion in the Fong Yue Ting case and in subsequent cases maintained the view that

13. 149 U. S. 698 (1893).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the Congress "may impose conditions upon the performance of which the continued liberty of the alien to reside within the bounds of this country may be made to depend,"[14] and in order to effectuate its deportation policy, it may "devolve the power and duty of identifying and arresting" such aliens upon "executive and subordinate officials,"[15] and "the findings of fact reached by such officials, after a fair though summary hearing may constitutionally be made conclusive."[16] In Harisiades v. Shaughnessy,[17] the Court sustained the power of the Congress to provide for deportation of a legally resident alien because of membership in the Communist Party where the membership terminated before the enactment of the Alien Registration Act of 1940 In Kessler v. Strecker[18] the Court had earlier decided that under the Act of 1918 Congress had not clearly expressed an intent that the membership of the Communist party constituted cause for deportation after it had ceased, and the Act of 1940 was passed to take care of that situation. In Harisiades v. Shaughnessy petitioners, residents of the United States for over thirty years, contended that the Act was invalid on three grounds ; that it deprived aliens of liberty without due process of law, that it abridged their freedoms of speech and assembly, and that it was an ex-post-facto law. All of these contentions were denied. Justice Jackson delivering the opinion of the Court maintained that the policy towards aliens is so exclusively entrusted to the political branches of the government as to be largely immune from judicial inquiry or interference; and it cannot be said that the power has been so unreasonably or harshly exercised by Congress in this Act as to warrant judicial interference. He added, "That aliens remain vulnerable to expulsion after long residence is a practice that bristles with severities. But it is a weapon of defence and reprisal confirmed by International Law as a power inherent in every sovereign state." Justice Frankfurter concurred with the opinion of the Court and remarked that "the determination of a selective and exclusionary immigration policy was for the Congress and not for the judiciary." However, Justice Black and Justice Douglas dissented and found the reasoning of the Court foreign to the American way of life.

Despite the Court's admission that deporation may "visit as great a hardship as the deprivation of the right to pursue a vocation or calling,"[19] it has uniformly been regarded as "not a punishment"[20] but merely a "method of enforcing the return to his own country of an alien who has not complied the conditions upon the performance of which the government of the nation has determined that his continuing to reside here

14. Zakonite v. Wolf, 226 U. S. 272 (1912).
15. Wong Wing v. United States, 163 U. S. 228 (1896).
16. *Ibid.*, 226 U. S. 272 (1912).
17. 342 U. S. 580 (1951).
18. 307 U. S. 22 (1939).
19. Bridges v. Wixon, 326 U. S. 135 (1945).
20. Mahler v. Eby, 264 U. S. 23 (1924).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

shall depend."[21] This view of deportation proceedings as civil in nature has several important constitutional consequences. It means that aliens may be denied the assistance of counsel during preliminary deportation proceedings,[22] that the ex-post-facto clause is not a limitation upon deporation legisiation,[23] that the rule excluding involuntary confessions has no application.[24]

The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (with subsequent amendments, particularly in 1955 and 1961) has made an attempt at codifying the deportation (expulsion) law under section 241 and section 242 (f). There are two categories of deportable aliens: 1. Excludable at the time of entry; and 2. who became deportable after entry. The Act makes sweeping provisions for deportation and very much widens the class of deportable persons. Ex-post-facto provisions do not apply, as these proceedings continue to be treated as civil, even though the hardships that follow deportation may be far more serious than imprisonment for a year or more. There is no statute of limitation for section 241 (a) 1 and 241 (a) 2. Earlier they were five and three years respectively. Scope for deportation has been very much broadened under the new law on the basis of commission of crime, subversion, violation of status, drug addiction and illicit trafficking etc. Among the important deportation cases decided by the Court after the passage of the Act of 1952 have been Marcello v. Bonds[25], Jay v. Boyd[26] and Foti v. Immigration and Naturalization Service.[27] In Marcello v. Bonds the Court held that "the prohibition of the ex-post-facto clause does not apply to deportation, and therefore retroactive application of 1952 Immigration and Nationality Act provision making conviction for any offense pertaining to marihuana ground for deportation was not unconstitutional." In Jay v. Boyd the Court upheld the denial of discretionary relief by the the Attorney General on the basis of undisclosed confidential information. The Court was of the view that the suspension deporta-tion is not a matter of right but a matter of grace, like probation, parole or suspension of sentence, and the applicant is not entitled to the kind of a hearing which contemplates full disclosure of the considerations entering into an exercise of the Attorney General's discretion. The Court was divided five-to-four and Chief Justice Warren, Justice Frankfurter, Justice Black and Justice Douglas dissented. In his vigorous dissent Justice Frankfurter maintained that the discretionary power lay with the Attorney General and not with his subordinates. He said, "The Attorney General may act on confidential information and Congress has left him

21. Fong Yue Ting v. United States, 149 U. S. 698 (1893).
22. Low Wah Suey v. Backus, 225 U. S. 460 (1912).
23. *Ibid.*, Eby. 264 U. S. 32 (1924).
24. United States ex rel. Bilokumsky v. Tod, 263 U. S. 149 (1923).
25. 349 U. S. 302 (1955).
26. 351 U. S. 345 (1956).
27. 375 U. S. 217 (1963).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

to square it with his conscience. But he cannot shelter himself behind the appearance of legal procedure......a system of administrative law......and yet infuse it with a denial of what is basic to such a system."[28] The *Foti* case involved the question of judicial review of administrative determination by the Federal Court of Appeals under section 106 (a) of the Immigration and Nationality Act as added in 1961. The Supreme Court held that a Federal Court of Appeals has sole and exclusive jurisdiction to review an administrative determination of the Attorney-General denying a suspension of deportation sought by an alien under section 244 (a) (5).

One can easily find himself in agreement with what Van Vleck wrote in 1932. He said, "The power to expel is no longer disregarded as a mere incident of the more important matter of excluding. It is being invoked as an aid to the criminal law and as a protection against proscribed opinions."[29] Proceedings in deportation cases are very flexible. Arrest may be made without warrant, if found necessary; and warrant may be issued later. Additional charges can be made during the hearing. The Special Inquiry Officer is both Judge and District Attorney in most cases. Through section 242 provides that "No decision of deportability shall be valid unless it is based upon reasonable, substantial and probative evidence," there is the presumption that the service is simply conducting an investigation, and if fair hearing has been given, the Courts will sustain the ruling.

Availability of Judicial Review in Exclusion and Expulsion Cases

The traditional remedy of a person detained by immigration authorities for the purpose of either being excluded or deported from the United States is habeas corpus. Under the Immigration Act of 1917, habeas corpus was held to be the exclusive means of obtaining judicial review, except in cases in which the Alien's status (citizenship or eligibility for citizenship) was at issue and review in declaratory judgment proceedings was also available. The courts exercised great restraint and permitted extraordinary discretion to the political branches almost consistently, considering the plenary nature of Congressional power over immigration. The passage of the Federal Administrative Procedure Act of 1946 presented problems as to relations between the courts and the Congress in view of the avowed object of the Act to limit administrative authority and to expand judicial review. The Administrative Procedure Act was intended to have general application both to existing and future legislation but it was not meant to supercede those statutes which provided adequate standards or whose policy needs were inconsistent with the imposition of set standards. The Immigration and Naturalization Service took the position

28. Justice Felix Frankfurter's dissenting opinion in Jay v Boyd, 351 U. S. 345 (1956).
29. Van Vleck, *The Administrative Control of Aliens* (New York : The Commonwealth Fund, 1932), p. 22.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

that the hearing requirements of the Administrative Procedure Act did not apply because hearings in immigration proceedings were required not by statute but merely by judicial interpretation of statutes, and that the review provisions did not apply because a prior statute, the Immigration Act of 1917, by providing that admlnistrative determinations would be final, precluded review for purposes of the Administrative Procedure Act. On February 20, 1950, in the Wong Yang Sung v. Mc Grath[30] the Court found the hearing concededly below the standards of the Administrative Procedure Act of 1946.[31] The Congress spoke back in the form of a rider to an appropriation act on September 23,19 50, that exempted "exclusion or expulsion of aliens" from the provisions of the Administrative procedure Act. As Walter Gellhorn has remarked, "......In the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952......the exemption was copper-riveted by providing that exclusion and deportation hearings could from now on be held by an immigration officer, the Attorney General might care to designate, who could also simultanecously discharge whatever other duties the Attorncy-General might prescribe. Thus was Wong Yang Sung v. Mc Grath over-ruled."[32] Nor only this, the passage of the Administrative Procedure Act of 1946 and the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 raised new questions concerning the availability of direct judicial review under declaratory judgment. Construing these statutes, the Court in 1955 in Shaughnessy v. Padreiro[33] (Deportation case), and in 1956 in Brownell v. Tom We Sung[34] (Exclusion case) held the legality of a deportation or exclusion order entered against an alien under the provisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 was judicially reviewable not only by means of habeas corpus but also by an action of declaratory judgement under section 10 of the Administrative Procedure Act. This expansion of judicial participation in immigration provided the stimulus for H. R. 187 in 1961 to regulate the availability of judicial review. This Amendment of 1961 has limited the use of Declaratory Judgement only to deportation cases. Such cases have to be initiated in circuit courts for judicial review, and not in the District Courts. Cases of deportation involving citizenship are to be tried de novo by the District courts, after the preliminary hearing by the Circuit Courts.

---

30. 339 U. S. 33 (1950),
31. "Deportation and Exclusion : A Continuing Dialogue between the Congress and the Courts", *Yale Law Journal* 71 (1961-62), p. 770.
32. Walter Gellhorn, *Individual Freedom and Governmental Restraints* (Baton Rouge : Louisiana State University Press, 1956), p. 13.
33. 349 U. S. 48 (1955).
34. 352 U. S. 180 (1956).

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Surendra Chopra

RECENT TRENDS IN PAKISTAN'S FOREIGN POLICY

I

Pakistan's foreign policy can be divided into three periods, from 1947 to 1954, from 1954 to 1958 and the period after 1958. During the first period the framers of Pakistan's foreign policy aimed to seek friendly relations with the Islamic countries[1] and followed what may be called as policy of non-alignment; during the second period Pakistan followed a policy of total alignment[2] with the Western bloc and after the military coup d'etat in 1958, the military rulers sought to follow a policy of partial alignment with the West. The present study deals with the factors and motivations of a more independent and realistic foreign policy[3] which Pakistan pursued after the coup and more vigorously after the failure of Sino-Indian border talks in 1961.

II

A reaction against Western alliances set in as early as 1960. Mr. Ispahani, an influential leader and an ex-diplomat wrote in an article in the *Dawn*, vigorously advocating policy of non-alignment, he said :

> The countries which have followed this policy (the policy of non-alignment) have profited and their development has been faster. One has to look at India, UAR, Afghanistan and others to see how handsomely this policy has paid them. By receiving aid from both sides, they have created competition among the big powers and by retaining a policy of non-alignment have had blocs serenading to them round the clock. This attitude is considered immoral by the interested, but such an interpretation

1. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the first Prime Minister of Pakistan, addressing the National Press Club, Washingtion on 4 May, 1950 emphasized on relations of Pakistan with Islamic countries. See Liaquat Ali Khan, Pakistan: The Heart of Asia, Harvard University Press, 1950, p. 12.

2. For Pakistani viewpoint on Pakistan's membership of Pacts see Aslam Siddiqi, Pakistan seeks security; M.A. Chaudhri, Pakistan and Regional Pacts (Karachi, 1958), K. Sarwar Hasan, the Strategic Interests of Pakistan (Karachi, 1954), M.A. Chaudhri: "The Principle of Regional Pacts VIII, *Pakistan Horizon*, 1955, pp. 428-437.

3. For Pakistani view point see Khalid Bin Sayeed, Pakistan's Foreign Policy, IV *Asian Survey*, 1964, pp. 746-54, Khurshid Hyder "Recent Trends in the Foreign Policy of Pakistan," 22 *The World Today*, 1966, pp. 482-491. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, "Foreign Policy of Pakistan", in Joseph E. Black and Kenneth W. Thompson, ed., Foreign Policies in a world of change. (New York, Harper and Row), 1963, pp. 453-478.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

is unacceptable to anyone who has the interest of his country at heart and is solely guided by it.[4]

At another occasion while addressing a meeting of the Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, Mr. Ispahani said that during the days of alliances "we spoke with the voice of our aid givers and whether right or wrong, in almost all cases, we toed their line.[5]

Pakistanis started realising that the foreign policy adopted by men like Iskander Mirza and Suhrawardy was dangerous to the interests of Pakistan.[6] The Pakistanis in mid fiftees thought differently and the press and the scholarly writers advocated the membership of the western sponsored pacts in glowing terms. The Pakistanis had entered into pacts with a view to secure military aid against India, they suggested that Pakistan was so vulnerable, in case India decides to embark upon aggression against Pakistan, India could render the country a desolate waste by diverting the waters of rivers originating in India and flowing to Pakistan and cut the main rail and road connections within days of hostilities. Again, Pakistanis fear that India has larger army, and better economic and industrial base. The rebellions posture of the Pakhtoons of the North Western Frontier, and Afghan hostility was considered as another excuse for alignment with the west. Soviet threat to Pakistan was also exaggerated by Pakistanis.[7] The main purpose of the alliances was to strengthen her military position vis-a-vis India enabling her force a military decision on India in respect of Kashmir.[8] But shift in the Foreign Policy, as President Ayub wrote in article, came because it was difficult to explain to the Pakistani people a situation where "people like us who are in open friendship with U.S. and who have, as such, taken on certain added commitments are put on par with those who do not assume any commitment".[9]

III

Since India's relations with China started deteriorating after the Chinese constructed a road through Indian territory in Aksai Chin in a clandstine manner and clash with Indian patrols near Haji Langar, the

4. See *Dawn* (Karachi). An article entitled "Blow Zephyr Blow" by Political Observer, Feb. 1, 1961. Mr. Aspahani in a speech to the Pakistan Institute of Insternational Affairs disclosed that he was the author of the article. See text of the speech, "The Foreign Policy of Pakistan" XVII *Pakistan Horizon*, 1964, pp. 231-252.
5. M A.H. Ispahani. "Pacts and Aid", XIX *Pakistan Horizon*, 1966, p. 123. For full text of the speech see pp. 117-126.
6. Ispahani, op. cit.
7. See Surendra Chopra "Pakistan, Pacts and Kashmir", XXVI *Indian Journal of Political Science*, 1964 and the sources cited therein.
8. *Ibid.*, 232.
9. See *The Round Table*, 1961, p. 407.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Pakistanis, both press[10] and the political leaders[11] started having second thoughts about alignment with the West. Mr. Ispahani[12] vigorously pleaded for better relations with China and observers have expressed grave doubt about the efficacy of the military pact. A Pakistani diplomat M. Ayub addressing a meeting of the Germany Atlantic Association[13] points out various handicaps from which Pakistan had suffered as a result of alliance with the West, he said :

> The first noticeable disadvantage of participation in defence pacts was that Pakistan got cut off, to some extent from non-alligned states of Asia and Africa and that it reduced Pakistan's influence at United Nations and other international forums. The second and from the point of view of Kashmir more serious, drawback was that her membership of Cento antagonised Soviet Russia....Thirdly, while Cento and Seato, served as a deterrent against a possible attack on Pakistan by a Communist power, it provided no guarantee against an aggression by a non Communist state. They, therefore, failed to allay Pakistan's fears with regard to a potential enemy such as India.[14]

A Pakistani writer maintains that alliance with the West has "handicapped and hampered" Pakistan's foreign policy and it has suffered from lack of "diplomatic manoeuvrability."[15]

Pakistani overtures to China started in 1959. There were indications that Pakistan would negotiate with China and it was officially disclosed that Chinese maps were in possession of Pakistan Government.[16] The Chinese refused to discuss that position of the Sino-Indian border which is now under the occupation of Pakistan, during the first round of

10. *Dawn* (Karachi), Dec. 20, 1961 editorially said "Paradoxical though it my superficially seem, Red China s Pakistans greater potential friend." It added "Let us fool ourselves no more that any power, however well meaning, will eventually rush to our aid from across the oceans if we are in peril. An alliance nearer home against a common enemy is for more logical." Jung an Urdu daily of Karachi said that "China is most trustworthy friend on whom Pakistan can rely. It is in the fitness of things that China and Pakistan jointly size up possibilities of a joint defence as both are faced with danger from the same imperialist power (India)."
11. For example see President Ayub Khan, "The Pakistan-America Alliance," 42 *Foreign Affairs*, 1963-64.
12. Supra n. 3 and 4.
13. M. Ayub, "The Foreign Policy of Pakistan", text of the lecture reproduced in *Pakistan Horizon*, 1964, pp. 18-24. Also see K. Sarwar Hasan, Pakistan and the United Nations (New York, 1960). p. 52.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
15. S. Manzur ul Hasan Zaidi, "Pakistan at the Crossroads", 15 *Pakistan Horizon*, 1962, p. 26.
16. *Dawn* (Karachi), 1 October 1959.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

talks of officials of India and China.[17] China staged a volte face in their approach to Kashmir. The Chinese Premier, Mr. Chou En-Lai had assured India on March 16, 1956 that the "people of Kashmir had already expressed their will,[18] and again on 16 July, 1961, at the talks between Premier Chou En-Lai and the Secretary-General of the MInistry of External Affairs (India) quipped "can you cite any document to show that we have ever said that Kashmir is not a part of India?" But in reply to a protest note handed to the Embassy of China in India on 10 May 1962, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs said "can you cite any document to show that we have ever said that Kashmir is a part of India?"[19] It is true no document could be cited but an understanding or an oral assurance given by a friendly country was hardly doubted by India as in any way ambiguous or ambivalent.

China's deliberate ambiguity in respect of Kashmir was the the result of a clear foresight, with an eye on bringing Pakistan on China's side at a later date. In fact, the Pakistani Prime Mnister had elarified to Mr. Chou-En-lai as early as Bandung Conference[20] that the military pacts were not directed against China and Mr. Suhrawardy[21] had also assured Peking of Pakistan's friendly feeling towards China. President Ayub directed the foreign office to start negotiations on Sino-Pakistan boundary with China in 1960[22] but China waited for an opportune time to reply. When the border talks with India failed, Peking reacted to the Pakistani proposal for demarcation of boundary between Chinese Province of Sinkiang and Pakistan-held part of Jammu and Kashmir in February 1962.[23] By this time two important Sino-philes Mr. Altaf Hussain[24] former Editor of the Dawn and now Minister of Industries in the Ayub Cabinet and Mr. Z.A. Bhutto had created sufficient public opinion in favour of China.[25] The territory involved lies in Hunza and

17. Report of the Officials of the Government of India, and the People's Republic of China on the Boundary Question, Chinese Report, Delhi, p. 7.
18. India, Ministry of External Affairs, Sino-Pakistan "Agreement" March 2, 1963, Some Facts, hereinafter cited as Sino-Pakistan Agreement, p. 15.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 10.
20. See M.A. Chaudhri, "Pakistan and East Asia", X *Pakistan Horizon*, 1957, p. 44 W.H. Dobbel "Ramifications of the China-Pakistan Border Treaty" XXXVII Pacific Affairs, 1964, p. 284 and for details see G.M. Kahin, Asian African Conference, p. 28.
21. Mr. Suhrawardy during his visit to China in October 1956, said that Seato was exclusively a defence pact and Pakistan would like to strengthen relations with China. *Dawn* (Karachi), 24 Oct., 1956.
22. President Ayub said in a speech at Lyallpur in March 1963, *Hindustan Times*, 31 March, 1963.
23. Sino-Pakistan Agreement, op. cit., p. 3.
24. Supra note 7.
25. Mr. Z A. Bhutto said in the National Assembly on 26th November, 1962, that "Pakistan's friendship with China is unconditional" and "we have the greatest feeling of friendship for the great people of China," and declared that "it is the fundamental principle of our foreign policy" to be friendly with that country. See *Dawn* (Karachi) November 27, 1962.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Baltitstan. India has alleged that Pakistan has surrendered 2700 square miles of Indian territory.[26] But Pakistan claims that they had got 750 square mile from China which had been under the actual control of China[27] and that they have got the Khilchian salt mines[28] which are of immense value to Pakistan.

The parties to the agreement agreed to delimit the boundry on the traditional customary boundary line, including natural features but the boundary agreed to, actually disregards the natural features. The Pakistan line of actual control, according to the official map, lay across the Killik Mintaka and Khunjerab passes: but thereafter the line left the watershed and followed neither the Aghil Range, which is the traditional boundary nor the Karakoram Range along which the alignment claimed by Peking lay. In fact, the Pakistan line of actual control ran along no definite natural features, but cut across the tributries of the Shaksgam river and sometimes by half way up the slopes. It then reacthed the Karakoram Pass.[29]

It is significant that the Agreement is not subject to ratification, hence denying the public, press and the legislature an oppurtunity of examining the real nature of the agreement.

Peking and Pindi both had community of interests. China on account of Sino-Soviet rift and serious border problem with Soviet Union and with India wanted to woo Pakistan to take her out of the system of alliances; to have access to the strategically important places south of the traditional frontier and keep a listening post and to break through her barrier of isolation.[30]

The Indian reaction to the Agreement was sharp and bitter, first because Pakistān has accepted that the border between Sinkiang and Pakistan held Kashmir is undefined, prejudicing the Indian stand regarding the traditional nature of the boundary.[33] Secondly because India

26. *Ibid.*, p. 5.
27. See Mr. Z.A. Bhutto speeches in *Dawn* (Karachi) March 8 and 12, 1963,
28. *Ibid.*, also see Latif Ahmed Sherwani, et. al., Foreign Policy of Pakistan, An Analysis, Karachi, (1964), p. 92.
29. See Mr. Nehru statement in the Lok Sabha Parl Debates, Loke Sabha, series 3, Vol. 4, March 5, 1963, Col. 2164.
30. *Observer* (London), 18 August, 1963.
31. *Manchester Guardian* in an editorial comment said that "the Chinese have been so generous for malicious reasons; to upset the Indo-Pakistan relations to woo the Pakistanis from Western commitments, above all to prove to the Indians once more how much they are missing by not coming to terms......" See *Manchester Guardian,* 7 March, 1963, Also see "China's neighbours. Three Can Play". *The Economist* (London), January 5, 1963 and Pakistan and China: Clouded Concord", *The* (*Economist*), Lodon, March 9, 1963.
32. Michael Edwardes "Tashkent And After" 42 *International Affairs,* 1966, p. 385.
33. Sino-Indian Boundary Agreement, op. cit. Introduction, p. not mentioned.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

claims that territories concerned are part of India, hence Pakistan has no *locus standi* to enter into agreement regarding the territory.[34] Thirdly, even though the Agreement is provisional it is a matter of concern. China claimed impartiality in the affairs of Kashmir, but after gaining 2700 square miles of territory, China will be vitally interested in the area, hence take sides. Liu Shao Chi during a visit to Pakistan in March 1966 declared Chinese support to Pakistan's views on Kashmir.[35] Fourthly when a partcular piece of territor is occupied by China, it will make it impossible for India to re-negotiate this position and finally that it was announced on the eve of the first round of talkas between India and Pakistan on Kashmir in order to wreck talks "that did, however suggest that China had already begun to control the timing."[36]

A Chinese paper *Jen Min Jih Pao* in an editorial hailed the agreement and said that it "conforms to the instersts of the Chinese and Pakistani people and to the insterests of peace in Asia."[37]

A trade agreement was signed on January 5, 1962 between China and Pakistan,[38] according to which China will export steel products,coal,cement, machinery, chemicals, raw materials and cereals and Pakistan will export jute, cotton, jute manufactures, leather, cotton, tertiles, sports goods and surgical instruments.[39]

Pakistan entered into an Air Agreement with China to facilitate air traffic between the two countries. This agreement was severely criticised in the US because it involves serious repurcussions. The aeroplanes supplied by the United States and the spare parts will have to be stationed at terminus point in China and China will have an opportunity of examining them. It is in contravention of the United States Battle Act.[40]

The Sino-Pakistan collusion was alarming in India as well as in U.S.A.[41] The reason advanced by Pakistan was that the western supply of arms in the wake of Chinese attack on India has upset the balance of power in the Indian sub-continent. Hence there was no threat from China, India needed no protection. Mr. Bhutto declared in a press

34. *Ibid.* Also see Dr K. Krishana Rao "The Proposed Agreement between the People's Republic of China and Pakistan on the Sino-Indian Boundary," 2 *Indian Journal of International Law*, 1962 pp. 480-484.
35. The *Statesman*, 1 April, 1966. Mr. Chou En-lai declared during his visit to Pakistan in 1964 that China had never recognised the Indian stand on Kashmir See *Pakistan Times*, February 23, 1964 and *New York Times*, February 24, 1964.
36. *The Time* (London), 23 January, 1964.
37. See *Survey of the China Mainland Press*, U.S. Consultate General, Hong Kong (hereinafter cited as SCMP) No. 2890, p. 45.
38. *Ibid.*, No. 2895, p. 29.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
40. See *Hindu* (Madras). July 14, 1963, despatch from Washington.
41. *Ibid.*, also see Warren Unna, "Pakistan ; Friend of our enemies" 213 *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1964 pp. 79-84.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

conference in Washington in October 1963, that arms India received would be turned against Pakistan.[42] "India", Mr. Bhutto said "at an appropriate time, will negotiate a settlement with China on her border dispute" and that "India had no intention whatsoever of allowing another conflict with the Chinese"[43]. With added military strength India will not come to a settlement of disputes in a reasonable and just manner. Mr. Bhutto hinted that if India takes an aggressive posture Pakistan will not be alone and veiled reference was made that China will come to her help.[44]

During their visit to Pakistan in March 1966 Liu-Shao-chi and Chen Yi made it clear that China will come to the help of Pakistan in case of aggression and gave unequivocal support to Pakistani stand-point on Kashmir.[45] Begum Shahnawaz, President of the Pakistan-China Friendship Association, in an address of welcome to the visiting Chinese at a luncheon reception at Lahore described the revival of friendly ties between Pakistan and China as a "blow to the remaining colonial—imperialist forces in Asia and Africa" and acknowledged with gratitude Chinese help during the Indo-Pakistan conflict.[46] In a joint communique on 31st March, Liu reaffirmed the Chinese support to the "righteous stand of the Pakistan Government on Kashmir dispute and President Ayub supported China's lawful right for admission to the U.N. and categorically opposed any scheme to create "Two Chinas"[47]

A Pakistan Scholar commenting on Sino-Pakistan friendship writes :

Friendship with China is indispensable for Pakistan in the context of her Indian policy, and there is no denying the fact that Sino-Indian war has created a shared community of interest between them.... In China, Pakistan has at long last found the friend and ally who would side with her in her dispute with India.[48]

The Pakistanis have carefully avoided comment on the recent happenings in China. Pakistan radio has blacked out news on China.[49]

IV

Another recent trend in Pakistan's foreign policy has been its desire to normalise relations with the Soviet Union. Soviet Union could never

42. *Ibid.*, p. 83.
43. *Ibid.*
44. For details see extracts of Z. A. Bhutto's speech in the National Assembly in *Survival*, vol. V 1963 pp. 220-223. Also see Warren Unna, op. cit. p. 80.
45. See The *Statesman*, 1 April, 1966 and for details also see A Majid "Sino-Pakistan Ties of Friendship", 14 *Pakistan Review*, no. 5, May 1966 pp. 30-31.
46. *Ibid.* p. 30.
47. See the text of the joint communique in XIX *Pakistan Horizon* 1966 pp. 200 and 201.
48. Khurshid Hyder, "op. cit. p. 484.
49. *The Statesman* 22 January 1967.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

appreciate the creation of Pakistan and she regaded its creation as another attempt of the imperialists to divide the people[50] and Pakistan membership of the military alliances directed against Soviet Union and China, hardened the Soviet attitude towards Pakistan, Soviet support to Afghanistan and to India on Kashmir issue were the irritants which were a troublesome thorn in Pakistan's flesh. A Pakistani observer says that the Soviet Union did not try to prevent Pakistan's membership of military alliances because it suited the Soviet Union.[51] Moscow, according to him, was able to bring India closer to her line of thinkining in world affairs and it enhanced Soviet prestige in Asia.[25] The Soviet Union was suspicious of certain U.S. bases in Pakistan. In an Aide-Memoire the Soviet Union warned Pakistan "that the entire responsibility for the consequences of the steps taken by Pakistan towards turning her territory into a foreign military base will rest with the Government of Pakistan."[53] U2 incident further deteriorated the relations between Soviet Union and Pakistan. Soviet Military aid to India provoked a bitter comment from a Pakistan paper which accused Soviet Union of powerseeking, practising real politik, separating profession and performance, ignoring doctrine and destroying its Chinese ally.[54] The editorial added:

> Moscow cannot be unaware of the fact that India had irredentist ambitions and is...likely to put Asian peace in grave jeopardy. Surely the Russian leaders eannot fail to realize the implications of the arms race....It is to say the least curious that Russia should have forgotten its concern for world peace and begun competing with the West in buttressing India's striking power. One does not know what epithet to use for this latest brand of diplomacy.[55]

In April 1965, President Ayub became the first Pakistani President to make a trip to the Soviet Union and this visit paved the way for better relationship in spite of Pakistan's collusion with China. "The talks", according to a Pakistani scholar, "contributed to removing the misunderstandings which had plagued the relations between the two countries since 1947."[56] The joint communiqe issued at the end of the talks created a feeling in Pakistan that Soviet Union has given up the stand taken by

50. Mr. Kruschev denounced the partition of the sub-eontinent during his speech at Srinagar on 10 December 1955. See the *Statesman* 11 December 1955.
51. Hafeez-ur-Rahman Khan, "Pakistan's Relations with the USSR". XIV *Pakistan Hortzon*, 1961, p. 41.
52. *Ibid.*
53. See text of the Soviet Aide-Memoire and Pakistan's reply in XII *Pakistan Horizon*, 1959 pp. 75-78.
54. Sce *Pakistan Times* I August 1963. For an acute analysis also see W.M. Dobbel, "Pakistan's relations with the major powers and some Minor Agreements", XXXVII, *Pacific Affairs* 1964-65 p. 387.
55. *Pakistan Times,* op. cit.
56. Mohammad Ahsen Chaudhri, "Pakistan's relations with the Soviet Union" VI.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Krushchev in 1955.[57] On the President's visit, the influential pro-Goverment paper *Dawn* commented , that it had "broken the barriers erected by the Indian diplomacy between Pakistan and the Soviet Union."[58]

Even though Pakistan had opposed the inclusion of the Soviet Union in the Afro-Asian conference at Algiers, the Soviet Union, entered into a trade Agreement with Pakistan and agreed to assist Pakistan in implementing projects during the third Five Year Plan period.[59] Soviet Union has incredit for the third Five Year Plan from $ 30 million to $ 50 million for oil exploitation and purchase of industrial machinery. This shows Soviet eagerness to draw Pakistan out of the Western camp, preventing Pakistan from completely leaning towards China and having a "foothold in Pakistan."[60]

During the Indo-Pakistan conflict, the Pakistanis found a parallelism in the western and Soviet attitude. Both wanted to bring an end to the ruinous war as was evident from their attitude in the Security Council. Mr. Kosygin, wrote to President Ayub and Premier Shastri offering his good offices to solve their disputes. The Pakistani reaction towards Soviet offer was warmly welcome besause the Pakistanis construed or misconstrued that Soviet Union has changed her stand on Kashmir. The Pakistani official comments had been extremely warm both before and after the Tashkent Declaration.[61] Pakistan and the Soviet Union have signed a new agreement providing for increased trade exchanges in 1967. The turnover in 1967 would be "more than double" the total of about $ 20 million achieved in 1965. In 1966 the turnover was about $ 30 million.[62]

V

Pakistan divesified her foreign policy programme by entering into closer relations with Nepal and Burma, both close neighbours of India, both had extremely friendly relations with India and in case of both the countries, they had entered into boundry agreements with China and their relations with Pakistan's new fangled friend China very cordial. Pakistan entered into a trade agreement with Nepal in October 1962 "to explore all possibilities for expansion and promotion of trade." According to this Agreement the total annual value of imports and exports on each side was

---

Asiun Survey September 1966, p. 497.

57. The Joint communique condemned colonialism and imperialism and supported the people who were fighting for their right of self determination. See *Dawn* (Karachi), 12 April, 1965.
58. *Ibid* 8 April 1965.
59. *Ibid.*
60. Tetsreji Yasutira, "Soviet Economic Aid in Non-Aligned countries And the Soviet Programme in South And Southest Asia", in *New Nations in a Divided World*, ed. by Kurt London, (New York), 1964, p. 218.
61. See *Dawn* (Karachi) 2,11.16 January 1966.
62. *The Statesman*, I February 1967.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

fixed at Rs. 10 million.[63] My Surya Bahadur Thapa, said in Kathmandu, that "Nepal's policy with regard to the diversification of trade influenced by a historical trend as well as as by recognition of the fact that economic relations provide the best means for strengthening relations with neighbouring countries."[64]

VI

Relations with Burma were not very satisfactory because of two reasons, first the boundry dispute relating to some islands in the Naaf River which is the boundry between Pakistan and Burma and secondly the problems of Muslims in Arakan, who had migrated to Arakan from East Pakistan many generations back and had settled there and classified by the Burmese authorities as Pakistanis but regarded by Pakistan as more Burmese than Pakistanis.[65] The Arakanese Muslims of Pakistani origin started a Mujahid movement against the Burmese authorities and they were suspected of getting aid from sources in East Pakistan. It led to "misunderstanding and prevented the growth of close ties between the two Governments."[66]

In December 1960, President Ayub visited Rangoon and came to an accord on both the both the problems. The two leaders "agreed that steps should be taken to solve speedily problems of mutual interest concerning the Pakistan-Burma border in a friendly and a co-operative spirit. In particular they agreed to designate the Foreign Ministers of the two countries to look into the question of the Totadia (Kyeeyun) group of islands in the Naaf River."[67] The question that needed settlement was whether the middle of the river or the deepest channel should provide the boundary and the question of parrot Islands claimed by both.[63] In January 1964, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan and Burma signed an Agreement providing a fixed international boundry between their two countries. The joint communique stated that "The Burmese Government would solve the question of muslims of Arakan with sympathetic consideration."[69] With the settlement of these two disputes harmonious relations between the two countries have developed and arrangements were made for a joint Hydrographic survey of the bordern area.[70]

63. See "Pakistan and the World—Quarterly Survey", XVIII *Pakistan Horizon* 1965, p. 5.
64. Dawn (Karachi), 19 February, 1965.
65. For an acute analysis of the two issues see W.M. Dobbel op. cit. pp. 389-90.
66. "Pakistan And the Word—Quarterly Review", XVIII *Pakistan Harizon* 1965, p. 4.
67. See the text of joint communique in *Pakistan Harizon* 1961 pp. 76-76.
68. See Dobbel op. cit.
69. See the text of the joint communique in XIII *Pakistan Horizon*, pp. 84-85.
70. *Ibid.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

VII

Another significant trend in the Foreign Policy of Pakistan had been its economic co-ordination with two of her allies in the Cento namely Iran and Turkey. There are many things common between the three states. All of them are members of Cento and committed to the West, all of them are muslim states and all of them have fears from Russia—Turkey and Iran having greater distrust for the Soviet Union. All the three powers dissatisfied with the West, Turkey on ths issue of Turkish Cypriots, Iran on account of cut on economic assistance and Pakistan on account of Kashmir.[71] Mr. Bhutto former Foreign ministary of Pakistan, advanced three reasons which have impelled the three powers to form "Regional co-operation for Development" (R.C.D.), first, the west has attached greater importance to the non-aligned countries in respeet of economic aid, secondly, there has been a trend towards regional co-operation and thirdly that the tension between the United States of America and the Soviet Union has eased and that has aroused hopes that new pattern of International relations will replace ɟhe old one.[72]

The purpose of the RCD is to promote co-operation, to increase the standard of living of the common man by stabilising the economic conditions and promoting each others economy.[73] The purpose would be achieved by free movement of goods, close collaboration amongst the chambers of commerce, joint projects, reduction of postal ratcs, improvement of air services, rail and road links, arrangement of technical assistance. It also seeks to promote tourism and co-operation in the cultural field.[74]

Studies on methods of production and improvement relating to cement, locomotives, sugar, ship-building iron and steel and coal has been entrusted to Turkey, Pakistan has been given motor vehicles, electrical machinery and equipment, heavy engineering including fabrication of machinery, machine tools, pulp and paper, agricultural machinery and equipment and Iran has been entrusted with study on electronics, aluminium, drugs and pharmaceuticals, dyestuffs, chemicals and lubricating oils.[75] The working of the RCD is conducted by a Secretary General, There are three principal organs of the RCD, including secretariat and the Regional Planning Council.[76]

71. Zubeida Hasan," Iran. Pakistan and Turkey-Regional co-operatiou for Devlopment", XIII *Pakistan, Horizon,* 1964 p. 281
72. *Dawn* (Karachi). 24 July, 1964.
73. For details see Zubeida Hasan, op. cit pp. 278-79 āud Hasan Muizuddin, "RCD Instrument of Friendship and Brotherhood", 14 *Pakistan Review,* June 1966, p. 4.
74. See Zubeida Hasan op. cit.
75. Hasan Muizuddin, op. cit. p. 4.
76. For details of the organisation of the RCD see *ibid* pp. 4-6 and Lawrenc Ziring, "The Establishment of RCD Secretariat", Pakistan Administrative Staff College Quarterly. Lahore, 1965, p. 38.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

The formation of the R.C.D. is a very constructive idea which seeks to promote the economic well being of the member states. It is likely to have the way for an Asian common market and the activities of the R.C.D. can be extended to some of the Asian States including India for mutual welfare. A Pakistani Scholar has maintained :

"Though it is not of much immediate practical value, it is an important symbol of the three countries common aspirations for closer economic cooperation and in course of time, as the trend towards regional grouping gains momentum, it could conceivably become the focus of a much larger and cohesive economic association.[77]

Pakistan's membership of the R.C.D. is certainly a significant trend in her Foreign Policy. Both Iran and Turkey suppported Pakistan during her conflict with India in September 1965.[78] But Pakistan, in order to keep Iran in good humur had to surrender 300 square miles of Pakistani territory. The frontier between Pakistan and Iran had been undemaracated since the British pushed towards Iran.[79] Initially Pakistan followed the British line. But on 5 February 1958, an agreement was signed to survey the area and the formal transfer of territory took place on 23 September 1964.[80]

VIII

Pakistan has had anxious moments on the North Western Frontier. Before Independence the Pathans of both settled and unsettled areas of the former North West Frontier province, led by Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and his brother Dr. Khan Sahib dreamed of an independent Homeland. According to the partition plan there was to be refrendum in the area to ascertain the views of the people whether they wanted so join India or Pakistan.[81] The Congress which was majority party there boycotted the refrendum and overwhelming vote was cast in favour of Pakistan. Some of the former Congress leaders including Dr. Khan Sahib reconciled themselves to the creation of Pakistan but his brother Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan continued his fight for the creation of "Pakhtunistan" an lindependent homeland for the Pathans.[82] Afghanistan has cultural, lingual and emotional ties with the people of the area, hence they could not see kindly to the incorporation of Pakhtoon area into Pakistan. Afghanistan was the only

---

77. Khurshid Hyder.op cit. p 489.
78. *The Statesman* (NewDelhi) 12 September 1965.
79. See W.M. Dobbel, op. cit. p. 393.
80. For details see Ibid pp. 393-94 and *Dawn* (Karachi) 6 January, 11 July, 16 July, 25 July, and 3 July 1964.
81. 286, 570 votes were polled of Pakistan and 2874 for India. The total number of votes polled was less by 83171 than the number of votes polled in the General Election in 1946. M,A. Chaudhri, "The Relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan" VIII *Pakistan Horizon*, 1955 p. 496.
82. For details see L.F. Rushbrook Williams, The State of Pakistan, London (Faber), 2nd ed. 1966 pp. 66-71.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

state which voted against the entry of Pakistan into the United Nations[83] and they continued their support to the brave Pathans. The Afghan Government has refused to accept Durand Line as the frontier.

This dispute took ugly turn in 1955. The Government of Pakistan decided to integrate the provinces of Punjab, Sind and North West Frontier province into one unit. The Afghans reacted very sharply.[84] A mob attacked the Pakistan embassy, burned furniture and tore down the Pakistani flag. The Pakistan consulates at Kandhar and Jalalabad were also attacked. This resulted in rupture of Diplomatic relations, which however ended as a result of exchange of visits in 1956 between the Pakistan President and the Afghan Prime Minister.[85] In December 1955, the Soviet leaders made an unequivocal declaration in Kabul that they sympathised with the Pakhtoon demand. Afghanistan is an important recipient of Soviet money and arms. The Soviet Union equipped the Afghanistan army of 35,000 to 40,000 men and the total aid received by Afghanistan since 1949 was equivalent to about £ 165,000,000,000.[87]

In 1960 another incident created stir in Pakistan. The Pakistan Government took military action against the ruler of Dir a princely state on the North Western border of Pakistan which resulted in sabre-rattling on the Afghan border,[88] and the Afghan claim on 190,000 square miles of territory down to Indus, continued. The Afghans even showed Karachi on their maps as part of Afghanistan.[89] Relations between the two have improved a little since 1963.[90] On the Pakistani side there is a constant expression of friendliness but the Afghan reactions have been lukewarm.[91] President Ayub visited Afghanistan in 1964 and invited Afghanistan to join

83. Mr. Hosyan Aziz, the Afghan representative to the U.N. General Assembly said "This unhappy circumstance in due to the fact that we do not recognize the old North West Frontier Province as a part of Pakistan so long as the people of the North West Frontser Province have not been given an opportunity free from any kind of influence, and I repeat, free from any kind of influence, to determine for themselves, whether they wish to be independent or to become a part of Pakistan" as quoted in Mohammed Ahsen Chaudhri. "The Relations of Pakistan with Afghanistan'', op. cit. 497.

84. M.A. Chaudhri, op. cit. p 501.

85. W.M. Dobbel op cit. p. 392.

86. *New York Times*, 25 June, 1958.

87. *Ibid.* For detailed treatment of the issues involved see M.A. Chaudhry of cit. M. Aslam Siddiqi, "Can Pakistan stay neutral", Surendra Chopra, "Pakistan, Pacts and Kashmir" op. cit.

88. See Rushbrook Williams op. cit. pp, 75-78.

89. *Daily Telegraph.* London; 18 July 1963.

90. Premier Daud who had been more anti-Pakistan was succeeded by Dr. Yusuf even though regarded less anti-Pakistan, he neverthless supported the Pakhtoon demand, Dr. Yusuf announced that Afghanistan would not give up its peaceful support to Pakhtoons. *Dawn* (Karachi), 15 July, 1963.

91. See W.M. Dobbel, op. cit. d. 392.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

the R.C.D. but the Afghan Government spurned the invitation.[92] President Ayub, commenting on the Afghan refusal to join the R.C.D. said :

> "All mountain people are suspicious by nature. They are inward looking people and especially those of landlocked countries. They have their psychological limitations. They cannot be as forthcoming as the people who have opportunities of contact with the rest of the world. I do hope that in course of time the Afghans will see the virtue of extending their contacts. If they join the R.C.D. it will be a wonderful thing."[93]

IX

Pakistan's India policy had been a major foreign policy problem for them and her attitude towards India has been described as neurotic.[94] As all neurosis is born of anxiety, the anxiety that has been gnawing the minds of Pakistani policy framers is to acquire equal strength with India. Pakistan has "a passionate determination to be recognised as full equal by the rest of the world, and especially by the Indian."[95] For that purpose Pakistan entered into military alliances and toed the line of the West but the romance was shortlived, Pakistan expecting too much from the alliances was completely disillusioned when the western partners could not oblige her. President Ayub Khan lamented that the U.S. policies "have undergone a change which has operated progressively to the disadvantage of her ally, Pakistan vis-a-vis neutral India."[96] Pakistan, it appears, had been waiting to rush into the arms of China as soon as there was an opportunity. Failure of border talks between the officials of India and China was the right opportunity and Pakistan started playing a different tune. China's massive attack on India was described as Indian attach against peaceful China.[97] Encouraged by the new master's strength, Pakistan first embarked upon aggression in Kutch in April 1965 but found India's attitude rather concilaitory who would not hit back. On August 5, 1965, a large numbers of infiltrators started guerilla warfare in Kashmir[98] and their attack on Chhamb-Jaurian and India's retaliatory action towards the portion of

92. Mohammed Ayub Khan, "Foreign Relations". XIII *Pakistan Horizon* 1965 p. 12.
93. *Ibid.*
94. Surendra Chopra, op. cit. p. 230.
95. Keith Callard, Pakistan : A Political Study, London, Allen and Unwin (1957) p, 313.
96. M. Ayub Khan, "The Pakistan-America Ailiance", 42 *Foreign Affairs*, 1963-64 p. 168.
97. For Pakistani view on the Sino-Indian Border conflict see Khalida Quereshi, "Pakistan and the Sino-Indian border Dispute-I XV *Pakistan Horizon*, 1962, pp. 310-322.
98. U-Thant in his report to the Secerity Council testified to the fact that Pakistani infiltrators did enter Kashmir aud the "current serious trouble affecting the Cease fire and the Cease Fire Line in Kashmir dated from 5 August 1965". See U.N. Document No. S/6651, 3 September, 1965 paras 5 and 6.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Kashmir under the occupation of Pakistan and towards the direction of Lahore and Sialkot, are all painful events which are the result of Pakistan's ruling passion of annexing Kashmir.

Pakistan's India policy is based on most unrealistic foundations. Kashmir has been made a sort of national aspiration and hate-India campaign has been all along on a very high pitch calling Hindus as "banias, shopkeepers and usurer" and heaping insult on them which reminds of Hitler's attitude against the jews.[99]

A ray of hope was enkindled when President Ayub Khan and Prime Minister Shastri agreed to conclude a peace treaty under the aegis of the Soviet Government. What actually transpired between the three leaders we do not know but the result of the deliberations is a monument of great importance if implemented.[100] But Pakistani interpreation of various clauses of the Declaration, violent demonstrations[101] agains the Declaration in Pakistan and more rigid attitude of Pakistan during the ministerial conference at Rawalpindi[102] reduced the Tashkent Declaration to a mere pious declaration. It has been painted both in India and Pakistan what in reality it is not. That it has ushered in a spirit which has been termed as "Tashkent spirit",[103] that it has erected a bridge[104] between India and Pakistan and that it has opened new avenues for the settlement of Indo-Pakistan disputes. It has done nothing of the sort. There never existed any spirit known as Tashkent spirit, the relations between India and Pakistan are as unfortunate as ever and no road-blocks have been removed from the path of Indo-Pakistan friendship. At best it has resulted in *status quo ante bellum*. The only merit of the Declaration is that it has brought about disengagement and that the prisoners of war have been repatriated. The rest of the declaration is no more or less pious than the Kellog Briand Pact of 1928. The declaration has only reiterated previous commitments and has done only what the security council wanted India and Pakistan to do. It has further weakened the respect for the United Nations which has already beed ignored into ineffectiveness. The dangerous trend of ignoring the United Nation was set afoot by Great Britain and France in 1956 followed by Soviet Union and France in their attempts at withholding their contribution to the UN and USA taking law into their own hand in order to chastise the North Vietnamese. A bilateral treaty of the type of Tashkent is a blow to the prestige of the UN since the decisions of the Security Council were not

99. "The Indian Approach to Kashmir". 221 *Round Table*, 1966 p. 70.
100. For detailed analysis of the "Tashkent Declaration", see the author's paper on the subject in *Indian And Her Neighbours* Patiala, Indian Political Science Association, 1966 pp. 90-115.
101. See Asian Recorder, 1966 pp. 6953.
102. For details see the authors paper, op. cit. pp. 112-113.
103. See the sourcess cited in *Ibid.*
104. *Ibid.*

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

accepted by both the parties where as a great power has been able to get the two states agree under its aegis what the Security Council failed to do. It has further confirmed doubts about the efficacy of the World Organisation. It will encourage states to look to great powers decide issues outside the United Nations and the August world body which requires rejuvenation will be reduced to a debating society.[105]

Conclusion

Pakistan is in the "situation of a deep sea diver who is beginning a romance with a mermaid, conscious all the time that father-in-law is manning the air-pump for him above"[106]. Pakistan is conscious of the limitations of her "late blooming"[107], romance which observers regard "outrageous flirtation",[108] depending on the U.S. economic and military aid, even for food cannot afford to give up the alliance with the West.* Alliance with the East is no substitute for alliance with the West. Since the creation of Pakistan the major aspect of foreign policy objective had been negative, to find a patron in what she conceives as her endless confrontation with India and each new actor for that role U.S., Russia and China, has been greeted with emotional warmth proportionate more to the pitch of anger with or fear of India, than to rational weighing of what is to be hoped for from the new accord"[109] Pakistan is also conscious that India might be able to settle its boundary dispute with China at an appropriate time[110] and then Pakistan may not be in a position of using China for India-baiting whatever may be the motivations and objectives, Pakistan has been extremely successful in achieving them by diversifying her foreign policy goals. Her relations with U.S. in spite of her collusion with China are not bad, with the Soviet Union, improved considerably, to her allies in the Cento, she has given a lead to bring about an economic organisation (RCD) to work for improving the economy of the member states—of course independent of Cento activities, and above all she has established economic relations with Nepal which were practically non-existent and the settlement of outstanding border disputes

---

105. *Ibid.*
106. *The Times* (London), 23 January, 1964
107. See *Hindustan Times*, 31 October, 1962
108. See Warner Unna, op. cit.
109. *The Times* (London) 23 January, 1964
110. Mr. Z.A. Bhutto's press conference in Washington in October 1963, supra n. 43. Michael Edwardes, in "Tashkent and After", op. cit. says that "China's friendyhip will continue only as long as it is in China's interest. The moment there is any substantial move towards reconciliation with India it will be dropped". p. 386

* Mr. Bhutto, while addressing a meeting of lawyers in a West Pakistan city recently made a vigrorous plea to withdraw from the allianes with the west. See *The Tribune*, 26 April, 1967.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

with Iran and Burma have enabled her to come out of some ugly situations. With Afghanistan too relations are less bitter. On the whole Pakistan has achieved astounding success, but the outcome of Pakistan's desire to become a bridge between U.S.A. and China and ultimately play the role Nehru played is yet to be seen.

080465

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

FORM IV

(*See Rule 8*)

1.	Place of publication	...	Kurukshetra
2.	Periodicity of its publication	...	Biannual
3.	Printer's Name	...	T. Philip
	Nationality	...	Indian
	Address	...	Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra
4.	Publisher's Name	...	Dr. Buddha Prakash
	Nationality	...	Indian
	Address	...	Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra
5.	Editor's Name	...	Dr. Buddha Prakash
	Nationality	...	Indian
	Address	...	Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra
6.	Name and address of individuals who own the magazine and partners or share-holders, holding more than one per cent of the total capital	...	The paper is owned by the Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra.

I, Buddha Prakash, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Signature of Publisher
BUDDHA PRAKASH

Dated 30-9-67

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Compiled
1999-2000

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar